Public Participation in Heritage Cities' Rehabilitation Schemes in Middle East and North Africa: An Investigation in Three Cities: Fez, Aleppo and Istanbul

By

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Dedications

To The Lights and Happiness of My Life,

Ehsan and Mana

Abstract

The success of an urban rehabilitation project is strongly based on its impact on the everyday life of those inhabiting the area under consideration. Lack of public awareness, which has a significant influence on the implementation of urban rehabilitation projects, is a major cause of the ineffectiveness of new urban schemes. Lack of effective laws and regulations regarding urban rehabilitation in the Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) countries contributes to shortages in implementing the urban rehabilitation schemes and plays an important role in causing further distrust towards governmental actions. Therefore, setting appropriate communication channels with the public and providing them with clear information about the process and outcomes of the projects, can contribute in promoting public participation.

The main argument of this thesis is that despite the increasing awareness and approval of governments in the MENA region of the significance of public participation in the sustainability of urban rehabilitation projects, urban rehabilitation schemes do not seem to benefit much from public participation.

This study aims to develop a deeper insight and better understanding of approaches of urban rehabilitation in a number of urban rehabilitation projects in the MENA region, in which public participation was reported to be employed as a means towards sustainable urban development.

The methodology for this research is based principally on case studies. Three historic cities in the Middle East and North Africa have been selected for field works. These cities are Fez, in Morocco; Aleppo in Syria; and Istanbul in Turkey. These cities constitute relevant cases as they are currently undergoing the implementation of urban rehabilitation projects.

The empirical investigation is based on extensive interviews with the inhabitants of the historic areas where urban rehabilitation projects are taking place, as well as with academics and experts who are involved in the design and implementation of the schemes. The interviews are based on structured questionnaires. The results of these surveys have been used to develop recommendations for more efficient ways of achieving successful public participation in future urban rehabilitation projects for heritage cities in the region. In this regard, two scenarios are developed. The first scenario suggests approaches to improve public awareness and public participation in future urban rehabilitation projects in the social context of the MENA region. The second scenario is developed for situations where there are too many obstacles for public participation which cannot be solved within the scope of urban rehabilitation projects. In this case carefully managed gentrification is proposed. The possible impacts of gentrification in the social context of the MENA region are discussed and it is argued that the positive aspects of gentrification can sometimes exceed the negative ones particularly when gentrification is controlled through regulations and restrictions.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

This research has been carried out to suggest that an urban rehabilitation project within the historic quarters of Islamic cities can hardly sustain its development without attaining the genuine, active and knowledgeable involvement of the inhabitants of the area under consideration. Based on this hypothesis, there are a few questions that need to be answered by this research including: What approaches have been taken so far to involve the local residents, in urban rehabilitation projects in Islamic cities of Middle East and North Africa?; How efficient have the approaches been in involving people in urban development schemes in the region? And can an alternative method be taken which is capable of addressing the problems and deficiencies of the existing methods?

In order to make the first move towards the aims of this research which is evaluating the significance of public awareness and public participation in the level of success of these projects, this chapter seeks to provide brief but clear explanations about the definitions and meanings behind the main subject of the study, which is urban heritage.

Before exploring through the concept of urban heritage and its significance, it is necessary to first provide definitions for heritage itself, and how this concept is interpreted and delineated by internationally recognized institutions. Having clarified the meaning of heritage and its different aspects, the next step will be

investigating the explanation of urban heritage and its background, the significance of preservation of this heritage to communities and finally different approaches to safeguarding the urban heritage. Urban development in heritage cities is explored through brief explanation of several approaches which have been employed since 1950s.

Apart from the mentioned identification and meanings, there are four concepts which are closely related to the idea of urban development. These concepts which are explained later in this chapter include sustainability, public participation, Social capital, and gentrification. The mutual impacts of any of these concepts with urban development and the importance of them in the future of heritage cities are discussed, as well.

The last section of this chapter is an exploration through all the agenda and charters which are produced or approved of by international organizations, with focus on their attitude towards public participation and involvement of public in the safeguard of their heritage.

1-2-Urban Heritage

Heritage, as derived from inheritance, is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as 'that which has been or may be inherited', and involves both previous and future generations. In the urban context, it is the power of continuity from one generation to the next, it 'is not only something we want to hand down to future generations, it is also something we want to appreciate and experience to the fullest extent'. Heritage is about a special sense of belonging and of continuity that is different for each person, whereas Ashworth (Anglin) prefers to refer to heritage as 'the contemporary uses of the past'. (Orbasli 2000, p12)

According to ICOMOS (Internationa Council on Monuments and Sites) operational guidelines, cultural heritage consists of:

- monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

- groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

- sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view. (UNESCO 2008, p13)

As defined in the Burra Charter, 'Heritage' is based upon extant places and objects inherited from the past that are to be passed on to future generations. Many of these places and/or objects play important roles in people's identity, as they are physical representations of past events which formed their communities and environment. It is widely agreed that some places should be kept as a part of our common heritage and passed on to those who come after us. (Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter 1999)

When talking about urban heritage, the first thing that comes to mind are usually monumental buildings, individual buildings with public functions (e.g. religious buildings or schools) or some historic urban structures like city walls or city gates. Heritage, however, can be interpreted in different ways by different cultures, or differently even within the same culture through time. Heritage can also be classified as either tangible or intangible; for example, urban heritage involves intangible elements such as people's traditions and beliefs, which can both play an important role in the creation and/or use of space in an urban environment.

According to the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2003), the intangible cultural heritage (ICH) – or living heritage – is the mainspring of our cultural diversity and its maintenance a

guarantee for continuing creativity. The Convention states that the ICH is manifested, among others, in the following domains:

- Oral traditions and expressions including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
- Performing arts (such as traditional music, dance and theatre);
- Social practices, rituals and festive events;
- Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
- Traditional craftsmanship.

The 2003 Convention defines ICH as the practices, representations, expressions, as well as the knowledge and skills that communities, groups, and in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. The definition also indicates that the ICH to be safeguarded by this Convention:

- is transmitted from generation to generation;
- is constantly recreated by communities and groups, in response to their environment, their interaction with nature, and their history;
- provides communities and groups with a sense of identity and continuity;
- promotes respect for cultural diversity and human creativity;
- is compatible with international human rights instruments;
- Complies with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, and of sustainable development.

 The idea that heritage is defined by meaning is rendered even more complex by the qualification that these are applied to both tangible and intangible forms of heritage. This distinction has been adapted by UNESCO and reflects the frequent criticism that western heritage is all too often envisaged as the built and natural environments. Thus the list of European and North American World Heritage Sites is dominated by walled cities, cathedrals, palaces, transport artefacts and national parks. Conversely, however, heritage in Africa and Asia is often envisaged through intangible forms of traditional and popular –or folk- culture that include languages, music, dance, rituals, food and folklore. In part, this

reflects the ephemeral nature of the built environment in many societies. Japanese historic buildings for example, may be quiet regularly completely rebuilt, may incorporate modern materials and building structures and may even be moved without seemingly compromising the perceived authenticity of the site and structure. To reduce the tangible-intangible dichotomy in heritage to an east-west or north-south division is, however, unduly simplistic. All societies contain both, even though the balance may vary spatially. (Graham, 2002)

Urban heritage cannot be narrowed down to individual buildings or monuments of historic interest, nor can it be interpreted simply as a totality of built parts. Urban heritage exists in the physical attributes of buildings, public spaces and urban morphology; it is experienced by users (inheritors) in the present and it is concurrently in the making of the next generation of heritage. Not only ancient sites and monuments, but entire cities are being inscribed in the World Heritage List, described in the World Heritage Convention as groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science (Orbasli, 2000).

The ICH is traditional and living at the same time. It is constantly recreated and mainly transmitted orally. It is difficult to use the term authentic in relation to ICH; some experts advise against its use in relation to living heritage. The depository of this heritage is the human mind, the human body being the main instrument for its enactment, or – literally – embodiment. The knowledge and skills are often shared within a community, and manifestations of ICH often are performed collectively.

Many elements of the ICH are endangered, due to effects of globalization, uniformitarian policies, and lack of means, appreciation and understanding which – taken together – may lead to the erosion of functions and values of such elements and to lack of interest among the younger generations.

1-3-Urban Development in Heritage Cities

Sir Patrick Geddes pioneered a social approach to the study and practice of town planning. Evolution is the central theme throughout Geddes' life work. He defined the city as an ecosystem, one that needs to be understood as a living organism that is subject to cycles of birth, growth, blossoming, decline and decay, followed again by rebirth. Understanding the forces at work, anticipating the evolving functional demands of human society in the full complexity and interrelationship of their environmental, social and cultural aspects, enables control of the degenerative tendencies and continues enhancement of the quality of life. He held keenly to the view that there is a direct evolutionary linkage between social and cultural development and place, and that the roots of a society's culture, including the heritage of its built environment, are the essential foundations for the achievement of the citizens' creative potential, individually and collectively(Rodwell ,2007).

As the world population increasingly becomes an urban one, the importance of the city as a place to live in, work in and relax in increases. There is an ever-present dichotomy, however, of past and present, of resident values and marketplace values; of developed and developing. Contradictions are apparent between rehabilitation for the provision of better living environments for residents and preservation and the retention of the urban environment through restoration projects often aimed at beautification. It is also a dichotomy of inside and outside: the resident seeking the modern facility and a damp-free environment while the visitor values the external appearance, at times the romantic ruin, ignorant of the living conditions of the occupant (Orbasli, 2000).

World Bank-financed projects have found that heritage conservation has increased city liveability by preserving streets and neighbourhoods built at a human scale, public areas that support positive community interaction and green spaces that offer recreational activities. By preserving their heritage, cities can create a unique sense of place and singular urban landscapes, developing strong branding and

conditions to attract investors. This is especially true for investors in tourism, which is one of the largest industries in the world today and has a track record of creating significant levels of employment for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. In addition, improving a city's self-image and identity through recognition of heritage assets has been shown to increase civic pride and energize communities to actively address a wide range of development and livelihood issues (Ebbe, 2009).

The conservation of cultural heritage supports urban revitalization by preserving city liveability, increasing competitiveness, and creating a wide range of income earning opportunities. One of the most highly-visible and dynamic links between heritage conservation and local economic development lies in the potential for cultural and natural assets to attract tourism investment and spending (Ebbe, 2009).

1-3-1-Concepts and Meanings

Urban development is a very complex phenomenon, involving many different issues such as physical, environmental, social, economical, cultural, political, geographical...aspects. As stated by Geddes, urban areas are evolving continuously, like a living organism. However, there are different methods and approaches to influence this evolution, to postpone their decline or accelerate their re-growth. Although each individual city needs its own individual approach towards development, there are number of general methods that are practiced around the world in order to assist the development of historic cities. Some general terms are defined in by the Australia ICOMOS Burra charter. Any development project might take one or several of these approaches:

- *Conservation* means all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance.

- *Maintenance* means the continuous protective care of the fabric and setting of a place, and is to be distinguished from repair. Repair involves restoration or reconstruction.

- *Preservation* means maintaining the fabric of a place in its existing state and retarding deterioration.

- *Restoration* means returning the existing fabric of a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material.

- *Reconstruction* means returning a place to a known earlier state and is distinguished from restoration by the introduction of new material into the fabric.

- *Adaptation* means modifying a place to suit the existing or a proposed use (Burra Charter, 1999).

Apart from these definitions; there are several terms which are widely used in the literature of historic urban development. These terms are defined and compared in the following section:

1-3-1-1-Urban Rehabilitation

The 6th General Assembly of ICOMOS, held in 1981 in Rome, passed a decision that, as a supplement to the Venice Charter, the charter of historic gardens and historic towns should also be compiled. From that time on, popularising a charter centring on town rehabilitation and other questions related to rehabilitation was considered.

Urban rehabilitation does not mean simply the passive protection of individual buildings of historic significance; nor does it mean the wholesome preservation of everything which is old. Instead, it means the creative use and re-use of older quarters of the city, taken as a whole. Where possible, old buildings are repaired and modernised, to facilitate their continued use, especially as housing. This often includes upgrading of infrastructure services (water, sewerage, drainage, roads, etc.), but on a modest scale, allowing the preservation of the existing urban pattern

and fabric. Where necessary, some change of use may be incorporated, but on a small scale. Demolition should normally be reserved for structurally unsound buildings, but may also sometimes be needed in order to provide space for essential social services, infrastructure or open space. An overriding objective is to minimise the displacement of existing residents, because of either demolition or repair and upgrading. The intention is to provide enough modernisation of the physical fabric to allow the life of the community to go on, with scope for both buildings and social systems to evolve and adapt to new conditions (Steinberg, 1996).

The focus of revitalisation and rehabilitation of historic centres, therefore, has to be on whole areas, not just individual buildings, and on social communities, not just the physical environment. These older housing areas, typically in the inner parts of the city, are often home for lower-income families and they have physical, social, economic and cultural values different from, and beyond the perceptions of, bureaucrats or planners. Advocates of rehabilitation policies emphasise the importance of a comprehensive and integrated approach to planning for older areas, and especially the need to consider complete conservation/rehabilitation areas, not just individual buildings. Of course, particular buildings of special historic and/or architectural interest should be preserved as part of the overall scheme. But the real focus is on the activities and uses of the buildings taken as a whole, and the need to upgrade selectively and adaptively (Steinberg, 1996).

1-3-1-2-Urban Conservation

France is credited with initiating the first major projects of urban conservation in Europe, in early 1960s which established the legal and financial basis for 'protected areas'. This establishment leads to the preparation of a comprehensive plan, one that encompasses town planning, architecture and detailed historic building conservation issues. This first approach of 'protected area' has taken on the aspect of an open-air museum. This aspect excluded the socio-economic and town-planning concepts (Rodwell, 2007).

Conserving urban heritage - historical buildings, festivals, art forms, dance, music, sculpture etc. - may seem less of a priority compared to more pressing issues such as infrastructure development, poverty alleviation or job creation. But effective conservation of heritage resources not only helps in revitalizing the local economy of cities, but also brings about a sense of city identity and belonging to its residents.

The recognition of historic urban fabric as cultural heritage and its identification as a significant link in urban life and development has inspired a desire for area-based conservation. Urban conservation is a long-term political, economic and social commitment to an area with the intention of providing a better quality of life for its users. Conservation encompasses not only the physical urban fabric, but also an understanding of the spatial morphology and a social dimension which makes urban heritage so distinct from the more 'object' qualities of the singular built heritage (Orbasli, 2000).

Historic areas remain familiar in a changing environment and provide a sense of place, which Conzen refers to as genius loci. This is one reason for urban conservation, together with the aesthetic, cultural and historical values identified as heritage, and the educational, spatial and townscape values (Larkham, 1996), combined with environmental concerns and economic viability (Lichfield, 1988). Conservation is a reflection and accumulation of values placed upon our traditions and culture. Without it, 'we would all be much poorer, deprived of roots, more uncertain about who we are and who we were'(Fathy as cited in Orbasli 2000). Even lived-in surroundings are not identified as heritage; 'people attach considerable value to aspects of their immediate environment...which give them a sense of identity and pride of place' (Butt as cited in Orbasli, 2000). Urban conservation is a political, economic and social concern; and tourism-, image or fashion-led conservation will only be superficial (Orbasli, 2000).

Urban conservation differs significantly from building conservation. First, it is multi-dimensional, and it involves, as well as the building fabric, the urban pattern, streets, open spaces, green areas and urban vistas. Second, it involves the

services of a much wider range of disciplines and persons, and it is influenced by political decision making at local and national levels. Third, and probably most importantly, it involves a social aspect. The users, the residents, the property owners, business interests, and other citizens who use the area, and those who depend on it for their livelihoods, are all part of the conservation process. Urban conservation policies are often area based, through the designation of conservation or protection areas (Orbasli, 2000).

All these definitions of urban conservation have two important indications; first that urban conservation is not only about the physical structure of an urban area, but also the entire social and cultural and all intangible heritage that makes the area lively, and gives it its unique identity. The second point is that although conservation of this intangible heritage is a principle, development is important for sustainability of an urban area.

1-3-1-3-Urban Regeneration

Reconstruction of the fabric of cities became a national priority in post war European cities in 1950s. This process was initiated by central governments, with detailed guidance to local authorities on the principles and standard for the preparation of development plans. The emphasis was on reconstruction and eradication of physical problems of the past. The priority of reconstruction led to emergence of high-rise housing and industrialised building techniques. Later, in 1960s and 70s, a growing dissatisfaction with slum clearance and the moving of population to the suburbs led the governments to shift urban policy priorities toward improvement and renewal. These policies continued in 1980s, although in this period there was greater emphasis on the role of partnership. During the 1990s there was a gradual move towards recognition of new problems and challenges; such as acceptance of the need to work in accord with the environmental objectives of sustainable development. Figure 1-1 shows a summary of the evolution of urban regeneration:

Period	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
policy type	reconstruction	revitalisation	renewal	Redevelopment	regeneration
Major strategy and orientation	Reconstruction and extension of older areas of towns and cities often based on a 'master plan'; suburban growth	Continuation of 1950s theme; suburban and peripheral growth; some early attempts of rehabilitation	Focus on in situ renewal and neighbourhood schemes; still development at periphery	Many major schemes of development and redevelopment; flagship projects; out of town projects	Move towards a more comprehensive form of policy and practice; more emphasis on integrated treatments
Key actors and stakeholders	National and local government; private sector developers and contractors	Move towards a greater balance between public and private sectors	Growing role of private sector and centralization in local government	Emphasis on private sector and special agencies; growth of partnership	Partnership the dominant approach
Spatial level of activity	Emphasis on local and site levels	Regional level of activity emerged	Regional and local levels initially; later more local emphasis	In early 1980s focus on site; later emphasis on local level	Reintroduction of strategic perspective; growth of regional activity
Economic focus	Public sector investment with some private sector involvement	Continuing from 1950s with growing influence of private investment	Resource constraints in public sector and growth of private investment	Private sector dominant with selective public funds	Greater balance between public, private and voluntary funding
Social content	Improvement of housing and living standards	Social and welfare improvement	Community-based action and greater empowerment	Community self-help with very selective state support	Emphasis on the role of community
Physical emphasis	Replacement of inner areas and peripheral development	Some continuation from 1950s with parallel rehabilitation of existing areas	More extensive renewal of older urban areas	Major schemes of replacement and new development; 'flagship schemes'	More modest that 1980s; heritage and retention
Environmental approach	Landscaping and some greening	Selective improvements	Environmental improvements with some innovations	Growth of concern for wider approach to environment	Introduction of broader idea of environmental sustainability

Figure 1-1- The evolution of urban regeneration (Roberts and Sykes, 2006)

Having identified the gradual development of urban policies towards urban regeneration provides an initial definition for urban regeneration as:

"Comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change." (Roberts & Sykes, 2006)

As the brief definition of the historic urban development concepts suggest, all of the theories have had a gradual improvement from mainly structural, physical or aesthetic interventions to more comprehensive applications taking account of economic, social, cultural and political aspects of urban development. While the

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terms rehabilitation and regeneration are used interchangeably in some contexts, urban regeneration seems to be the most developed term which is widely used to refer to urban development interventions in historic areas that are comprehensive and embrace both tangible and intangible heritage, and are designed not only to bring livelihood back to the historic areas, but also the sustainability of urban fabric and the society, at the same time. In the recent context, although urban regeneration considers physical condition of the urban fabric, it also considers economic improvement, social issues, and improving communities potential for self-governance (social capital). Figure 1-2 gives a brief comparison on the definitions and objectives of the mentioned terms:

Approach	Brief definition	Objective
Rehabilitation	improving the fabric of a city through repair and re-use, without destroying existing material	• preserving the existing patterns while making improvements to make liveable urban areas • preserving social values
Conservation	all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance	• considering tangible and intangible heritage • making the least possible interventions • making balance between conservation of heritage and development
Regeneration	A comprehensive form of policy and practice, considering different aspects of urban development	• Lasting resolution of urban problems • Sustainability • Considering tangible and intangible heritage • Preserving the authenticity • Involving the public
Maintenance	Continuous protective care of a fabric or its setting	• Securing the durability of the heritage
Preservation	maintaining the fabric of a place in its existing state and retarding deterioration	• Providing the durability of the heritage with the least intervention • Increasing the liveability of the urban area
Restoration	returning the existing fabric of a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material	• Maintaining the authenticity of heritage
Reconstruction	Returning a place to a known earlier state and is distinguished from restoration by the introduction of new material into the fabric.	• Recreation of place based on evidences of its previous state
Adaptation	modifying a place to suit the existing use or a proposed use	• Alteration in building or urban space to make it compatible for modern facilities and life style

Figure 1-2- urban development terms and their definition

1-3-2-Sustainability and Urban Development

The concept of sustainable development has been for the first time clearly defined in the Brundtland Report:" *development that meets the needs of present without jeopardizing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*". First and foremost, this commission has been concerned with people, and it is to people that the report is addressed. If sustainable human progress is to be achieved, a vast campaign of education, debate and public participation must be started (the Brundtland Commission, 1987).

Urban sustainable development is a multidimensional concept including environmental, economic, social and political issues. Therefore there must be an interdisciplinary approach for sustainable urban development to include and integrate all this aspects towards a long-term development scheme.

A sustainable city is one in which its people and businesses continuously endeavour to improve their natural, built and cultural environments at neighbourhood and regional levels, whilst working in ways which always support the goal of global sustainable development (Rodwell, 2007).

Most traditional cities and buildings evolved out of necessity and not a supply-driven ideology. Their sense of sustainability emerged from having found resonance with nature, its pace and cyclical progression. They have withstood the test of time and appealed to a variety of functional needs. Much of their charm was a product of the way they related to the character of the neighbourhood and allowed for democratic expression. Society and the design professions must continue to determine and agree upon definitive ways to define, model and achieve sustainability. Sustainable programs require a comprehensive and integrated understanding of a city's unique human and environmental resources. By definition, sustainability identifies strategies that look at community's on site natural resources as integral aspects of the design (Kazimee, 2002).

In 1994 a European charter on urban sustainable development provided a list of guidelines for local urban development strategies. This charter was followed by

two other charters, Lisbon 1996 and New Athens 1998, which proposed that among other questions, some crucial questions of urban sustainable development are:

- The fight against poverty and social exclusion, to guarantee a more equal level of quality of life
- The community participation to decisional processes about environmental heritage management
- The correct production and diffusion of information, to create concern about environmental questions
- The implementation of a local action plan where to set priorities, objectives and actions, as a result of a public open debate

Mega (Mega, 1999) argues that sustainability is not only about environmental and economical awareness, but more importantly, about integration and involvement of all citizens in governance of the cities. A sustainable society can maintain its existence in the long term without threatening by its action the existence of natural resources and without irreversible consumption of finite resources. Very little attention has been spent about participative process and about the integration of social, environmental and economic aspects of urban development (Marco & Torre, 1999).

Cities need social capital to promote sustainable development, and participation is fundamental for the construction of social capital. A model of a self-sustainable development can be initiated from the bottom-up only if the foundation is characterized by strong links, relationships and interdependences. Reciprocity, trust, legality, responsibility and civic values are necessary to the success of sustainable urban development (Girard, 1998).

The significance of social capital in sustainable development is implied by Girard as:

"Human and social capital become the crucial requirements for sustainable development; they are not the consequence of development,

but rather its prerequisite. A region is rich if it has human capital and social capital because these are the means by which other forms of capital are produced." (Girard 1998, p2)

1-3-3-Public Participation and Community-Based Development

Citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parcelled out. In short, it is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society (Arnstein, 1969).

8	Citizen Control	
7	Delegated Power	Citizen Power
6	Partnership	
5	Placation	
4	Consultation	Tokenism
3	Informing	
2	Therapy	
1	Manipulation	Nonparticipation
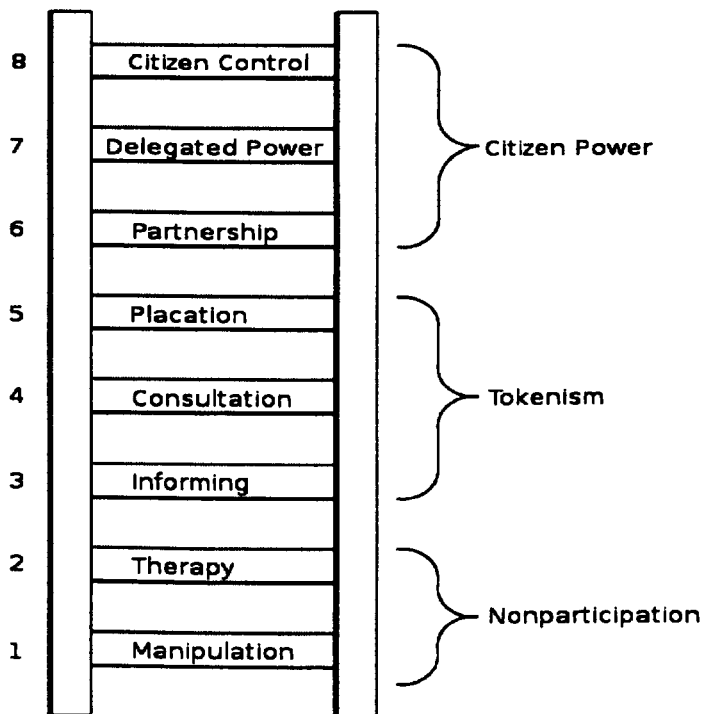
Figure 1-3-Ladder of participation (Arnstein 1969)

The bottom rungs of the ladder are (1) Manipulation and (2) Therapy. These two rungs describe levels of "non-participation" that have been contrived by some to substitute for genuine participation. Their real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programs, but to enable power-holders to "educate" or "cure" the participants. Rungs 3 and 4 progress to levels of "tokenism" that allow the have-nots to hear and to have a voice: (3) Informing and (4) Consultation. When they are proffered by power-holders as the total extent of participation, citizens may indeed hear and be heard. But under these conditions they lack the power to insure that their views will be heeded by the powerful. When participation is restricted to these levels, there is no follow-through, no "muscle," hence no assurance of changing the status quo. Rung (5) Placation is simply a higher level tokenism because the ground rules allow have-nots to advice, but retain for the power holders the continued right to decide. Further up the ladder are levels of citizen power with increasing degrees of decision-making clout. Citizens can enter into a (6) Partnership that enables them to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional power holders. At the topmost rungs, (7) Delegated Power and (8) Citizen Control, have-not citizens obtain the majority of decision-making seats, or full managerial power. Obviously, the eight-rung ladder is a simplification, but it helps to illustrate the point that so many have missed - that there are significant gradations of citizen participation. Knowing these gradations makes it possible to cut through the hyperbole to understand the increasingly strident demands for participation from the have-nots as well as the gamut of confusing responses from the power holders (Arnstein, 1969).

The cornerstone of community-based development initiatives is the active involvement of members of a defined community in at least some aspects of project design and implementation. Although participation can occur at many levels, a key objective is the incorporation of local knowledge into the project's decision-making process. When potential beneficiaries also make key project decisions, participation becomes self-initiated action- what has come to be known as the exercise of voice and choice or empowerment. Participation is expected to lead to better designed projects, better targeted benefits, more cost effective and timely delivery of project inputs, and more equitably distribution of project

benefits with less corruption and other rent-seeking activity. However, the exercise of voice and choice can be costly under certain conditions. At the most basic level, it may involve real or imputed financial losses due to the time commitments required for adequate participation (Mansuri & Rao, 2004).

Local governance and community based approaches are the cornerstones of sustainable development in urban lower-income communities. Elected local councils, entrusted with broader powers and wider responsibilities, promote a sense of empowerment and accountability. Citizens feel that they have some control over the decision making structures that affect their lives (Serageldin, 1994).

Contemporary planning theories acknowledge the value of community participation in the development process of our built environment, suggesting that community involvement has the potential to achieve a more sustainable outcome.

It can generate trust, credibility and commitment regarding the implementation of policies (Empel, 2008).

Community participation can be beneficiary for governments, as well as the public. Irvin and Stansbury (2004) suggest the benefits in the process and outcome of public participation for both parties as follows in figure 1-4:

	Advantages to citizen participants	Advantages to the governments
Decision process	• Education (learn form and inform government representatives) • Persuade and enlighten government • Gain skills for activist citizenship	• Education (learn form and inform government representatives) • Persuade citizens; build trust and alley anxiety or hostility • Build strategic alliances • Gain legitimacy of decisions
outcome	• Break gridlock; achieve outcomes • Gain some control over policy process • Better policy and implementation decisions	• Break gridlock; achieve outcomes • Avoid litigation costs • Better policy and implementation decisions

Figure 1-4- Advantages of Citizen Participation in Government Decision-Making (Irvin and Stansbury, 2004)

Irvin and Stansbury (2004) also suggest disadvantages to public participation:

	Advantages to citizen participants	Advantages to the governments
Decision process	• Time consuming (even dull) • Pointless if decision is ignored	• Time consuming • Costly • May backfire, creating more hostility towards government
outcome	• Worse policy decision if heavily influenced by opposing interest groups	• Loss of decision-making control • Possibility of bad decision that is politically impossible to ignore • Less budget for implementation of actual projects

Figure 1-5: Disadvantages of Citizen Participation in Government Decision-Making (Irvin and Stansbury, 2004)

However, participation cannot be improvised. It needs to be properly structured, organized, and coordinated. In that sense, participation is assumed to be more than a set of momentums, it is a continuous process in which city stakeholders not only need to be identified and mobilised, but also empowered through legislation and the required knowledge and capacities to effectively engage participation in an informed, constructive and sustained way (Blanes, 2008).

In a case study research that Brody et al (2003) made on the impact of citizen involvement methods taken by governments on public participation, they concluded that when citizens see an opportunity to genuinely impact local decision making they are more likely to participate in the planning process. Also, the more information they are provided with, the greater the number of participants would be. They also found that:

"In general, the more types of meetings and techniques employed by jurisdictions, the more stakeholder groups participated in the planning process. As expected, the use of the techniques that tend to engage the public and allow to a two-way exchange of information generated the highest level of citizen participation. For example, the use of visioning workshops and community forums is strongly correlated with the number of groups participating during planning process. Opportunities for citizens to share their views in an informal setting seemed to encourage participation. While a formal public hearing was the most popular participation technique among the local government in our sample, jurisdictions that made this a central feature of their public

involvement efforts obtained less participation than those that focused on other participation techniques. " (Brody, Godschalk & Burby, 2003)

Urban sustainable development requires new and innovative solutions in each particular context. Therefore, the key issue in a planning process is to learn and develop new ways to achieve sustainability. The basic idea is that actors mostly learn through practice and experimentation, and that actions have to be conceived so that people can learn more. It is not just the final results that count, but the whole learning by doing process itself, which requires a gradual but explicit desire to learn by all the partners involved. In consequence, the most effective way of promoting collective learning leading to attitudinal changes is through development of joint initiatives where stakeholders and citizens are able to participate in decision making and implementation (Blanes, 2008).

1-3-4- Urban Development and Social Capital

Economists have long identified capital in natural resources, in finance, and in productive equipment. More recently human capital was conceptualised as a productive resource located in people. Using the same logic, social capital is conceptualised as a productive resource that lies in the relations and interactions between people (Arnold, 2002).

Putnam describes social capital as the features of organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions. It refers to the ability of individuals to build "bonds" within their own group and "bridges" to other groups and is deeply tied to the belief that the quality and quantity of group activity are key sources of a community's strength and its ability to work for its own betterment (Putnam, Leonardi & Nanetti, 1993).

The French sociologist, Bourdieu, is one of the first researchers who developed the concept of social capital. His concept of social capital was instrumental; he suggested that people intentionally build their relations for the benefits that they

would bring later on. Bourdieu's key insight was that the three forms of capital, including economic, social and cultural capital, are fungible, that is they can be traded for each other and actually require such trades for their development. Thus, social capital of any significance can seldom be acquired without the investment of some material resources and the possession of some cultural knowledge, enabling the individual to establish relations with valued others (Portes & Landolt, 2000).

National or regional development is established not only by the stock of its man-made capital (infrastructures, equipment, houses, various goods produced) and its natural capital (parks, green areas, etc.), but also by its human capital (subjects' ability to coordinate their own actions and choices in view of common goals). Human and social capitals become the crucial requirements for sustainable development; they are not the consequence of development, but rather it's prerequisite. A region is rich if it has human capital and social capital because these are the means by which other forms of capital are produced (Girard, 1998).

As can be understood from different literature on social capital, it can have benefits for the individuals in the society, as well as the society itself, in the form of better governance, reduced crime rates, and economic development. However, negative sides are also mentioned about social capital such as exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, and restrictions on individual freedom. Portes and Landolt argue that:

> *"One must not be over-optimistic about what enforceable trust and bounded solidarity can accomplish at the collective level, especially in the absence of material resources. Social capital can be a powerful force promoting group projects but, it consists of the ability to marshal resources through social networks, not the resources themselves. When the latter are poor and scarce, the goal achievement capacity of a collectivist is restricted, no matter how strong its internal bonds. This is another way of saying that, contrary to the expectations of some policy-makers, social capital is not a substitute for the provision of credit, material infrastructure, and education. What social capital can do is to increase the ` yield ' of such resources by reinforcing them with the voluntary efforts of participants and their monitoring capacity to prevent malfeasance."(Portes & Landolt, 1998)*

The American philosopher, Francis Fukuyama, believes that social capital cannot be created by governmental action. He argues that social capital is a by-product of religion, tradition, shared historical experiences, and other factors which are out of control of any government. Therefore, public policies can be aware of different forms of already existing social capital, but cannot produce that. The only ways that governments can help generation of social capital is by educating people, and by efficiently providing public goods. He also notifies that in particular situations, social capital can produce negative effects.

Another important message of Fukuyama is the negative impact of governments on social capital if they start to undertake activities which are better left to the civil society. In this case, when governments organise everything, people will become dependent on it and will lose their spontaneous ability to cooperate. (Fukuyama 2001)

1-3-5-Gentrification

Gentrification has been generally mentioned by researchers as a negative term, primarily in regards with its ability to displace poorer household through price and rent increases in the area. However, some researchers have also tried to illuminate the positive sides of gentrification due to the consequent social change and physical improvement which may bring benefits to the neighbourhood.

The term "gentrification" was first coined by the British sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964. She was one of the pioneers of urban sociology in Europe. As cited in Lees (Lees, et al,2008) she uses the term "gentrification" to describe some new and distinct processes of urban change that were beginning to affect inner London:

"One by one many of the working call quarters of London have been invaded by the middle class- upper or lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages- tow rooms up and two down - have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period –which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation- have been upgraded once again. Nowadays, many of these houses are being subdivided into costly flats or "houselets" (in terms of the new real state snob jargon). The current social status and value of such dwellings are frequently in inverse relation to their status, and in any case enormously inflated by comparison with previous levels in their neighbourhoods. Once these processes of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the social character of the district is changed." (Glass 1964 as cited in Lees 2008, p4)

From the moment Ruth Glass invented the term "gentrification" to describe the residential movement of middle-class people into low-income areas of London (Glass, 1964), the word evoked more than a simple change scene. It suggested a symbolic new attachment to old buildings and a heightened sensibility to space and time (Zukin, 1987).

Gentrification however, began before the term itself was coined. The Haussmannization of Paris is believed to be an early example of gentrification since during the enormous demolitions and constructions in the central Paris; the residents were the most excluded. It is also argued that the post-war urban renewal in capitalist cities in the 1950s can be assumed as the proper emergence of gentrification (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008).

The 1980 Oxford American Dictionary defined gentrification as "the movement of middle class families into urban areas causing property values to increase and having the secondary effect of driving out poorer families"; whilst the 1982 American Heritage Dictionary defined it as the " restoration of deteriorated urban property especially in working-class neighbourhoods by the middle and upper classes". The 2004 American Heritage Dictionary has altered that definition only slightly: "the restoration and upgrading of deteriorated urban property by middle

class and affluent people, often resulting in displacement of lower-income people". The 2000 Dictionary of Human Geography, however, in an entry written by nail Smith, signified that the term itself was bound to change as the process evolved: "Gentrification the reinvestment of CAPITAL at the urban centre, which is designed to produce space for a more affluent class of people than currently occupy that space. The term, coined by Ruth Glass in 1964, has mostly been used to describe the residential aspects of this process but this is changing, as gentrification itself evolves" (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008).

Gentrification tends to occur in districts with particular qualities that make them desirable and ripe for change. The convenience, diversity, and vitality of urban neighbourhoods are major draws, as is the availability of cheap housing, especially if the buildings are distinctive and appealing. Old houses or industrial buildings often attract people looking for "fixer-uppers" as investment opportunities. No one is more vulnerable to the effects of gentrification than renters. When prices go up, tenants are pushed out, whether through natural turnover, rent hikes, or evictions. When buildings are sold, buyers often evict the existing tenants to move in themselves, combine several units, or bring in new tenants at a higher rate. When residents own their homes, they are less vulnerable, and may opt to exchange them for cash and move elsewhere. Their options may be limited if there is a regional housing shortage, however, and cash does not always compensate for less tangible losses.

Economic wise, existing residents should find expanding employment opportunities in providing locally, the goods and services that more affluent new residents can afford.

At the social level, gentrification can ameliorate the social isolation of the poor. New more affluent residents will rub shoulders with poorer existing residents in the streets, in shops, and within local institutions like public schools. Such new comers may exhibit possibilities of social mobility and a determination to secure adequate public services that provide existing residents with the kind of role

models and contacts the absence of which can be debilitating in the ghetto (Byrne, 2003).

The economic effects of gentrification vary widely, but the arrival of new investment, new spending power, and a new tax base usually result in significant increased economic activity. Rehabilitation, housing development, new shops and restaurants, and new, higher-wage jobs are often part of the picture. Previous residents may benefit from some of this development, particularly in the form of service sector and construction jobs, but much of it may be out of reach to all but the well-educated newcomers. Some local economic activity may also be forced out — either by rising rents or shifting sensibilities. Industrial activities that employ local workers may be viewed as a nuisance or environmental hazard by new arrivals. Local shops may lose their leases under pressure from posh boutiques and restaurants. The most serious concern has always been the low income residents- especially tenants- in the gentrifying areas. It is believed that they do not get as much share as the gentrifiers, from the economic and social upgrading and are at the risk of displacement. A negative image of gentrification is the exclusion of the disadvantaged population of the gentrified area. However, the British government's Social Exclusion Unit argues that social capital in excluded communities can be rebuilt if they socially mix, because social mixing brings people into contact with those outside their normal circle, broadening horizons and raising expectations (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008).

In the thesis of the Canadian sociologist Jon Caulfield, gentrification is seen to be a process which unites people in the central city, and creates opportunities for social interaction, tolerance, and cultural diversity. Gentrification is seen to be a liberating experience for both gentrifiers and those who come into contact with them. (Caulfield 1989, 1994 as cited in Lees et al, 2008)

Clearly, there is a vast scope of opinions among urban sociologists about gentrification. From very negative views as of Betancur (John Betancur 2002, cited in Lees et al 2008, p215) for whom gentrification

" *is not about social mix, emancipation, creativity and tolerance; it is about arson, abandonment, displacement, 'speculation and abuse', ethnic minority tenant hardships, and class conflict all of which are woven into a mournful account of struggle, loss and above all, 'the bitterness of the process and the open hostility/racism of gentrifiers and their organizations toward Puerto Ricans' "* ;

To very positive attitudes like Byrne's who states:

"*This essay takes issue with this negative judgement about gentrification. That a number of individuals have lost affordable apartments that were home to them cannot be denied .Yet increases in number of affluent and well-educated residents is plainly good for cities, on balance, by increasing the number of residents who can pay taxes, purchase local goods and services, and support the city in state and federal political processes. My contention here goes somewhat further: gentrification is good on balance for the poor and ethnic minorities. The most negative effect of gentrification, the reduction of affordable housing, results primarily not from gentrification itself, but from the persistent failure of government to produce or secure affordable housing more generally. Moreover, cities that attract more affluent residents are more able to aggressively finance affordable housing. Thus, gentrification is entitled to "two cheers", if not three, given that it will enhance the political and economic position of all, but exacerbates the harms imposed on the poor by the failure of national affordable housing policies.* " (Byrne, 2003, p 405)

In figure 1-6 positive and negative aspects of gentrification are compared according to Atkinson and Bridge:

Positive	Negative
	Displacement through rent/price increases
	Secondary psychological costs of displacement
Stabilization of declining areas	Community resentment and conflict
Increased property values	Loss of affordable housing
	Unsustainable speculative property price increases
Reduced vacancy rates	Homelessness
Increased local fiscal revenues	Greater take of local spending through lobbying/articulacy
Encouragement and increased viability of further development	Commercial/industrial displacement
	Increased cost and changes to local services
Reduction of suburban sprawl	Displacement and housing demand pressure on surrounding poor areas
Increased social mix	Loss of social diversity (from socially desperate to rich ghettos)
Rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship	Under occupancy and population loss to gentrified areas

Figure 1-6-Positive and Negative Aspects of Gentrification (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005 As Cited in Lees Et al 2008)

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Displacement is considered as the most disadvantage of gentrification by most researchers. The fact that displacement happens during gentrification, is undeniable. However, it has never been feasible to know exactly how many people are displaced in each gentrified area. At the same time, in a study in New York City, researchers Freeman and Braconi compared movements by low-income people from gentrifying neighbourhoods, as opposed to non-gentrifying neighbourhoods and found that poor households were less likely to move from the gentrifying neighbourhoods. They conclude that:

"Our research sheds new light on the gentrification process. Although it does not prove that secondary displacement [i.e., from rising rents] of the poor does not occur in gentrifying areas, it suggests that demographic transition is not predicated on displacement. Low-income households actually seem less likely to move from gentrifying neighbourhoods than from other communities. Improving housing and neighbourhood conditions appear to encourage the housing stability of low-income households to the degree that they more than offset any dislocation resulting from rising rent." (Freeman and Braconi, 2002 as cited in Byrne, 2003)

1-4- International and Local Stakeholders and Their Agenda

There are many international organizations and institutions that organize meetings and conferences on different topics on urban development and urban regeneration, and produce recommendations based on reliable and recent researches for the future interventions in urban areas. They might also provide technical or financial support for urban development projects in under-developed or developing countries. Among the most internationally recognized organizations are UNESCO (United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), ICOMOS, The World Bank, OWHC (organization of world heritage cities), UN-HABITAT, and many others which might have theme or geographical specifications.

At the same time, there are international charters that are distinguished around the world and provide general guidelines regarding different aspects of interventions in historic urban areas. The recommendations of these charters can provide an insight to the world-wide accepted approaches towards sustainable urban regeneration. A brief review of the international charters with regard to urban regeneration follows:

1-4-1- Athens Charter, 1931

Concerns about saving urban heritage go back to 1931 with the production of Athens charter. It was established in the first international congress of architects and technicians of historic monuments. There are few important principles in this charter regarding urban areas (Athens Charter, 1931)

In advising legislative measures, it approves the general tendency which recognizes a certain right of the community in regard to private ownership; and believes that the measures should be in keeping with local circumstances and with the trend of public opinion, so that the least possible opposition may be encountered.

- In the construction of the buildings the character and external aspects of the cities should be respected.
- The conference is convinced that the best guarantee in the preservation of monuments and works of art derives from the respect and attachment of the peoples themselves.

These three principles from the Athens charter are important because they show that although the charter is basically about historic monuments, it defines the authenticity of the monuments with regard and in relation to the surrounding

buildings, which can make an urban area. It also emphasizes on the importance of public opinion about the intervention process.

1-4-2-Venice Charter, 1964

This congress was established in Venice to develop the concept which was brought forward by the Athens charter and became the basis for later resolutions by ICOMOS. From the very first article, the Venice charter emphasises on the importance of historic urban areas: (The Venice Charter, 1964)

- The concept of a historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work, but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or a historic event... (article 1)
- The conservation of a monument implies preserving a setting which is not out of scale. Wherever the traditional setting exists, it must be kept. No new construction, demolition or modification which would alter the relations of mass and colour must be allowed.(article 6)
- A monument is inseparable from the history to which it bears witness and from the setting in which it occurs... (article 7)
- The sites of monuments must be the object of special care in order to safeguard their integrity and ensure that they are cleared and presented in a seemly manner... (article 14)

1-4-3-The Norms of Quito, 1967

In this final report of the meeting on the preservation and utilization of monuments and sites of artistic value, held in Quito, Ecuador, in 1967, the following articles are noticeable in regard with urban areas

- Since the idea of space is inseparable from the concept of monument, the stewardship of the state can and should be extended to the surrounding urban context or natural environment. However, a monumental zone, structure, or site may exist, even though none of the elements composing it deserve such a designation when individually considered. (Section 2, article 1)

- The need to reconcile the demands of urban growth with the protection of environmental values is today an inflexible standard in the formulation of regulatory plans at both the local and the national levels. In this respect, every regulatory plan must be carried out in such a way as to permit integration into the urban fabric of historic districts and ensembles of environmental interest.(section 4, article 1)

- The protection and enhancement of the monumental and artistic heritage does not conflict in either theory or practice with a scientifically developed policy of urban planning. On the contrary, it should serve to complement such a policy.(section 4, article 2)

- Enhancement of the usability and value of a monument reflect favourably upon its urban surrounding and even beyond this immediate area to more distant ones. This increase in the real value of a property by reflective impact is a type of increment that must be taken into account. (Section 6, article 6)

- Presumably, initial efforts aimed at enhancing the monumental heritage meet a broad area of resistance within the sphere of private interests. Years of official negligence and the impulsive zeal for renewal that characterizes the developing nations increase contempt for all traces of the past that fail to conform to the ideal pattern of a modern way of life. Lacking sufficient civic training to look upon social interest as an exaggerated form of individual self-interest and unable to appreciate

what is best for the community from the objective standpoint of the public good, the inhabitants of a community, infected by the "fever of progress," are unable to gauge the consequences of the acts of urban vandalism recklessly carried on through the indifference or complicity of the local authorities. (section 8, article 1)

- An alarm can and should be sounded and vigilant preventive action taken by each community. Regardless of what they are called and how they are composed, the encouragement of civic groups dedicated to protecting the cultural heritage, has had excellent results, especially in localities that do not yet have urban regulations and where protective action at the national level is weak or not always effective.(section 8, article 2)
- Regarding protective legislation, the urban space occupied by monumental districts or centres of environmental value should be given boundaries as follows: A. a rigorously protected zone, corresponding to the greatest monumental density or interest; B. a zone of protection or respect, with a higher degree of tolerance; C. zone of protection of the urban landscape, in an effort to integrate it with the surrounding natural areas. (legal measurements, article 3)

This charter, compared with the previously discussed charters, has a more specific focus on urban areas. Not only the social factors of interventions in historic urban areas are considered, there are also recommendations for legislative measurements in the urban areas surrounding heritage monuments.

1-4-4-The resolutions of Bruges (1975)

The resolution of Bruges, recommends principles governing the rehabilitation of historic towns. It was submitted to the international symposium on "the

conservation of historic towns" in Bruges; in May 1975 two important principles mentioned by the resolution are the first one, which implies the importance of safeguarding historic cities, and principle 7 that emphasizes on the rights of people:

- Cities are the basic elements in the built environment of man. They mirror his social existence and convey the diversity of his culture, his history, and his traditions. They hold the living roots of local communities, express their identity, and give man his bearing in time and space. (principle 1)
- In undertaking the rehabilitation and conservation of historic towns due attention must be paid to the rights of their inhabitants. In particular, the disadvantaged must be allowed the right to continue to live in their lodgings, and an adequate solution must be found to the financial problem which results. (principle 7)

In this resolution it is also mentioned that all over the world the new is imposing itself on the old, stifling and bruising, if not destroying its ancient fabric. It also mentions that the human scale and the human relationships that historic cities support, must be saved; and that the preservation of historic towns is mainly justified by their social functions as the natural meeting place of the urban community and a diversified habitat. (The Resolution of Bruges 1975)

1-4-5-The Declaration of Amsterdam, 1975

1975 is declared the European Architecture year by the council of Europe. This declaration was composed at the congress on the European architectural heritage, in October 1975. This declaration was adopted by the council of Europe and was published as "The European Charter of Architectural Heritage". The declaration considers that:

- The architectural heritage includes not only individual buildings of exceptional quality and their surroundings, but also all areas of towns or villages of historic or cultural interest. (principle b)

- Architectural conservation must be considered, not as a marginal issue, but as a major objective of town and country planning. (principle d)

- The rehabilitation of old areas should be conceived and carried out in such a way as to ensure that, where possible, this does not necessitate a major change in the social composition of the residents, all sections of society should share in the benefits of restoration financed by public funds. (principle f)

- The architectural heritage will survive only if it is appreciated by the public and in particular by the younger generation. Educational programmes for all ages should, therefore, give increased attention to this subject. (principle i)

- Encouragement should be given to independent organizations - international, national and local - which help to wake public interest. (principle j)

The congress recommends that integrated conservation involves the responsibility of local authorities and calls for citizens' participation:

"Local authorities should improve their techniques of consultation for ascertaining the opinions of interested parties on conservation plans and should take these opinions into account from the earliest stages of planning. As part of their efforts to inform the public the decisions of local authorities should be taken in the public eye, using a clear and universally understood language, so that the local inhabitants may learn, discuss and assess the grounds for them. Meeting places should be provided, in order to enable members of the public to consult together. In this respect, methods such as public meetings, exhibitions, opinion polls, the use of the mass media and all other appropriate methods should become common practice. The education of young people in environmental issues and their involvement with conservation tasks is one of the most important communal requirements. Proposals or alternatives put forward by groups or individuals should be considered as an important contribution to planning." (The Declaration of Amsterdam, 1975)

1-4-6-First Brazilian Seminar about the Preservation and Revitalization of Historic Centres, 1987

This seminar is mainly about the significance of historic centres and their preservation. It emphasis on the historical values of the cities and their authenticity, the importance of prioritizing preservation of urban historic areas in urban planning, and importance of supportive legislation in this regard. However, the seminar has its greatest focus on the social aspects of urban preservation. In fact six out of ten main principles of the seminar is related to the social issues, public rights and also the importance of involving the public in different phases of preservation of historic urban centres (First Brazilian Seminar about the preservation and Revitalization of Historic Centres, 1987).

1-4-7-Washington Charter, 1987

This is the charter for the conservation of historic towns and urban areas, adopted by ICOMOS general assembly in Washington D. C., in October 1987. This charter concerns about the historic urban areas which beyond their role as historical documents embody the values of traditional urban culture. This charter is meant to complement the Venice charter. In its principles and objectives, it defines clearly the qualities of an urban area which need to be preserved in order to maintain the authenticity of an urban area. It also mentions in some principle that: (Washington Charter, 1987)

- The participation and the involvement of the residents are essential for the success of the conservation programme and should be encouraged. The conservation of historic towns and urban areas concerns their residents first of all. (principle 3)

- ... The conservation plan should be supported by the residents of the historic area. (from principle 5)
- In order to encourage their participation and involvement, a general information programme should be set up for all residents, beginning with children of school age. (principle 15)

1-4-8-The Stockholm Declaration, 1998

This declaration was produced by ICOMOS marking the 50th anniversary of the universal declaration of human rights to demonstrate its recognition of the right of everyone to partake freely in the cultural life of the community by the following principles: (The Stockholm Declaration, 1998)

- The right to have the authentic testimony of cultural heritage, respected as an expression of one's cultural identity within the human family.
- The right to better understand one's heritage and that of others.
- The right to wise and appropriate use of heritage.
- The right to participate in decisions affecting heritage and the cultural values it embodies.
- The right to form associations for the protection and promotion of cultural heritage.

1-4-9-Burra Charter, 1999

The Burra charter 1999 is a revision of the previous Burra charter in 1988, which was adopted by Australian ICOMOS annual general meeting in November 1999. Among the issues that the revision takes account of are less tangible aspects of cultural significance associated with a place, and the meaning that a place can have for people. Also, this charter recognizes the need to involve people in the process of decision- making: (Burra Charter, 1999)

- Participation: *Conservation, interpretation* and management of a *place* should provide for the participation of people for whom the place has special *associations* and *meanings*, or who have social, spiritual or other cultural responsibilities for the place. (article 12)

- Groups and individuals with *associations* with a *place* as well as those involved in its management should be provided with opportunities to contribute to and participate in understanding the *cultural significance* of the place. Where appropriate they should also have opportunities to participate in its *conservation* and management. (article 26.3)

1-4-10-The ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites

This charter, Prepared under the Auspices of the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites at the 16th general assembly of ICOMOS in Quebec in October 2008, considers that the earlier ICOMOS charters stress the importance of public communication as an essential part of the larger conservation processes and acknowledge that every act of heritage conservation is by its nature a communicative act. The purpose of this charter is therefore to define the basic principles of interpretation and presentation as essential components of heritage conservation efforts and as a means of enhancing public appreciation and understanding of cultural heritage sites (Quebec Charter, 2008).

The objectives and principles of this charter contribute to the idea of significance of stimulating public involvement in urban development projects and recommends acceptable and efficient methods which can be applicable in different cultural contexts. (Index 1)

1-5 –Conclusion

The chapter has focused on the meanings and significance of the different concepts and ideas which are going to be used as the basics of the study.

Heritage is shortly defined as "the contemporary use of the past" by Ashworth (Ashworth, 1997), something that satisfies our sense of appreciation and pride. The importance of heritage in the lives of the communities is explained in this chapter, as well as the two aspects of it, tangible and intangible heritage. The chapter includes what heritage is consisted of, according to ICOMOS and other organizations that are internationally recognised. By definition, urban heritage which includes both tangible and intangible heritage is a living entity that is used by present generation, and will be inherited to the next generations. Obviously, to transfer it to the next generation as a living entity, urban heritage needs to be developed. Here arises the dichotomy between providing better living environment for the users or preserving the past with nostalgic beautification aims. To answer this contradiction several approaches for intervention in heritage cities have been tried since 1960s, and have developed through the decades. Closer to the end of the past century, measures were taken to involve the public in different stages of urban development projects. These different approaches are explained in this chapter, followed by other concepts that have mutual connections with urban development.

Sustainability, which is first defined as:" *development that meets the needs of present without jeopardizing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs"* is a multidimensional concept including environmental, economic, social and political issues. It is stated that to promote sustainable development, social capital and participation is fundamental. These are the terms that are explained in the next sections with regard to urban development. Different participatory approaches and their level of public involvement are presented with reference to their importance in sustainable urban development.

The last section of the chapter is devoted to gentrification; a concept which is normally regarded with negative implications in the literature. This section attempts to compare the attitudes of both social researchers who are for or against gentrification, and explore the reasons behind this attitudes.

Obviously, although the mentioned recommendations and charters are recognized internationally, there is no charter or recommendation which specifically addresses the urban heritage of the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) region. The next chapter provides an introduction to the Islamic cities and their development during the history of this region, and the current problems and challenges that these cities are faced with.

Chapter 2: Research background

2-1- Introduction

Islam is believed to have had a profound effect on the architecture and urbanism of Muslim cities since its emergence, as well as on social, economic and political character of them.

Islamic cities have survived throughout centuries and have managed to sustain their characteristics. In recent decades, however, they are becoming rapidly urbanized while most of them do not have the necessary infrastructure to accommodate the large increases of their population. On the other hand, the desire to modernization among the local and national stakeholders is becoming a threat to the traditional centres of the cities in the region.

Although attitudes towards the old cities or neighbourhoods have been changing in the MENA region in recent years, and most governments have recognized the value of the historic centres of the cities, as well as the importance of public participation in urban development projects, there is still far to go until efficient regulations and competent plans are prepared in this regard.

This chapter provides a background of how Islam has influenced the built environment to meet the needs of this practical faith, and explains the importance of social relations in the shaping of the urban structure and also how modernization attitudes is influencing the development process in these cities. The current problems and challenges that Islamic cities are faced with are discussed in another section of this chapter, and the last section focuses on the situation of community-based development in historic Islamic cities.

2-2- Islamic City

Stefano Bianca (Bianca, 2000) in "urban form in the Arab world" explains that Islam does not prescribe any formal architecture; nevertheless, the way of life which is defined by Islam, makes it necessary to create a special physical pattern to correlate with the life style. Islam emerged in a desert region and later conquered a large area of hot and arid zone from North Africa to India. By the time of Arab-Muslim conquest, the cities in middle east- the core area of Muslim society- had already a long history of urbanism. The region that was conquered by Muslims was mainly divided between the Roman Empire and the Sassanid Empire, both of which had experienced the "urban revolution, the transition from Neolithic village to urban society and culture. However, foundation of new cities by Muslim conquerors was rare and it was more common for the Arab settlements to occur in quarters and suburbs of already established cities (Lapidus, 1973).

The study of Islamic urban form bears in mind the conflict between masculine and feminine: a distinction that the Arab-Islamic society has established within its structures according to their roles in everyday life style of an Islamic society. A man's role is of communication and exchange which corresponds to exterior space, whereas, the woman's role is more domestic and corresponds more with the house and its immediate surroundings. This duality of signs punctuates the urban context; in the centre, the place of exchanges, the masculine logic of network in predominant, while at the periphery, within the residential tissue, it is the female logic of the enclosure that predominates. In this residential periphery, the enclosure is generated form the nucleus of the family. As this last expands and grows, it imposes its order on the network of paths. Thus, each family creates its own haven from inside, and each entity adjusts its space to itself and to the others. The end result is a special contiguity conveying social solidarity. In the centre of

the city, on the other hand, the pathway becomes the predominant structure of the urban form. The public buildings such as mosques, *madrasas, fonduks* and khans are connected through pathways and souks, and are accessed through thresholds a filter, establishing a sequence of penetration. This filter is multiplied in the case of houses where the degree of intimacy is higher. In the larger context, there are walled neighbourhoods, as enclosures within the city, and the city itself is enclosed within ramparts and from the city to the house, a succession of enclosures can clearly be observed (Serageldin, El-Sadek & Herbert, 1981).

Islamic architecture consists of not only monumental buildings such as mosques, madrasas, palaces..., it also embraces the ordinary dwellings of people that make the urban structure; A vernacular architecture which is very much integrated and coherent. This integration that is a significant characteristic of an Islamic city is also a factor that makes it very vulnerable to change. This harmonious structure of the Islamic city is now being threatened by population growth, economic pressures and the enhanced tendency towards modernization. As a result, the structures and life styles of the cities are being challenged in the name of urban renewal, slum clearance, traffic improvement, and maximizing financial gains from rising land values (Serageldin, El-Sadek & Herbert, 1981). It is mentionable that the typical residential building in Islamic cities, which is courtyard house, is a type of building that is created in response to the natural environment of Middle East and North Africa. The extreme climate condition of many cities in this region, from very cold winter nights to very hot summer days, makes it necessary to provide protected interior spaces which are as independent as possible to the outside world. This already existing type of building matched the social and religious needs of Islamic society for a secluded private family space (Bianca, 2000).

Today, in most Muslim countries, what is left from an 'Islamic city' is segregated blocks of traditional architecture located in the centre of or adjacent to a larger city which is an imitation of western modernisation movements. The fundamental nature of an Islamic city, which is the integration and interconnection of neighbourhoods with urban elements such as the Friday mosque, madrasas,

hammams (public bath), souks, khans ...is split by the emergence of new roads and modern buildings; and the hierarchy of spaces from private to public cannot be followed any more.

2-2-1-Social Interaction in the Islamic City

Perhaps the most significant distinguishing feature of an Islamic community is the notion of *Umma;* a community based on the principle that faith, not kinship acts as a social bond. This notion is synonymous with the concept of unity. Islam is essentially a religion of unity and the social interaction of *Umma* denotes Muslim community. The mosque is the centre of the community as a gathering place for the integrated submissive community. Therefore, well-knit cohesive neighbourhood communities are an important element of an ideal Islamic city (Ansari & Shahir, 1981). The predominant social aspect of Islam caused the Muslim conquerors to prefer urban to rural life for political, cultural and religious reasons according to Lapidus (Lapidus, 1973) and made cities and city living a dominant feature of Muslim society.

The social implications of Islam are most evident is some basics of the faith such as the prayer which is recommended to be done collectively, Friday prayer which gathers the local community once a week and is not only a religious but also a social and political event; "Zakat" or almsgiving which has social benefits; fasting during "Ramadan" which is a collective event itself and it also ends in religious social festivals; and finally "Hajj" or pilgrimage to Ka'aba which unites all the believers from around the world to Mecca each year (Bianca, 2000).

The succession of enclosures in Islamic urban form is not only a spatial symbol, but it also represents the social order from the house where the inhabitants are natural "brothers", towards the masculine space of centre where all Muslims call each other "brother" (Serageldin, El-Sadek & Herbert, 1981). it is necessary to mention that the concept of masculine/feminine space is not a principal issue in Muslim life nowadays; however, it still provides a basis to study the form of a

Muslim city. On the other hand, Janet Abu-Lughod believes that this gender segregation has important impacts on the Muslim urban community. She states that since many public functions like supervision of market places or supervision of public morals operated mainly in commercial parts of the city, neighbourhoods handled many of their internal functions autonomously. Having acquired functions that only performed at neighbourhood basis strengthened the cooperation within the community (Abu-Lughod, 1987).

Apart from a well-knit community in its general term, an Islamic urban society consists of many different small communities; family and kinship groups, neighbourhood communities, religious groups, religious institutions such as Awqaf (an Islamic public welfare institution) etc, are examples of small communities. The relationship between these communities and between the individuals and the communities organizes the urban society. In Islam, the role of "Ulama" or religious leaders was prominent in daily life of the community. They had spiritual authority and their wide network of connections made them able to counterbalance the rulers' interest for that of the community. In traditional Muslim governance there were also other levels of civil servants such as "Kadi" (judge), the "Mufti" (expert in religious matters), and "Muhtasib" (market inspector) who helped ruling the daily life of society. They were all from different ranks of "Ulama" and were rooted from the local urban society (Bianca, 2000).

The Islamic public welfare, Awqaf, is a Muslim institution with civic functions which is based on pious donations by the powerful and the wealthy for social purposes and becomes the unalienable property of the community forever. These donations can include funds to build or maintain social buildings (mosques, schools, baths...) or land, or commercial facilities or houses the returns of which is allocated to social welfare purposes. Since these donations are unalienable, Awqaf properties have eventually covered large part of urban real estate in Muslim cities, and the institution provides public funds where needed to finance public domain of Islamic cities (Bianca, 2000). Salam also refers to "Asnaf" or guilds as social organizations that are formed in Islamic society and acquire rights and privileges (Salam, 2002).

Islamic urban community was self-governed by commonly accepted rules of the Shari'a (religious law) and a simple monitoring by the "Kadi" was sufficient. A set of rules and conventions which were accepted by everyone helped the society to maintain balance. In case of complications Ulama led by the Mufti and the Kadi helped settle the situation through negotiation or consensus. Therefore, there were not dominant formal institutions in Muslim societies (Bianca, 2000).

The development of civic society in its modern sense in Islamic countries can be traced to the late years of Ottoman Empire when it was faced with the radical modernization efforts in the West. All sorts of clubs, societies and associations where rapidly increasing in Istanbul, as well as other major cities of the Ottoman Empire, including Arab estates where this inheritance survived even during the Western colonial period that they were later subject to. However, in the first decades of their independence, the expansion of civic society was restrained in many countries across the Arab World where radical military regimes ruled the countries (Salam, 2002). Nevertheless, Salam also points out several factors that have led to the revitalization of civic society in Arab World in the past three decades. These factors include: massive urbanization which led on one hand to growth in socio-economic needs of the community and on the other hand to the fading of primordial ties; the increasing number of university graduates with higher level of expectation and better motivation to articulate their needs; the recent trend of international development agencies like the World Bank or UNDP (United Nations' Development Program) or associations working on human or sustainable development; the political liberalization that took place in the past two decades; and finally the rapid growth of new technologies like internet and satellite televisions in the Arab world which circumvent the estate control over information.

The factors explained by Salam are the dynamics behind movement of Islamic society towards modernization.

2-2-2- Islamic Cities and Modernization

Urban areas are dynamic textures. There are cities in the region with centuries of history in their background. Development and regeneration has occurred in these cities gradually and constantly during the time, without any actual intention of rehabilitating, but simply to make the city compatible with the requirements of the modern (up to then) life. There also have been cases of massive interventions or reconstructions in some cities after natural disasters like earthquake or after wars and invasions. Many of the cities have also received several urban rehabilitation experiences which initially began in the second half of the eighteenth century.

In most Islamic countries a widespread phenomenon of rejection of the traditional physical environment has occurred due to a feeling among decision-makers in nearly all developing countries that they are at a psychological disadvantage with regard to the prevailing and generally accepted western standards and values influencing the choice of national priorities and policies, and they tend to downgrade or disregard their past heritage (Zulficar, 1981).

The newly emerging planned and modern/Westernized urban environments throughout the region seemingly created a split city, where different urban spaces represented binary oppositions: the "old city" stood for "tradition" and "local" life, the new public buildings, commercial centres, and residential neighbourhoods created an urban iconography of the imported "modern" (Shechter & Yacobi, 2005).

In the appearance of the Islamic cities, a complete rupture can be observed between the structure of the traditional urban fabric and the imported western-style environment. Due to the unprecedented speed of development, there was no chance for an evolutionary process, where new technical tools and building methods could be tested and adapted in order to obey the laws of the indigenous cultural system. Therefore, their effect has overthrown the authentic traditional patterns of Islamic cities. Many of these imported structures were not even chosen for their functional advantages, but only for the prestige they were expected to

bestow on the client (Bianca, 1981). To accommodate the modern facilities, many traditional urban fabrics have been left to decay or even destroyed voluntarily. Inappropriate master plans have been elaborated to accommodate the motor-car, providing for large roads cutting through the very heart of the traditional urban fabric.

The desire for "modernisation" by governments and top decision makers in most developing countries often led them to believe that only new and "modern" housing was worthwhile. Anything old or in a traditional style was considered of little value or was torn down or, at best, ignored. Older housing, normally concentrated in the inner parts of the city, was often in a state of physical deterioration, overcrowded and lacking in services. It was easy to label such areas as "slums", to be removed at the earliest convenient opportunity (Steinberg, 1996).

As stated above, Islamic historic cities are gradually becoming a weak imitation of western patterns. When cars were introduced, traffic engineers didn't hesitate to disfigure the traditional urban tissue. When more urban space was needed, old buildings were sacrificed unnecessarily in order to make place for new ones. This slow but sure destruction of architectural heritage is accelerated by speculation on property and land, and imported architectural forms which are considered as signs of a so-called progress. All these and much more are brazenly called by technocrats "urban renewal", but consists of little more than the bulldozing the existing structures and the destruction of heritage (Belkacem, 1981).

The unfortunate outcomes of modernisation movement in the Islamic cities are based on two factors. One is the abasement of the people of the region about their heritage, and consideration of western models of progress as the only acceptable measure against their under-development. The other factor that stimulated the invasion of modernisation was the fact that at the time it was introduced to the historic cities of the region, the urban heritage was not considered "heritage" yet. The traditional urban fabric, buildings and living styles included the whole Islamic city and its population. Although some monuments and individual

buildings such as historic mosques, madrasas, etc were valued as heritage, the rest of the urban fabric was simply part of the daily life and assumed to be the symbol of backwardness and regression. Therefore bulldozing of the historic urban fabric in many Islamic cities happened long before the value of urban heritage was accepted in the region.

2-3-Current Problems and Challenges of Islamic Historical Cities or Neighbourhoods within the Islamic Cities

2-3-1-Physical and Functional Problems

During the second half of the twentieth century, the scale and the speed of urban growth in most Islamic cities increased considerably. Many Arab countries gained their independence around this time, and the new governments aimed at changing the appearance of poverty and under-development in their countries by large scale development projects based on models from western countries. Introduction of motor vehicle, along with modern technology and new construction materials all affected the appearance of the traditional Islamic cities a great deal. As Abdulac explains:

> *Contemporary constraints such as the demographic increase, the construction boom, the mass-production of housing, the automobile traffic, and the adaption of the new cultural and architectural models, are posing problems that are difficult for planners anywhere to address. In Arabic cities, planning is often nonexistent. If it does exist, it is frequently non-comprehensive, or not implemented; but even when carried out; it usually fails to provide an integrated urban environment, maintaining the values and the qualities of traditional urban fabrics.(Abdulac, 1981, p300)*

The most obvious problem in the historic areas of Islamic cities is physical deterioration. As personal observation in different Muslim cities confirm, the structure of traditional residential areas are faced rapid deterioration. The invasion of cars and intrusion of compatible streets into the fabric of the historic areas has cut the integrated fabrics into isolated blocks. The traditional Islamic cities were built for human scale pedestrian movement. The movement patterns, as discussed before, were made suitable for connecting the hierarchy of Islamic urban structure, from private houses, toward the public neighbourhoods, and city centres. Unfortunately, the introduction of motor vehicles and the adapted urban design system based on the European designs has caused corruption and disintegration in many Islamic cities. Such interventions deprive the historic city from its meaningful patterns and pave the way to more destructions and changes in the traditional structure of the urban area.

The rapid change in the growth and structure of the population, and substitution of low-income families and rural migrants for the original residents of the historic areas had lead to the lack of maintenance of the old buildings. Moreover, many historic buildings are torn down purposefully, either by the owners or by the governments in the name of urban development projects. Since the historic areas are located in the centre of the city, the increase in the land prices has made the land to be financially more valuable than the buildings; this fact is increasingly encouraging the property owners to tear the buildings down and use the land on a more profitable function.

Urban areas in the Third World are growing rapidly. The traditional quarters of its cities are among the first migrant receptor areas. Their older housing stock has deteriorated over the years as a result of increase in population density and subdivision into smaller units and lack of maintenance. In spite of their urban values and the presence of individual buildings and groups of buildings of great architectural merit and historical value, significant parts of these traditional quarters have become little more than overcrowded agglomerations of unsanitary housing, with inadequate infrastructures and lacking necessary community

facilities. Many historic centres of the Islamic cities are therefore left to dilapidation or becoming urban slums.

Although the concept of rehabilitation has seen increasing support in most of the industrialized countries, a very different situation exists in the developing countries. The concept is still new and unfamiliar in most places. Intellectually and professionally it remains limited to heritage societies, a small number of foreign-trained local professionals, and eventually a few external advisors. Politically, it has not yet generated significant support. Legal and administrative machinery for historic area conservation, where it exists, is largely prohibitory rather than constructive and is seldom effectively enforced. Older housing areas are still seen as problem rather than an important component of urban life. In some cases, single-minded concern for a narrowly-conceived modernisation has been carried so far that there is almost nothing left of the old city. (Steinberg 1996)

Another factor that accelerates the dilapidation of the historic centres of Islamic cities is the desire among its habitants and even sometimes the governments for a modernized city, based on western models, as stated before in this chapter. In their belief, any symbol of tradition is a reminder of under-development. Therefore, the bulldozing of buildings either by owners, or by the governmental large scale urban projects, is quiet common. Malik explains that:

> *The formlessness and chaos of the modern Islamic city and the rapidly disappearing social and visual coherence of its historic area have their underlying origins in the ill-conceived and misunderstood application of imported town planning concepts, and by now it must be convincingly evident that these have failed the test of time.(Malik, 1979, p189)*

2-3-2-Legal And Managerial Problems, Lack Of Legislation and Control

In traditional Islamic cites, there was no formal scheme which would suggest the future developments. The collective patterns of life, and the traditional

architectural vocabulary, tested for generations, ensured a balance between the parts of the whole, at each stage of development. Planning was only limited to prevention of individual intrusions to the rights of neighbours and the interest of the whole community. Due to the strength of customs, there was no need to explicit building codes (Bianca, 1981).

In traditional Islamic societies, social structure is based on direct human relationships, kinship, and social solidarity. Therefore, administration and bureaucracy could be minimized while many social groups functioned as self-supporting entities. Traditional Islamic law is also based on positive rules of social conduct. However, the adaption of western legal and administrative system in many Islamic countries has created a confusing situation; on one hand, the imported system needs to constitute the old social networks. On the other hand, it cannot properly function, since the remaining customs and human connections intervene in its implementation. In this situation, the values of the traditional order, and the efficiency of the modern system are both in danger (Bianca, 1981).

The World Bank in its first volume of "orientations in development", states that the first central challenge that countries in MENA region are faced with in preservation of their heritage is weak management and disconnection between heritage and development that ignores the heritage's economical and educational values. Throughout the region, the central organizations involved in cultural heritage are weak. Ministries of culture in MENA countries tend to be among the least endowed government bodies in terms of financing, staffing, and equipment. They are also the least influential within the administration and receive little cross-sectoral support. Although cultural heritage of MENA countries are protected by legal regulations, practical policies which are focused on their management and its link with development are rarely in place. Legal regulations for protecting assets against encroachment, destruction, and theft are not systematically enforced through systems of incentives and penalties. In response to an UNESCO survey represented in the world heritage committee 2000, government officials in most Arab countries expressed the strong belief that a general reform of CH policies and laws is needed (The World Bank, 2001).

2-3-3-Social, Economical and Cultural Problems

Over the past decades there has been a dramatic change in the nature of urban population due to rural immigration in Islamic cities of MENA. The migrants have different reasons for moving to larger cities, being it better job opportunities or availability of better education for their children, or being pushed out of their lands. Whatever the reason is, they bring with themselves their habituated life styles and social and cultural values, and their increasing presence will certainly change the social structure of the urban area they reside in. On the other hand, with their low education, and lack of skills and experiences suitable for urban life, they find it hard to get employed and will have to occupy themselves in unofficial job market. Not only these new residents are not aware of the value of the buildings that they live in, their poverty even prevents them from maintaining their residences for their own comfort and safety.

As a result of urban development and population change in many Islamic cities, a common aspect of all historic cities in the region is the marginal life of the population. This is due to the fact that the upper middle classes emigrated to the new quarters while the old city quarters were flooded by immigrants from rural areas. As a consequence of this social change, technical infrastructure was never brought up to date in the historic parts of the city (Schaflitzel, 1981).

Urban planners in the region try to find solutions for overpopulation in modernizing cities, based on previous experiences in North America and Western Europe. However, there are considerable differences in the pattern of growth in the two regions. In Western Europe and United States, industrialization and urban growth occurred gradually. There was an initial proliferation of urban areas as population was attracted to widely dispersed factories, often located in rural areas where a stream provided water power. At a later date, many of these industrial settlements became the nuclei of medium-sized cities; subsequently, a few developed into major cities. Although the urban population grew extremely

rapidly during this period, this growth was distributed among many cities, thereby diminishing the severity of its impact. But, recent urban migration in the MENA has assumed a magnitude for surpassing that of any such movements in the west. Moreover, they are concentrated in a small number of cities, rather than being dispersed geographically. They therefore present governments with problems of a scope that no western government has had to face (Vigier & Serageldin, 1981).

Bianca explains this situation:

> *"new factors, such as an arbitrary vocabulary of forms drawn from foreign models, abuse of the individual liberties attached to the Islamic concept of private property, and speculative trends no longer contained by the idea of public welfare, all played their part in undoing the traditional fabric and in producing chaotic urban structures...it is obvious that such external coercion is intended to make up for the loss of human solidarity and for missing social cohesion. Yet, they are a poor substitute for the inner forces of the society and, as experience shows, they can never create a lively and consistent environment: at best they succeed in establishing a somewhat sterile uniformity which has nothing in common with the organic unity of traditional structures." (Bianca, 1981, p39)*

Steinberg (Steinberg, 1996) also put forward another problem for the conservation of urban heritage. Generally speaking, she states, there is a huge shortage of funds for the upkeep and maintenance of the urban heritage, whether they are government or privately owned. Although several international organizations such as UNESCO, ICOMOS, and ICCROM (International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property) have initiated campaigns for conservation of heritage, the actual results of the campaigns have been limited. To the development banks, the schemes seem financially unfeasible and not convincing for investment, and very few cities have succeeded in involving the private sector to participate in urban heritage schemes.

2-4- Community-Based Development in Islamic Historic Cities

"Islam is seen by many scholars as an urban religion, which favours communal practice on individual worship. Although piety is the only source of appraisal, it is widely accepted that most of Islam's teachings is best practiced in an urban setting. It is not surprising that Islam made particular emphasis on the form and design of the city enabling it a greater functionality and responsiveness to meet the socio-economic and cultural needs of a community." (Saoud, 202, p2)

The success of an urban rehabilitation project is strongly based on its impact on the everyday life of those inhabiting the area under consideration. Lack of public awareness, which has a significant influence on the implementation of projects, is a major cause of the ineffectiveness of new urban schemes. The importance of this factor is so much that even if the scheme is satisfactory in all aspects from research to design and to implementation, it could still fail if the urban dwellers who are supposed to benefit from it are not aware of the reasons behind it, and its benefits to them. Lack of effective laws and regulations regarding urban rehabilitation in the Middle Eastern countries contributes to difficulties in implementation the urban rehabilitation schemes. Therefore, setting appropriate communication channels with the public and providing them with clear information about the process and outcomes of the projects, can contribute in promoting public participation (Taleb, 2001).

Despite the numerous differences between historic cities throughout the Middle East, common processes can be identified which have shaped and continue to shape their nature. The Middle East region is characterised by large public sectors, centralised governments, and limited political participation. Force for change remains modest, and the force comes principally from the governments themselves. This, impacts mostly on the historic cities in the Middle East.

In these kinds of centralized systems, governments act like sponsors for people and decide on their behalf, with no mutual cooperation. The government is the decision-maker, the executor, the judge and assessor.

There is usually unequal access to income within the cities of the Middle East. Large numbers of the citizens have great difficulty in satisfying their basic needs. At the same time, people are likely to trust their governments more if they feel economically secure. In the Middle Eastern countries, corruption is a major problem. Scandals involving politicians are more than frequent, and in many of the transactions between citizens and the public sector, bribery is common (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004).

Even when the authorities are convinced about the importance of conservation and regeneration of the urban heritage, another problem emerges which is funding the regeneration schemes. In many countries of the region, priority is given to the more urgent needs of the community such as sanitation, health care, education, infrastructure, etc. However, if the countries of the region be compared regarding the condition of their historic city centres, interesting notions can be observed. In the countries where governments are faced with economic problems and financial resources for the regeneration of urban heritage are minimal, the historic city centres are generally in danger of gradual deterioration; whereas in countries with relatively strong economy, like the Arabic countries around the Persian Gulf, the desire for modernization and the rejection of traditional values has been fulfilled by massive destruction of historic centres to be substituted with high-rise modern buildings. Bianca (Bianca, 2001) also confirms this paradoxical situation and adds that in both instances, the rehabilitation of historic city centres is not considered as a priority, either because of its "backward" image, or because of the lack of technical and institutional capability. Hence, recognition of historic urban areas as valuable assets and investment of regeneration schemes is a new concept to the authorities in many countries of MENA. Moreover, most of the early studies on urban conservation and the first proposals of urban rehabilitation projects in the region were initiated by either foreign researchers or local scholars and experts who had studied abroad (Habibi & Maghsoudi, 2002).

Public participation in Middle Eastern countries, like any other country, depends on many factors. Different social classes have different levels of motivation and/or abilities to be involved. The economic condition of the local population is one of the major factors affecting public participation in historic areas. One fact is that modernisation appeared in the Middle Eastern cities based on European examples, as discussed before in this chapter. Since the social and cultural conditions of the communities in these cities were still based on traditional models, and did not have the competence to absorb   such a tremendous change, the organic development of the cities diverted from its natural direction. Cities started to grow outside their historic borders, according to modern relations and requirements and historic areas were drained from their original inhabitants, who were substituted by rural immigrants and lower income families (Beheshti, 2001).

2-5- Conclusion

The first part of this chapter focused on the creation of the Islamic city, being it a new foundation, or expansion and modification of already existing cities by the believers of a religion whose basics of faith necessitate urban life. The social implication of Islam covers all aspects of the urban life in Islamic cities. Not only is the physical structure of the urban fabric a product of the way of life recommended by the religion, the social interactions within this urban structure are also shaped by it.

The strength of the religiously prescribed patterns of life proposed by Islam, and the traditional mechanisms with which a Muslim community is ruled have been so efficient that the need for a formal administrative system was minimized. (Bianca 2000) This internalized administrative system, however, started to weaken gradually by the adaption of western legal and administrative system in many Islamic countries.

On the other hand, the political system of the countries in the region consists of centralized governments who are in control of everything, and political

participation is limited. The mutual cooperation between governments and people is very restricted and this situation along with the economic problems that citizens are faced with, has led to lack of trust towards the governments.

In the past couple of decades, in many countries of the region, governments have tried to involve people in the urban regeneration projects. However, there has been a growing concern that the inhabitants of historic areas or at least some of them have developed an increasing feeling of alienation towards governmental decision-making. There are no channels of communication for the transmission of information or the expression of views, and even where these exist, the public may not be aware of them. In some instances a profound distrust of the entire system has developed.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3-1- Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to clarify the methodological approach that this research has adopted to answer the main research questions. As discussed in chapter 1, considering the key role of public participation in the successful accomplishment of sustainable urban rehabilitation and regeneration projects, this research aims to develop a better understanding of the efficiency of approaches which have been taken so far in the MENA countries to involve the people in the process of decision-making in urban rehabilitation schemes. This will be accomplished by identifying the different participatory approaches used in several projects, and investigating the factors involved in selecting them, evaluating their level of success and their impacts on the schemes.

3-2- Aims and Objectives of the Research

This research seeks to develop a better understanding of the efficiency of approaches which are taken by now in the Middle Eastern and North African countries to involve the people in the process of decision-making in urban rehabilitation schemes. The aim of this research is to analyse and evaluate previous experiences of urban regeneration and rehabilitation projects in a number of world heritage Islamic cities in the MENA region, with particular focus on the public awareness and public participation methods used in these projects and how these have addressed the projects' objectives, and how the outcomes of the methods are perceived by different stakeholders. The research evaluates the previous experiences in the urban rehabilitation projects in three historical Islamic cities where public participation was described as being part of the urban rehabilitation project.

In order to address the main aim of the research the following objectives are set:

- Defining criteria by which the case study cities would be selected, and selecting the case study cities among the Middle Eastern and North African cities.

- Evaluating and analysing the previous or current urban rehabilitation experiences in the historic quarters of the selected Islamic cities, and assess the role of public awareness or participation in their achievements.

- Recommending scenarios for future public participation in urban rehabilitation projects in historic Islamic cities, according to the outcomes of the research.

3-2-1- The Research Question

The research has been carried out to suggest that an urban rehabilitation project within the historic quarters of Islamic cities can hardly sustain its development without attaining the genuine, active and knowledgeable involvement of the inhabitants of the area under consideration.

According to the above hypothesis, there are three questions to be answered:

- What approaches have been taken so far to involve the local residents, in urban rehabilitation projects in Islamic cities of Middle East and North Africa?

- How efficient have the approaches been in involving people in urban development schemes in the region?

- Can an alternative method be taken which is capable of addressing the problems and deficiencies of the existing methods?

3-3- The Research Development Process

This section introduces the action plan of the research by identifying the key strategies for conducting the research, explaining the case study approach, the selection criteria of case study cities, and the scope of the research.

3-3-1-The Research Design

The hierarchy of the different stages of the research, and their relationship are illustrated in the table below:

The research aims to develop a better understanding of the efficiency of approaches which are taken so far in the MENA countries to involve the people in the process of decision-making in urban rehabilitation schemes.

⇩

Literature review with focus in the significance of public participation in the success of urban development schemes

⇩ ⇩ ⇩ ⇩

Sustainability	Community-based development	Social Capital	Gentrification

⇩

Studying the background of the research focusing on the urban and social characteristics of Islamic cities, their current problems and situation of public participation in those countries

⇩

Methodology

⇩ ⇩ ⇩

Research question	Research design	Research strategy

⇩

Field Survey

⇩ ⇩ ⇩

Fez	Aleppo	Istanbul
• Observation • Expert interview • Inhabitant interview • Visit to the project area	• Observation • Expert interview • Inhabitant interview • Visit to the project area	• Observation • Expert interview • Inhabitant interview • Visit to the project area

⇩

Data Process and Analysis

⇩

Answering the research question and recommending new scenarios for the social, political and economic context of the considered region, based on the results of the field work

Figure 3-1- The Research Design

The research is based on seven key stages as follows:

- the identification of aims and objectives of the research,
- literature review,
- studying the background of the research in Islamic countries,
- developing the research question, research design and research strategy,
- designing the questionnaires and data collection methods
- conducting the field survey in the cities of Fez, Aleppo, and Istanbul,
- Analysing the collected data,
- And concluding the study by recommending two scenarios for efficient public participation in future urban rehabilitation schemes in the MENA region

3-3-2-The Case Study Strategy

The case study approach is preferred in examining contemporary participatory events when the relevant behaviours under investigation can not be manipulated. The case study relies on many of the same techniques as a history, but it adds two sources of evidence not usually included in the historian's repertoire: direct observation and systematic interviewing...the case study's unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence- documents, artefacts, interviews, and observations- beyond what might be available in the conventional historical study (Robert K. Yin, 1994).

The nature of the research objectives in this thesis makes the use of case study approach necessary, to answer the research questions which are related to people's attitudes and understandings about the schemes and are therefore less likely to be accurate relying only on archival records. For that reason, although all the published literature on the previous and current urban rehabilitation schemes in the three cities of Fez, Aleppo and Istanbul are studied, with special focus on the participatory methods taken by these projects; the empirical core of this research

rests in the case study strategy, because it gives a better understanding of the situation in the studied areas, based on the direct information collected from the residents of the areas. Following the three field surveys and the analysis of the collected data, a comparative analysis is then carried out to help answer the research questions.

3-3-3-The Case Study Selection

The research has been designed as a multiple-case study where the findings of the survey in three Islamic historic cities of Fes in Morocco, Aleppo in Syria, and Istanbul in Turkey will be analysed and compared in order to help answering the research question. The criteria have been applied to ensure that the cases are representatives of urban rehabilitation schemes in the MENA region which have public participation as part of their objectives. The historic cities were chosen based on the following criteria:

- *Geographical location*: the cities are selected among Islamic cities in the Middle East and North Africa with similar urban structure and also, economical, cultural and social issues. This region is characterised by large public sectors, centralised governments, and relatively limited political participation.

- *Having a historic urban area which has been and still is inhabited*: the main issue which is going to be investigated is the impact of participation of the inhabitants on the success/failure of the urban schemes, as well as the relation between level of participation and different issues such as education, poverty, social level, origin and attachment of the inhabitants with the area, relationship of the inhabitants with the responsible bodies such as governments or international organizations...

- *Having a clear urban area which has been or is being rehabilitated*: it is of significant importance that the city or urban area is recognised by

national and international organizations as a valuable heritage which is worthy of investments to be studied, restored and rehabilitated.

- *The availability of information and access to resources*: since part of the study will be based on literature review, it is important that the projects under consideration are well documented and data on the historic background, previous and current interventions and schemes are accessible. At the same time, the availability of the key actors involved in the schemes to be studied, is considered as an important factor in the selection of the cases.

Obviously, there are large numbers of regeneration and rehabilitation schemes all over the MENA region, in different historic cities of different countries; many of which were eligible according to the criteria. It was impossible to investigate all these cases due to time and resource constraints, so the aim was to select those cases that are best representative of all the key criteria, and also within the time and financial constraints of the researcher.

There were other cases which were considered having been eligible according to the criteria, but for different reasons had to be removed from the listing. For example, Hafsia quarter in Tunisia, Tunis, provides a good example of urban rehabilitation project in the region; however, there is no mention of public participation neither among the objectives of the project not in the project reports. There were similar cases among cities in the Persian Gulf region such as Shiraz, Yazd and Isfahan in Iran, Dubai in United Arab Emirates, Riyadh in Saudi Arabia... where no record of public participation were mentioned in the project documents. There were two other cities that not only covered all the criteria; they also provided examples of public participation. Beirut in Lebanon and Shibam in Yemen were among these cities. However, in the time scheduled for the field research of this thesis – 2006 and 2007- neither of these countries was in a stable situation and unnecessary travel to these countries was advised to be avoided. Cairo, Egypt also provided some very good cases to be studied for this research, but due to lack of diplomatic relations between Egypt and the National country of the researcher it was impossible for the researcher to conduct the survey in Cairo.

Nevertheless, apart from the restrictive issues that excluded some cities from the list, there were particular opportunities with regard to the chosen cities that encouraged the selection of these cities. An exceptional opportunity for the cities of Fez and Aleppo was coincidence of the field trip with a heritage related workshop in these cities gathering academics and researchers of the field, along with the people in charge of the projects together which provided a great opportunity to meet and discuss the issues regarding the schemes. Another supporting factor was the good communication with the project actors or academics who were contacted regarding the field surveys. It was especially important to get connected to the right people before travelling, to arrange appointments and plan ahead meetings.

The success of each project is evaluated based on both stakeholders' view, and inhabitants' perception. It is important that the objectives of the projects are met; however, what guarantees the sustainability of an urban project is the approval of the inhabitants, which needs to be investigated.

The first step in studying the selected cities has been archival research and literature review through all available information on the previous or current urban development projects in the cities from books and articles to project reports. The field research was designed based on the information gathered from the literature review, and also to make observation on the current situation in the selected cases. The method taken to survey the outcome of the urban projects has been interviewing the local communities to find out about issues that cannot be directly observed, and also to explore the inhabitants' opinion about the projects after having investigated the stakeholders' perspective. Both the stakeholders and the inhabitants have been interviewed face to face through structured questionnaires.

The historic medina of Fez is listed as a world heritage site by UNESCO in 1981. The rehabilitation scheme of Fez which started in 1995 is a comprehensive scheme including the rehabilitation of the whole medina, supported by The World Bank, and carried out by ADER-Fez institute (Agency for rehabilitation of Fez

medina) that is still operating today. ADER-Fes, a semi-private organisation with public capital, had the task of generating funds out of per-equation projects and acts as an inter-governmental agency.

Aleppo is also one of the oldest continuously settled cities of the world. In 1986 the "old city of Aleppo" became inscribed on the world heritage list. In 1992, the German Government (BMZ/GTZ) joined the Syrian Arab Republic (City of Aleppo) to initiate the Project for the Rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo. The joint Syrian - German technical cooperation aims at strengthening the urban management capacities of the Municipality of Aleppo, represented by the Directorate of the Old City (DOC). Among the objectives of this project is the involvement of the old city's residents in different stages of the scheme from planning to implementation.

Like in Fez, this projects' aim is the rehabilitation of the whole historic area of Aleppo. However, this scheme has defined action areas and implements the urban rehabilitation schemes neighbourhood by neighbourhood, according to the action plan. For the purpose of this research, two of these neighbourhoods are selected. "Bab Qinnisrin" is the action area 1 for the rehabilitation project by GTZ and Aleppo municipality. This area was the first neighbourhood where the urban rehabilitation was implemented. The second area selected for the survey was "Al-Ajam", where no interventions were still made by the project. The detailed reasons for the selection of these neighbourhoods among the 19 neighbourhoods in Aleppo are discussed in chapter 4.

Istanbul is the largest and most urbanized city of Turkey. The historic areas of Istanbul were included in the UNESCO world heritage list in 1985. The historic neighbourhoods of Istanbul are situated in different locations in this mega city, both in European and in Anatolian parts, and are supported by different municipalities. The area selected for this research in Istanbul is Zeyrek. Under the "education, information and awareness building" of UNESCO's document for inscribing historic areas of Istanbul, it is mentioned that within the scopes of the

Fener-Balat and Zeyrek rehabilitation projects steps have been taken to involve the local people in the process.

The three of the selected cities are located in the considered region, and are registered in the world heritage list of UNESCO. They have continuously been inhabited throughout their long history, and are still considered as living parts of the old cities. All the three cases are currently under the implementation of urban rehabilitation schemes which are clearly defined and the documents of which are accessible from the project offices. Another important factor in selecting these cities was the cooperativeness of the experts, whether in the project or from the academia, to offer information or take part in the interviews.

3-3-4-Preparation of the Questionnaire

The information provided by the literature review about public participation in the considered urban rehabilitation schemes in the three cities, generally consisted of the fact that public involvement have been among the objectives of the schemes, and a list of the methods taken. Since this information did not provide a significant basis for further research, a questionnaire was designed to be answered by the people in charge of the projects or in charge of the social aspects of the schemes, in order to have a better understanding of the level of involvement aimed by the projects, the methods selected for public awareness and participation, and the reasons behind this selection. In addition to this, the evaluation of the experts regarding the success of public participation methods and how these have been measured was investigated.

The questioned aimed at the residents of historic neighbourhoods had a different nature. Their purpose was to assess first of all the understanding of the residents from their immediate environment, and then how they have perceived the urban rehabilitation project in their neighbourhood; if they have participated or were they willing to participate in the scheme, and how satisfied/unsatisfied they are about the outcomes of the projects.

The questions were put in a way that they could obtain unbiased answers from the respondents. Since some of the interviewees are among the uneducated groups of society, the questions are phrased with a straightforward and understandable language for them, making sure that the words or phrases may not convey different meanings to different respondents. The questions are also designed so that they are not leading or biased.

The questionnaire consists of a combination of different types of questions. There are open-ended questions to allow the respondents to express themselves freely and in their own words; and closed questions. There are also some sub-questions designed to follow certain questions in order to make sure that the initial answers have been accurate and based on the real understanding of the purpose of the question.

3-3-5- Sampling Techniques

The field survey was of a qualitative nature. The aim was to find out about people's perspectives regarding different aspects of their neighbourhood (whether rehabilitated or under rehabilitation) and also their relationship with the stakeholders. The responses, therefore, contained some complex data including stories, descriptions and such-like. For that reason, the number of the respondents was of less importance than the quality of the interview. The main focus was put on obtaining trust and making good relationship with the interviewees. This objective required allocating adequate time to each respondent and allowing them to participate candidly. However, to be able to interpret and analyse some particular questions in order to generalize particular points of the survey, some considerations were made in sampling. The respondents were selected in a way that all relevant perspectives of the inhabitants could be studied. Efforts were made to include interviewees from male and female inhabitants, different age groups, different economic and social levels.... Also, taking into account the time

and budget limits, efforts were made to increase the sample size as much as possible, until no new points could be noticed among the respondents' views.

3-3-6- Face to Face Interview

An interview is not just an informal chat but a controlled interaction which uses verbal exchange as the main method of asking questions. A feature of interviewing which makes it different from questionnaire is the opportunity it gives the interviewer to explore the reasons for a person's responses. Questions which were not understood can be rephrased and reluctant or anxious respondents can be helped by being given encouragement (Keats, D. M., 2000).

Although face to face interview, using structured questionnaires, would take more time and smaller samples, it was necessary to select this approach, since the people to be interviewed were generally lay people. Not only a large proportion of them might be unable to read and write, it is also important to help them gain trust towards the interviewer and be clear about the purpose of the survey, so that the answers are reliable.

This method was especially needed in a social context where most interviewees were short of the ability to communicate efficiently i.e. getting the exact point of the question and expressing their own desired meaning. Therefore, a method that allows direct communication with people would be helpful to encourage them in participating and expressing their ideas in a comfortable manner.

3-3-7- Conducting the Field Work

Each field work consisted of three key stages. First were the meetings and interviews with experts who were in charge of the projects, or the experts in academia who were interested in and informed about the circumstances of the schemes and also were familiar with the social structure of the research areas. For

this stage, a prerequisite was to find the right people from project reports and websites getting connected with them prior to each trip, and making interview appointments with the appropriate experts.

The second step was spending time by the researcher in the study area, observing the general conditions of the urban fabric, exploring the daily life in the neighbourhood, searching for public facilities, trying the public transport and in general, being familiar with the area.

Obviously, it was possible to communicate with the experts in English and conduct the interviews in all the three case study cities; But to communicate with the residents of historic areas, it was necessary to use their native languages, which was Arabic in Fez and Aleppo, and Turkish in Istanbul. The search for an interpreter was made before each trip. However, while completing the first two stages of the field work, meetings were planned with a number of recommended interpreters to decide on an interpreter who can best contribute to the nature of the research. In order to communicate efficiently with the targeted people, the interpreters were selected among graduates with urban studies background who have previous experiences in the fields of urban and social surveys and are fluent in English, as well. They were selected among local university students or graduates who are familiar with the social and cultural issues in the area and finally are good in communication skills. The purpose of the survey and the idea behind each question were discussed with the interpreter in advance to prevent any misunderstanding.

All the opinions and suggestions were then shared and discussed with the interpreters. It helped significantly in rephrasing some questions which were irrelevant or misleading according to the context, and also in interpreting the real meaning of the respondents when they happened to answer inconsistently or some of their answers where in contradiction with the previous ones. The recommendations also helped predict what fears or biases the inhabitants might have, and how to reassure them that the survey is independent and their responses are confidential.

As for cooperation, people showed interest and willingness to take part in the interviews; there were some warnings from local academics in Istanbul that inhabitants might not cooperate unless the interviewer is accompanied with a distinguished stakeholder. However, in practice, they appeared to be as helpful as the ones in the other cities.

Gaining trust in the opening phase of interviews was very important in obtaining as truthful answers as possible. This aim was achieved by clarifying the identity of the interviewers, aims of the interview, who will/will not benefit from the results and confidentiality of the respondents. Moreover, a good relationship was tried to be established before starting the interview.

Since the interviewees were lay people from low income families, it was necessary to show sentiment and respect to their situation and to conduct the interview as a friendly chat to help them feel more comfortable to express their ideas and feelings.

3-3-8- Data Collection and Analysis

The data needed for the research consists of both primary and secondary data. The secondary data was collected from previous research and publications dealing with urban rehabilitation schemes in the three case study historic cities. To cover all the different issues related to regeneration and rehabilitation of heritage cities, with focus on Islamic cities, from policy making to implementation and post-project monitoring, various resources have been employed. Books, journals, articles, PhD theses in the UK universities, on conservation, rehabilitation, regeneration, revitalisation or renovation of historic towns or neighbourhoods are considered, as well as, reports by national and international organisations such as UNESCO(United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation), ICOMOS(International Council of Monuments and Sites), ICCROM(International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property), AKDN(Aga Khan Development Network), OWHC(Organisation of World

Heritage Cities), The World Bank, and local NGOs. Also more detailed study on the documents and reports on ongoing or completed projects, made about the case study cities, either by researchers, or by the organizations involved in the considered case study projects. This data was especially studied to find out what approaches have been taken so far in the case study cities regarding the involvement of the local residents in urban rehabilitation projects.

In order to understand the strengths and probable constraints of international guidelines related to historical towns, the principle international guidelines related to urban areas or world heritage cities are reviewed. These include charters, recommendations and resolutions since the Venice charter to date are reviewed.

However, since the secondary data are gathered to serve different purposes and objectives, they can also be insufficient and misleading regarding the objectives of the current research and may also be biased. Hence, primary data collection has been made to complete and verify the main aim of the research, and to find out how efficient the project approaches have been in informing and involving the local residents of the historic quarters. The information gathered through the secondary data has helped in the design of the primary data collection, based on personal observation in the case study cities/neighbourhoods, and face to face interviews with both experts and residents of the considered areas. The data is then analysed with the help of SPSS statistical analysis software, and the outcomes are presented in form of tables and charts to help illustrate the results.

3-4-Reliability

In a survey research, reliability is mainly about trying to reduce interviewer bias so that we can trust that the findings are neither the product of the research instruments, nor of the interviewer's quirks and improvisations. It is likely to be important to make sure that all informants are asked exactly the same questions and given similar sorts of clarification. The findings would be unreliable if it turned out that some questions were explained to some respondents who were

puzzled by them but not to other puzzled respondents. This is especially important where several interviewers might be involved in a large scale survey (Arksey, H. and Knight, P., 1999).

Part of the measures taken to increase the reliability of the survey, was made during the field work by establishing a good relation and building trust among the respondents, and by reassuring them that their identity will remain confidential.

Another approach to maintain reliability was through addressing some questions with particular sub-questions to make sure that the yes/no answers are confirmed by the relevant answers to the following sub-questions. For example, to answer the question" is there any facility lacking in your neighbourhood?" , large number of respondents in all three cities would initially say no; however, the reason behind this answer was not that there was in fact no lack of facilities in the area, nor because they were anxious to tell the truth. The reason appeared to be that they has never thought of this question before, or had never thought of any other possibilities that would make their living condition more comfortable. Therefore, this question was later followed by a series of sub-questions like "have you got enough kindergartens/schools/... in your neighbourhood?" or "can you easily access to a hospital/health centre in case of emergency?" And the response to these sub-questions would provide us with the required data. Moreover, they reminded the respondents about other shortcomings which might have been ignored by the interviewers. On the other hand, the initial reaction to such questions which is in contrast with the real situation is a means to further studying the population.

3-5- Limitations and Obstacles

The implementation of fieldwork and data collection was faced with several limitations and obstacles. The first problem with the whole process of field survey was limitation of time and finance. Another major problem in the field research in all the three cities was language. Although most of the people who

were in charge of the projects, and experts who were interviewed whether in the universities or in administrative sections were able to speak English, the main part of the survey was interviewing the inhabitants of the historic areas whose languages were either Arabic, in Fez and Aleppo, or Turkish in Istanbul. Added to the mentioned lack of funds and time, it was a major challenge to find interpreters who have previous experience, are familiar with the field of study and also with the local social and cultural issues, and at the same time not expensive. The good point in this regard was that my personal limited knowledge of Arabic helped me follow the dialogues both in Aleppo and in Istanbul (the current Turkish language is consisted of many Arabic and Persian loaned words, driven from Ottoman Turkish). In Morocco, on the other hand, the second language was French and even the experts who were interviewed, would struggle with their English.

One interesting incident during the field survey was the hospitability of the Middle Eastern people which caused some delay in the time allocated for the interview, since they would be happier to have the interview in the form of a friendly chat, inside their houses, to greet the interviewer with a cup of tea or coffee and show their friendship. On the other hand, accepting their invitation helped them build better trust and speak more explicitly with the interviewer.

Another limitation of the study, as mentioned before, was initiating the residents to take part in the interviews and to feel trust toward the interviewers. Many interviewees, among the residents, refused to participate. Besides, many of those who responded were not comfortable in expressing their opinions. With the limitation of time, it was hard effort to build the trust, and also be convinced that the interviewees are expressing their real ideas. It happened in many cases that people took part in the interviews only based on their curiosity, and didn't really care about their answers. Therefore, many time consuming interviews had to be disregarded at the end of the survey. However, another opportunity in this regard, was the gender of interviewer and the interpreter. In the restricted social structure of the Islamic cities, it was not a problem for women to let the group in their houses and take part in the interviews. A male researcher at the same

situation had to limit his survey to the male residents, as it happened for a male student who was doing a similar survey in Aleppo, at the same time.

3-6-Conclusion

This chapter identified how the theoretical framework was applied to an exploratory qualitative case study methodology. It provided an overview of the research process, with its different stages and the way they were conducted. The research used secondary data through a comprehensive literature review, and applied a comparative case study approach through field observation, face to face interviews with experts and residents and analysing and interpreting the collected data which provides a better understanding of the different participatory approaches in the region, and how they contributed or not to the urban rehabilitation projects.

Chapter 4: Introduction to the Three Case Study Cities

4-1- Introduction

This chapter provides an introductory account of the three case study cities. It is therefore, divided to three sections as for the three cities of Fez, Aleppo, and Istanbul.

In the section related to each city, different issues are discussed which will help gaining a deeper understanding of these cities. This part is based on literature review, and all the data is collected through books, journal articles, project reports...

For each city, its general features and its history are talked about, along with the process with which they have been listed in the world heritage list.

The major part of each section is, however, allocated to the study of previous and current urban rehabilitation schemes in the three cities. A brief history and analysis is provided for the previous projects and how they have influenced the historic neighbourhoods. These projects include the whole urban area of Fez medina, all of the old city in Aleppo, and the Zeyrek neighbourhood in Istanbul.

4-2- Fez, Morocco

4-2-1-General Features of Fez and Its History

The medina of Fez is situated in the north of Morocco, near Andalusian Spain. It has been founded in 808 A.D. by the Idriss Dynasty on the east bank of the seasonal river Wadi Fez. It was the first Islamic town in Morocco. The royal capital of Fez was composed of two centres, located in either side of the river and occupied by Andalusian shi'it immigrants and by immigrants from Kairouan respectively.

After being captured during the 11th century by the Almoravids Sunnites, the two quarters were united within the same fortification wall. In the 13th century when the Marinids came to power, Fez Medina began to experience a period of progress, as was the capital city of this dynesty. A new city and a Jewish quarter were added to the royal capital. Fez reached its heyday in the 14th century. After its fall in the 15th century, Fez regained its function as capital under the rule of the Alaouites in the 19th century (The World Bank, 2006).

In the colonial period in the end of 19th century, the French avoided the mistakes and destructive policies of the previous colonies such as Algeria and Madagascar; therefore they came to Morocco with a new policy to develop France's presence in this land. Their policy consisted of first understanding the cultural context and then shaping the cultural tools for the French intervention in Morocco (Radoine, 2003).

The French protectorate was aware of the intrinsic value of the medina and did much not only to preserve isolated monuments, but also to keep the whole structure intact. They established a new city near Fez for the French.

The old city of Fez lies in a valley; the new colonial city developed by the French in the 19th century is laid out in the plateau above the medina, and in the 1950s another quarter was built on the hillside above the new city, using principles based on the Charter of Athens. The entire city is still surrounded by high walls, with several historic city gates. The urban fabric is penetrated today, through some of these Gates which give access to buses, taxis, and some private cars. However, these roads enter the medina only a short distance; it is not possible to drive across the medina, which is composed of very narrow winding streets, which have never been changed during its history. (Figure 4-1)

In the middle of the landscape of flat roofs and minarets is a dense concentration of civic, religious and military monuments that reflect both the heyday of the Moorish city and especially the intellectual enlightenment of the Islamic city. The Madrassas, the mosques and the palaces are very close to the heart of the city.

Figure 4-1- A View from the Medina of Fez

The centre of the old Fez is marked by the Mulay Idris mausoleum, which contains the tomb of the city founder and the Qairawiyyin university mosque. Between and around these two sanctuaries are the central Souks that link the centre with the three main gates. On the southern side of the east-west axis are the residential quarters- which remain comparatively undisturbed by through traffic, each has its own small sub centre.

The current population of the medina of Fez is estimated 160,000 (Hammam workshop, Fez, NOV2006, based on ADER-Fez GIS). There are nearly 14,000 buildings in the Medina among which 11,000 are traditional. Among the traditional buildings 50% are in medium to good condition, 34% are degraded, 14% are in threat of collapse and 2% are ruins. From the time of its prestigious past to the present, Fez has retained its function as an Islamic cultural centre. It was an important economic centre as well, located at the crossroads of the major north-south and west-east trade routes.

4-2-2-Medina of Fez as a World Heritage City

The historic medina of Fez is listed as a world heritage site. According to the ICOMOS advisory body recommendation, the medina of Fez-consisting of two centres by the two sides of the river- has preserved its authenticity "the twin cities have led a symbolic existence without losing their own character". However, there is no reference to any of the six cultural criteria for selection of a world heritage city (UNESCO, 1981). Fez was also one of the 6 historic centres selected for a pilot initiative by UNESCO and the World Bank for collaboration and coordination of efforts amongst organisations involved in urban conservation and revitalization.

When Fez was listed as a world heritage site by the UNESCO in 1981, despite its undeniable cultural and historical value, it faced serious problems which accelerated its deterioration as a historic city. Rural immigration and high level of housing occupancy, poor conditions of infrastructure, concentration of small-scale

polluting industries in the medina, as well as absence of focused governmental policy, lack of technical and legal capacities in the municipality, and relatively low level of investment in the area had led to a very low level of living standard of the local population. Two major interventions have taken place in the urban structure of the city; the master plan which started in 1972, and the rehabilitation plan which was initiated in 1995. The latter is approved of by the UNESCO and the World Bank.

In October 1998 the World Bank allocated a US$ 14 million loan for the rehabilitation project of Fez medina by Agency for rehabilitation of Fez medina (ADER-Fes). Economic analysis of the project shows that for every dollar of public fund invested under the project, more than $3 will be invested by the medina's population over the long term. About 1,500,000 adult foreign tourists visit Morocco, among which about 160,000 adult foreign tourists remain overnight at Fez hotels annually. Realistically, the project did not assume direct cost recovery of public investment in the medina. Nevertheless, the economic assessment showed a rate of return of 13% discounted at 10% over 15 years and a leverage ratio of 3. (Serageldin 2002, p56)The employment generated by the project over 15 years is estimated at 10,000 jobs grouped in five main categories: formal construction, informal construction, construction support services, micro-enterprises, and jobs induced by second-round expenditure on goods and services (ADER-Fez, 1999, p3).

4-2-3- Evaluation of Urban Rehabilitation Projects in Fez between 1972 and 2006

4-2-3-1- The Master Plan (UNESCO, 1976)

An early UNESCO study, initiated in 1972 by Titus Burckhardt led to the realisation that, to preserve Fez's unique character and vitality, a comprehensive plan was needed which would allow both preservation and development. The first outstanding document produced by this team was the first *Schéma Directeur*

d'Urbanisme of the city of Fez in 1975. This document laid the solid foundation for the launching of the International Campaign for the Safeguard of Fez in 1976 in Nairobi. A multidisciplinary team with representatives from international and local organisations completed its study in 1978 (Radoine, 2008).

This master plan was unprecedented in terms of its scope and ambitions. The aim was to bring the historic hub to the forefront first by centralising in the city's urban fabric and second by revitalising its key social, economic, cultural, and environmental functions.

According to Stefano Bianca (Bianca, 2000), this master plan had four main focuses:

- Preservation of the traditional urban fabric, along with improvement of accessibility. Expansion of accessibility was necessary in order to support economic system, reduce security risks and also attract the middle-income population back to the medina. For this purpose, a number of small feeder roads were introduced to penetrate into the old city from the existing ring road in a way that no major physical intervention would damage the historic fabric of the city.
- Reduction of the densities in the old city in terms of population and production activities. The solution was a satellite development in the vicinity of the medina to relocate some of the polluting activities, along with new low-cost housing districts on a vacant piece of land within walking distance to the medina.
- Improvement of living standards in medina with regard to infrastructure, sanitation and social facilities. Solutions for this problem had to adapt to the special local conditions, therefore creative solutions were needed to accommodate new functions to old buildings or to design according to the traditional architectural typology.
- Launching a self-sustaining internal process for future maintenances and developments. For this purpose, qualitative standards and models were proposed to provide principles for future interventions.

The master plan team was given two years to produce a document that would solve the old city's problems and offer guidelines for the development of the whole agglomeration. Bianca (Bianca, 1983) believes that for a city as complex as Fez and with a team unbalanced in the professions represented on it, the time allocated was clearly insufficient. Despite the lack of homogeneity and other unfavourable circumstances, the team managed to elaborate directives for the development of the whole town between February 1976 and February 1978. This document was submitted to the authorities in May 1978 in order to provide guidelines for all decisions having to do with the development of the city. One of the principle objectives of the master plan was to draw the various parts of the city closer together with a more efficient system of public transport, and in this way to reduce the effects of spatial, and as a result also social isolation. The master plan also included maintaining the traditional trades, as well as restoration programs for individual buildings and monuments (Bianca, 1983). This attempt to integrate the medina to the whole city was a failure. In spite of its consistency and its sound findings, this master plan was not respected. The pressure of other parameters prevented the adoption of its guidelines in the whole urban agglomeration of Fez (Radoine, 2003).

Titus Burckhardt's scheme was a comprehensive plan considering both preservation and development of the city among the objectives of which are:

- Centralizing the city's urban fabric
- Revitalizing Fez's social, economic, cultural and environmental function in order to improve the living standards of its inhabitants
- Integrating the medina to the whole city and reducing the density in the medina
- Providing guidelines for all decisions having to do with the development of the city
- Drawing different parts of the city closer and more accessible by an efficient system of public transport, without harming the physical characteristics
- Maintaining the traditional trades

- Restoring individual buildings and monuments
- Improving the standard of living in the medina by encouraging initiative, cooperation and a sense of responsibility among owners and residents.

To investigate the efficiency of the plan, in 1979/1980 four pilot projects were devised by an urban design studio at the Architectural School of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich. The urban design studio was headed by Stefano Bianca. The participating students were given the opportunity to visit Fez and interact with representatives of Moroccan team in charge with following up the master plan. The initiative of this exercise was some half-completed interventions in the medina, to be revised and redesigned by students within the recommended master plan policies (Bianca, 2000). The students conducted their own approaches to the problem of accessibility, and also introducing new functional elements such as clinics, schools, public services, hotels, and large shops while using architectural forms appropriate to the traditional typology. The second pilot project was to plan a model that would encourage the tenants to help build the unit and use their traditional skills to create the domestic environment they wished to have. In both projects, instead of fixing a final plan, they formulated a set of rules or mechanisms to show how to coordinate the individual components and picture what the final products could, but did not necessarily have to, be. (Bianca 1983b) According to Bianca (Bianca, 2000), the student projects were useful in demonstrating the range of existing opportunities; however, none of the final infill projects had been developed by 2000.

4-2-3-2- The Rehabilitation Plan (ADER-FEZ, 1995 to date)

In 1982 a delegation for the safeguard of the medina of Fez was created under the auspices of the Moroccan interior ministry. The main outcome of this stage was mainly experimental which generated the first feed-back of how Fez should be preserved effectively. In 1989, the need to make this delegation more efficient by moving it from the stage of diagnosis, research and limited physical projects to the stage of implementing strategic projects for the city was met. The government

decided to create a new institutional framework. This new framework was the creation of ADER-Fes (Agence pour la rehabilitation et la dedensification de la median de Fes) that is still operating now. ADER-Fes is a semi-private organisation with public capital, which had the task of generating funds out of per-equation projects and acts as an inter-governmental agency. Its board of directors comprised representatives from all Moroccan ministries concerned with the conservation and development of the city of Fez. The main source of financing for the ADER's operation is the Moroccan government. There is also a very advanced participation of local authority, municipal councils, NGOs, national/international donors, and national/international financial institutions. The global budget of the project was 126 million MAD (12.6 million USD) (Radoine, 2008).

The rehabilitation plan of the Fez medina was launched in 1995 by the ADER-Fez team which is administered by a board of directors composed of the following members:

- Minister of interior, chairman of the board, representative of the state
- Minister of finance and privatization, state representative
- Minister delegate to the prime minister of urban development and housing, state representative
- Minister of culture affaires, state representative
- The Wali of Fez Boulemane region, governor of the prefecture of Fez, state representative
- The city Fez
- Fez association
- Case of Deposit and Management (CDG)
- Real estate and Hotel Credit Institution (CIH) (ADER-Fez, 1999).

The emphasis was on understanding the dynamics of the past and on how to find the synergies provided by the city itself. By understanding the fact that people's attachment to their heritage is evolving, the limits and capacity for change to be integrated within the area could be evaluated. The plan was implemented in

several steps and hierarchically. In addition to spatial analysis, the legal guidelines were developed parallel considering that regulations should facilitate the initiatives and innovations of the inhabitants, so the rehabilitation plan was presented to the community and feedback was recorded and taken into consideration. The plan is not an end in itself and there are possibilities of large number of cases that may occur in the site due to its very complex nature. Therefore, an interdisciplinary and inter-institutional committee was reviewing and scrutinizing any innovative effort that may not be covered by documents in a proposed private or public initiative (Radoine, 2003).

This plan was accomplished step by step, and was translated through district plans, where a detailed orientation was provided by introducing the exact interventions in every building in the district and the potential development that may result. The objectives of the rehabilitation plan were as follows:

- Conserving and rehabilitating the medina through empowerment of its population and institutions, and by raising the national and international awareness of its cultural value; by expanding and accelerating ongoing conservation efforts, consolidating the partnership between the public and private sectors, and using the rehabilitation process to create employment and alleviate poverty.
- Strengthening the capacity of the municipality and local agencies to plan and carry out proposed improvements.
- Setting up institutions to acculturate the newcomers to the city and ensuring that they will not disrupt the city's traditions and way of life.
- Developing legal guidelines to facilitate the plan
- Introducing the plan to the community and taking the feedback into consideration
- Allocating opportunity for unforeseen issues and contingencies

Radione states that:

While it is hard to formulate the vision of the conservation of the city of Fez in a set of words, for the sake of conveying a lucid message, it

could be crystallized in the following concise statement: The conservation of the heritage of Fez is an attempt to awaken the active history of the city, which encompasses all the positive intangible and tangible synergies, in order to catalyze its sustainability, in which its inhabitant is the vital player. (Radoine, 2008, p2)

The evaluation of general aspects of this enormous project can be represented in the following respects:

► *Management*

The rehabilitation program of Fez was initiated by a group of Moroccan architects who had studied in France. They established a unit for conservation in the Housing Delegation of the city of Fez under the auspices of the Moroccan Ministry of Housing in 1976. In 1982, a delegation for the safeguard of the medina of Fez was created under the supervision of the regional municipal councils which were under the auspices of Moroccan Interior Ministry. Radoine believes that this fact caused some tensions among different government institutions, political entities, NGOs, and private institutions involved in the safeguard of the medina. However, the main aims of this program was: (Radoine, 2008)

- Make the conservation of the city a planning issue and be part of the urban development of the whole city;
- Expand the scope of restoration and rehabilitation of monuments to be a catalyst for up-grading neighbourhoods;
- Link between the governmental actions and the inhabitants' initiatives.

In 1989, the need to make the delegation more efficient by moving from research to implementation was met by the creation of ADER-Fez (Agence pour la Réhabilitation et la Dédensification de la Médina de Fès), which was introduced before in this chapter and is still operating now. (Radoine 2008a)

ADER-Fez is an agency which is created exclusively to undertake the rehabilitation and development of the medina of Fez.

▶ *Financial tools*

ADER-Fes is a unique organization that systematizes the cooperation of different institutions from government and private sector who are involved in the rehabilitating of the medina of Fez and is responsible for designing and implementing the urban projects in the medina. This agency, however, plays another important role, and that is fund-raising for the scheme. UNESCO has been very active in raising funds for the conservation of Fez.

Apart from the governmental fund which is the main financial source for ADER-Fes, it has also been successful in attracting national/international investment form private sector, NGOs, donors and financial institutions. The most important international institute who has been investing in Fez since 1998 is the World Bank. In 1993, Fez hosted an international colloquium on "The Financing of the Rehabilitation of the Historic Cities by Whom? How? And Why?" During the same colloquium the World Heritage Cities Organization (OWHC) was created officially. This event attracted many international financial institutions, and ever since the World Bank has shown interest in the participation in the development of historic cities (Radoine, 2008). The World Bank has provided a 14.30 million USD for the rehabilitation of the medina. However, this amount is about half of the project cost estimated at the appraisal point, which was 27.60 million USD (The World Bank, 2006).

Apart from the World Bank, AFSED (Arab Fund for Social and Economic Development) has been involved in rehabilitation of the monuments, housing and infrastructure of Fez. With regard to financial tools, ADER-Fes is a good example of fund raising in heritage sector; however, all the stakeholders including the Moroccan government, ADER-Fez, and Fez municipality were not efficient enough in investing the granted loan due to unrealistic initial schedule,

unpredicted institutional and implementation delays and also management overlaps.

▶ *Technical tools*

The urban built environment of the medina of Fez is highly impressive. However, urban heritage is not all about buildings, but about all tangible and intangible heritages that can be preserved only through a well-organized urban rehabilitation plan. The dynamics that influence urban environment are beyond architecture. These dynamics need to be derived from other sciences such as sociology, geography, environmental sciences, economy, anthropology, politics, social psychology... and it is only with the help of a multi-disciplinary team, consisting of all these expertise that an all-inclusive urban rehabilitation plan can be designed. The conservation program of Fez has, from its initial stage, been a training school of many professionals from various disciplines, who are interested in embarking upon heritage development. Therefore, the success of the project is also related to the large network of professionals connected to ADER-Fez, who are consulted whenever a new large project emerges. Technicians, engineers, researchers, professors, architects, economists, environmentalists, historians, sociologists, and so on are an integral part of the conservation strategy of Fez. New technical tools are also developed by ADER-Fez team in order to create a technical infrastructure for the project. Among these tools that Fez has pioneered are the GIS (Geographical Information System), Restoration and Rehabilitation Laboratory, Socio-economic and Urban Observatory, Survey and Spatial Analysis Group, and Environmental Analysis Group (Radoine, 2008).

The GIS system was launched in 1992 based on SYGER (System of Resources Management designed by the Moroccan Cad-Tech). According to ADER-Fez database (ADER-Fez, 2004), for effective safeguard of the medina, a geographic information system was created which identifies a minimum of fifty natural and geographical data on each of the 13385 buildings. The above mentioned features are identifying and evaluating all urban and architectural units from physical static

aspect, identifying building typology, functions and land use, age, location in relation with neighbourhood centres and public services, accessibility or lack of infrastructures, density, economic status of the household, urban landscape and street network. The Fez' GIS is based on an active plan vectors, and it is more efficient than the other GIS programs that rely on aerial photos or static geographical plans. The master plan of rehabilitation is, furthermore, adapted to the IS platform, which renders the task of control and legal references easily accessible. This has an immediate impact on the acceleration of the authorisation permits of the different proposed private projects (Radoine, 2008).

These GIS maps are being used as an information bank for old medina. The information on these maps can be utilised in further investigations and interventions in order to prevent any changes to the historic characteristics of the city. This general survey can also help to study the vernacular architecture and its connections with socio-cultural potentials. This can be studied according to the public buildings, their function and their range of influence. On the whole these maps will inform about the form of the urban area, composition of its structural parts, location of the old town, contrasts, preferences, and local balances, requirements from new housing, commercial or public buildings to infrastructures. This has also led the project team to decide that the location of the old medina is not appropriate, compared with the newer quarters, so in the rehabilitation plan it is proposed to stop the development towards southwest, to prevent the medina from playing a marginal role for the new city. Nevertheless, accessing this information is not straightforward for researchers and needs to be requested from the institute.

In addition to the evaluation of the project management, the implementation of different parts of the scheme is also evaluated.

▶ *Rehabilitation zone*

One strength point of the scheme is its decision to take the entire city into consideration, as well as paying attention to the individual buildings and monuments. The borders of neighbourhoods in historic Islamic cities can be

defined by several factors such as a main road, a river, or even by legislation; but, defining a rather precise and indisputable restriction cannot be very useful, because in historic Islamic cities, there is such an integrity and interconnection between all parts, that it is very difficult to find a definite start and end point to make them separable units. Since the Islamic historic towns have an organic growth, all of the different parts of the city are attached together as an intricate network. Rehabilitation of one of these connected neighbourhoods, which requires many different transformations such as adaptation and conversion of some buildings or their functions and introducing some new infrastructures, will certainly harm the unity and integrity of the fabric. In other words, by deciding to rehabilitate the entire city, preservation of the unity and integrity of the historic city is guaranteed, at least for the parts of the medina which have kept their unity and integration. There also exist some problems such as specifying enough investment for rehabilitating such a huge area, lack of human resources, or deficiency in monitoring the project and other possible problems due to the immensity of the project.

It is also necessary to point out that part of the success in preserving the tangible and intangible heritage of Fez owes a favour to the fact that western influences were introduced to this city, much later than many other Islamic cities. Moreover, the impact of colonial period was more focused on coastal cities like Casablanca and Rabat. Whatever the intention was, the French protectorate decided to keep the physical and spiritual features of Fes intact, and they made their own quarter outside the medina at some distance. Compared with other cities such as Cairo (Egypt), Isfahan, Yazd, Shiraz (Hamyaran Iran NGO Resource Centre), Baghdad (Iraq), Damascus (Syria) ..., where modern infrastructure especially those related to motor vehicles were introduced before the idea of safeguarding the historic city, in the case of Fez it has been much more straightforward to keep the social and structural fabric intact. In other words, this experience has been safeguarding the traditional structure, while it still existed, compared to other examples where some forgotten or left behind traditions have to be recreated.

▶ *Accessibility*

A major problem in historic areas in Islamic cities is the lack of accessibility. Streets become narrower as one moves toward the heart of the residential areas. This problem results in deficiency in infrastructures and public services in the medina, compared to other parts of the city. On the other hand, allowing the motor-vehicles to the area requires a great deal of structural modification both to the buildings which might be of historical or cultural value, and to the form of the historic fabric which is the main subject of concern. Therefore, deciding on the degree of intervention in order to improve the accessibility of the area is very sensitive. The Fez project has found a solution taking into account both concerns: to plan restricted motor-vehicle traffic, allowing a few routes to penetrate into the interior up to boundaries formed by structures of historical significance (figure 4-2). In designing these access routes, consideration was made not to interfere with the historic fabric of the medina and protect the morphology of the medina by safeguarding the pedestrian access as much as possible. Transport within the medina continues to be by donkey and also carts, since this is the only system compatible with the traditional streets (Figure 4-3). Feasibility of these restrictions owes very much to the fact that by the time of the implementation of the project motor vehicles were not introduced to the urban fabric. It is also noticeable in the medina that many of the inhabitants are too poor to afford having private cars, and that's why they don't make any action against or even complain about the lack of vehicular accessibility. However, in addition to the urgent need for emergency access through the medina, it is noticeable that the public transport system between different entries, and between the medina and other parts of the city, does not satisfy the needs of the population efficiently.

**Figure 4-2 - Goods Are Carried by Donkeys through the Medina, Batha.
Photo Taken by the Author in November 2006**

**Figure 4-3- Batha Is One of the Vehicle Entries to the Medina, Batha. Photo
Taken by the Author in November 2006**

There is still a misconception about the way accessibility is provided for the city. It seems that, one of the most central places is the part of the river which is covered to make bedding for a new road. According to ADER-Fez itself, Fez is a rare example in the history of Moroccan cities to have an urban life so intimately linked to the hydraulic system of a water source. This Idrissid city owes much to its river, which is fed by sixty springs, not only determining its location, but also the development of its landscape characteristics: houses with courtyard-gardens, Ryads, enclosed gardens, orchards surrounding ramparts, and an abundance of both still and flowing water. Hundreds of pipes comprise a system that carries water to a courtyard fountain in almost every house (Bianca, 1983). When the location of a city is determined by a river, the first impression in rehabilitating the city is most likely to focus on this meaningful issue, emphasis its role in the formation of physical and social features of the city specially the surrounding area. It looks odd to cover such an important river without any trace of its existence in its location. Positively, this decision is made in order to make the area more accessible without harming the structural features of the historic city by expanding the narrow streets (Figure 4-4). However, the river itself is a very important feature which has been neglected in this case. Covering the river could also have ecological impact on the environment, by changing the natural ecological unit. On the other hand, the remaining parts of the river which are not covered have been transformed widely to dumping area for the city waste, despite having been completely enclosed by walls (Figure 4-5). The hygiene condition of the river is very poor and certainly has major impacts on the health of the local people, especially that the river water is still used by some households or craftsmen. Without considering the long term environmental impact, covering the river might be the most applicable way to prevent the river from being polluted by the city waste, as well as providing accessibility. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that the medina has originated from existence of this river and is strongly connected to it. Moreover, providing that professional solutions are found for the sanitary issues, the river can add much more attraction to the current beauty of the medina. The path of the river among the central part of the medina has very good

potentials for some landscape designs which can provide beautiful scenery for both residents and tourists.

Figure 4-4- Current Condition of the River (Oued Fes), Bukhrareb Area. Photo Taken by the Author in November 2006

Figure 4-5 - This Side Street Is Arranged by Covering the River, Place R'cif. Photo Taken by the Author in November 2006

Among the other strength points of the master plan, is the attempt to encourage initiative, corporation, and a sense of responsibility among owners and residents and putting them in a situation that they assume themselves responsible for improving their habitat themselves. (Fouad Serghini, interview by the author, 2006) He has also stated in an interview with Radoine (Radoine, 2008) that heritage is the property of everyone, and if it becomes personalized its richness is subsequently lost. Therefore, the participatory process is vital for the continuity of conservation as a shared practice.

It must be considered that if the residents of a historic city or neighbourhood aren't convinced and supported to rehabilitate their neighbourhoods, or at least their own accommodations, they will either prevent the changes by the time of implementation, or in the best circumstances they will be totally indifferent and unresponsive. However, since poverty is the major problem among the inhabitants of the medina, the rehabilitation of a city in the scale of Fez, in a country with economic deficiencies, could only have been conceivable with the motivation of private sector or private owners to maintain and restore their own houses. Apparently, to motivate people and the private sector, Moroccan government must have first proven its determination to sustain the old medina by improving public services such as infrastructures, environmental conditions and accessibility. For this reason, the first attempt that secured the inhabitants' full cooperation was the one relevant to their immediate dwellings, though the large number of researches conducted before that, had made people vulnerable to questionnaires (Radoine, 2008). This proves that housing is central for community-based urban conservation, and is vital for the sustainability of the median as a comprehensive historic city. However, a prerequisite of such a partnership is that the various governmental services and administrations, at central and local level, pursue common policies. Radoine (Radoine, 2008) maintains that ADRE-Fez project has reached an advanced stage in terms of the participation of the community in the conservation program and that the outcome of community development in Fez is crystallized in the link between physical interventions and the awareness of

inhabitants about the process of conservation. The increase of community awareness about the project transformed their status from a watching audience to an effective actor in the process.

During the field survey in Fez, the author had also the opportunity to learn another aspect of the project's participatory method. Having consulted by ADER-Fez team members, meetings was planned with two of the residents of medina, from different neighbourhoods who had been selected as neighbourhood managers, or as called in the medina *Amicals*. These people had volunteered to play a mediator role between people and those in charge of the projects, to cooperate with ADER-Fez in informing the people in their neighbourhoods about the progress of the projects and also to convey publics' needs and problems to the project stakeholders.

▶ *Post-Project Supervision*

One of the most important of all achievements of this project is setting up an office for Fez regional delegation in the ministry of urban planning, to deal more exclusively with the medina, to refine the existing analysis, to broaden knowledge about this fabric and to design projects for its rehabilitation. At the same time, according to studies conducted at the behest of UNESCO by a consortium of faculty members at Fez's "Universite Sidi Mohamed ben Abdelah" and the "Universite Toulouse Le Mirail" and published as the atlas de la medina Fez (1990), rural migration to the medina had resulted in tremendous density in certain quarters. The association for the dedensification and rehabilitation of Fez medina was created for this purpose (Porter, 2003).

Figure 4-6 shows an example of the information kept in the Medina information centre which is located in Bab-mekina, one of the medina gates.

Figure 4-6- Map of Immigration to the Medina, Picture Taken By the Author at the Medina
Information Centre, Fez, Bab Macina, 2006

The rehabilitation process needs a continual and persistent supervision and protection. Founding an institution to carry out later interventions and monitor all the changes during the time is a reasonable means to ensure a sustainable development for the future of the city.

Long term cooperation between different stakeholders in Fez is established. ADER-FEZ is rehabilitating monuments and well preserved buildings with international and national funds. The municipality of Fez medina funds an emergency program for the consolidation of the structures on the verge of collapse (figure 4-7). The prefecture is relocating the most heavily polluting industries outside the centre and ADER FEZ is regrouping non-polluting industries near the vehicular access roads (figure 4-8). However, there is still a lack of communication with the local inhabitants of the medina to inform them about the responsibilities of different sectors intervening in their city.

Figure 4-7- Emergency Consolidation of the Collapsing Walls; A Street in Talaa Kabira Area. Photo Taken By the Author in November 2006

Figures 4-8 -Tanneries Are One of the Polluting Industries in the Medina, But Very Attractive for the Tourists in the Other Hand. Photo Taken By the Author in November 2006

▶Adaptive Reuse

On the basis of limiting the vehicle access to the city, the project has decided about several loading and unloading points according to the form and function of the old gates of the medina. Each of the loading and unloading points was equipped with one or more traditional Funduqs which would serve as warehouses for the distribution of the merchandise, therefore at the same time the Funduq itself would be conserved as an individual building with a functional reuse. On one hand, some historic monuments have been restored and preserved, and on the other hand by giving a new function to the Funduqs, the problem of carrying goods to the medina has been solved. The city gates function as knots (similar to their original function) where the vehicle access ends and goods must wait until carried in smaller amounts by donkeys or carriages. Restoring and reusing the historic monuments, giving their function back to the gates, and also resolving the problem of temporary storage for goods are all carried out by this concept.

The rehabilitation team has also thought about a space for the complementary functions such as businesses which were not truly needed to be compatible with the traditional morphology, by continuing the cover over the Bukhrareb River in a particular point to join the banks from east to west. By such actions the distinction between residential quarters and public spaces which is very important in the Muslim cities, is also preserved. However, the impacts of changing the ecosystem by covering the river on the area need to be considered by the environmental experts.

To solve the problem of abandonment of some buildings such as Funduqs, due to decline of the traditional corporations and trade guilds, a total reorganization of commercial activity and of the trade associations has been proposed, with the aim of maintaining the most characteristic- but not necessarily economic- trades in their traditional place. Obviously, these trades are the essence of the historic fabric, and disregarding them in the rehabilitation plan would turn the fabric to a museum, not a living urban area. Also, in reconstructing the ruins, or establishing new buildings in the unoccupied lands, efforts have been made to design new

structures according to traditional principles of spatial arrangements, scale and typology of the medina to avoid rupturing the historic fabric. These restored or new buildings would serve as primary schools; health centres, or centres for youth or women; in other words, any lacking functions in the area are introduced by the reuse of old buildings or construction of new structures in the vacant areas.

4-2-4-Gentrification in Fez

During the survey conducted by the author in 2006, informal discussions with quiet large numbers of foreigners in the medina showed that most of the tourists had travelled to fez, either to buy a property or were considering doing it in the near future. The exotic environment of the medieval medina, mild climate and abundance of sunny days during the year, added to affordability of the properties, were among their reasons. This fact made it necessary to add a part to the questionnaire for Fez inhabitants, to seek the native inhabitants' idea about presence of foreigners in their city.

This phenomenon is also observed by other researchers. Sibley states that the dramatic increase, within the last few years, in the number of European and Americans buying courtyard houses in the Moroccan medinas can be easily felt in the observation of websites advertising Riyads, Moroccan palaces and courtyard houses as luxurious holiday homes and hotels offering the exotic experience of morocco. A study conducted by a German geographer reveals that "in 1999, western foreigners lived in approximately 150 Riyads. Most preferred accommodation which stood out for their not yet completely dilapidated fabric, close proximity to the Jemaa el-Fnaa, and easy accessibility by car". In a survey conducted by Esher in 2003 in the medina of Fez, fifty four courtyard houses were purchased and transformed for such purposes. Although the vast majority are owned by foreigners, few belong to expatriate or local Moroccan; nationalities vary between French, German, Swiss, Spanish, Dutch, Italian, and American. The situation has certainly evolved since Esher's survey in 2000 with more purchases

and transformations of the attractive courtyard houses of Fez. There is no doubt that this is taking place with some pressure on the local population to move out of these houses, probably with small compensations. Further research is needed to analyse this gentrification process in order to highlight the consequences of such transformations of the lives of the families that moved out as well as of those that still live in the neighbourhood houses. Most of these houses advertise themselves as luxury accommodation with the most updated facilities and the availability of local maids (Sibley, 2006).

Although gentrification is generally assumed as a negative phenomenon, what is happening in the medina of Fez as gentrification, may serve as a relief to its problems. The increasing number of the foreigners who are interested in living in this medieval city, or having a residence for their holidays in the area, have lead to an increase in the costs of living in medina. Many of the foreigner residents tend to restore their properties on their own budget, and also invest in upkeep of the area surrounding their residence. This new factor may in long term persuade the native middle class of Fez to return and settle down in Fez and bring back the original traditions with them. However, Sibley argues that, although it can be argued that Europeans buying courtyard houses in the medina contribute to the restoration, transformation and re-use of buildings, the historical fabric of the medina is at the mercy of European consumers. It is likely that courtyard houses as well as the neighbourhoods where they are located will be significantly transformed in the future, reflecting a different identity than that of its original population. Furthermore, the danger of gentrification and the loss of a local architectural heritage to a foreign population can have disastrous consequences (Sibley, 2006).

4-2-5- Conclusion

One of the initial problems of the medina used to originate from the overlapping management and lack of a focused governmental policy. The involvement of

political parties who lead municipal councils with different perspectives, powerful investors, and technicians of different administrations with different aspirations influence the course of any project. The rehabilitation plan of ADER-Fez has been successful in gaining the effective participation of local and national entities and to strengthen local government's ability. The sustainability of the city is deeply related to the social development and the community institutions that have played an important role in keeping its heart beating without stopping. The participatory approach adopted during the project preparation has contributed to the goal of increasing level of private investment in the medina, brought about by the project itself. Appointing neighbourhood managers in each neighbourhood (AMICAL) as the mediator between the inhabitants of the area and the stakeholders is also a positive measure to provide this aim.

Introducing and making good use of a computerized GIS database on the medina for collecting data on physical conditions of the medina and its social structure has contributed to the project management.

The old medina of Fez has suffered from the emigration of original residents who were substituted by rural migrants. The international attention has caused some original Fassi families to return from the Ville Novelle or from Casablanca and Rabat to establish family houses once more in the fez medina. This fact can be assumed as one of the criteria to evaluate the success of the project. However, the number of the families who come back to the medina is negligible compared with the number of the original Fassi families who would like to leave the medina toward the new city, in search for better living conditions.

Moroccans have become experts in historic preservation. The preservationist policies used in Morocco have become models for preserving medieval cities throughout the Middle East, such as medieval Cairo and Damascus, and Moroccan experts are currently working under UNESCO in Oman, aiding the preservation of several historic fortresses. Therefore, urban rehabilitation can create more job opportunities than planned in the scheme (Radoine, 2003).

To overcome the lack of appropriate expertise, to rebuild the community's trust in its heritage, to bring the master-builders back into their original work, to involve more public and private sectors in investing in the historic city, and so on, a common ground has been established and a training environment has been set up for the simple citizens as well as for the craftsmen, technicians, politicians, stakeholders, businessmen, intellectual, etc. It seems ADER-Fez has recognized that to meet the aims of an urban rehabilitation project, it is necessary that all the people involved in it, directly or indirectly, as decision makers and must be motivated to take part in the project. Development, culture and environment are the framework upon which these conservation efforts are based. Moreover, one of the major factors of sustainability in Fez, recognized by ADER-Fez team, is its dynamic community. If Fez is still intact, it is not because of its monuments but rather it is because of its people. However, it is very important specially that people who are directly involved in the scheme feel their role in the progress of the project.

Perception of the consistency and chronological durability of planning in urban rehabilitation since 1972, confirms the analytical outlook of the urban administrators. The remarkable resolve to setting up an office for Fez regional delegation is a good proof of this perception.

Finally, the assessment of the World Bank about the success of the project says:

> "after a careful assessment of the project components, including review of project documents and meetings with key members of the project appraisal team, peer reviewers, bank managers, as well as with Mr. Mohammed kabbaj, former minister of finance and foreign investments of Morocco, and professor François Vigier of Harvard University, the panel finds the project fully satisfactory and wishes to congratulate the task team on the novel and replicable approach adopted for the rehabilitation of Fez. This is an important "first" project of a series of similar projects on other Medinas of Morocco, and it may serve as a reference as a learning ground for planning rehabilitation projects of other historic cities in the region and elsewhere in the world... The fez Medina rehabilitation project has been also successful in raising consciousness concerning cultural heritage issues both in the Bank and Morocco due to the attention it has received from the highest authorities of Morocco, as well as from executive management of UNESCO and the senior management of the Bank..."
(Radoine, 2003, p475)

4-3-Aleppo, Syria

4-3-1-General Features of Aleppo and Its History

Aleppo, once an important centre of commerce between the silk and spice roads in the orient, is also one of the oldest continuously settled cities of the world. There are countless traces of the city's turbulent 5000 year old history in the old city-with its residential areas, small craft enterprises, markets and religious sites- a history of social and cultural transformation . They make the whole city one of the most interesting in the whole orient. Its strategic geographic location on a high plateau halfway between the Mediterranean cost and the Euphrates River marked it as the crossroad of several important trading and pilgrimage routes, including the Silk Road. It has been ruled by many, including the Hittites, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Mongols, Mamluks, and Ottomans. Each empire built upon the foundations of its predecessor, forming a historically rich and complex layered urban core, the Old city of Aleppo.

Aleppo became part of the Islamic world in 673. It gained prominence as a regional cultural centre during Abbasid rule in Syria (750-1258) and it is during this period that the city's landmark citadel was constructed on the site of the former Roman acropolis. Aleppo was attacked two times during the crusades, in 1098 and 1124 which necessitated stronger city defences, the city walls with towers and fortified gates, eight of which remain today. The Mongolian army attacked Aleppo in 1260 which caused vast destruction in the city. This weakened state left Aleppo struggling to regain its status as the regional political and cultural centre and during the fifteenth century, under Mamluk rule, the city underwent major restoration and reconstruction efforts. By 1517 Aleppo became part of

Ottoman Empire and the city settled into its current position as the major metropolis of northern Syria (Basquets, 2005).

According to the official website of the GTZ (German Agency for Technical Cooperation), the historic city of Aleppo in northern Syria is a growing city, with two million inhabitants and some 50,000 additional people each year, which means it is growing more than 3% a year. But, this fact does not apply to the historic city which has lost one third of its population in some areas over the last twenty years (GTZ, 2006 b).

The area of the historic city is almost 400 hectares, with 106,000 residents. The historic residential areas show high population densities of 30 to 650 persons per hectare (GTZ, 2006 a). Figures 4-9 to 4-14 are general views from the old city of Aleppo.

Figure 4-9- The Citadel of Aleppo; Picture Taken By the Author from the Minaret of the
Friday Mosque, February 2007

Figure 4-10- View of the Old City from the Minaret of the Friday Mosque, Picture Taken By
the Author in February 2007

Figure 4-11- A Rehabilitated Old House Which Is Used As Restaurant, Picture Taken By the
Author in June 2007

Figure 4-12- The Historic Souk of Aleppo, Picture Taken By the Author in June 2007

Figure 4-13- Madrassa Shibani. Place of the Permanent Exhibition for the Aleppo
Rehabilitation Project, Picture Taken By the Author in February 2007

Figure 4-14- An Ottoman Building In Bab-Al-Faraj Area, Picture Taken By the
Author in June 2007

4-3-2-City of Aleppo as a World Heritage City

In 1977 the governorate of Aleppo had plans to construct a 14-storey tower adjacent to the existing governor's office directly across from the entrance to the citadel. At this time, a group of architects, geographers, engineers, and historians lobbied the municipality to prevent the construction of the high-rise structure. This team of conservationists, including local and national members of the Department of Antiquities, was successful in convincing the Syrian Ministry of Culture to list the intramural and parts of the extramural old city as a registered national monument, theoretically preventing further demolition of any part of the site by the master plan. At this time, a group of consultants from UNESCO was also invited to Aleppo to offer its professional opinion about urban planning policies for the old city. The UNESCO team generated a report including an assessment of the current situation and outlined alternative planning opportunities to those detailed in the master plan. The report reasserted the historic significance of the area and by 1986 the "old city of Aleppo" became inscribed on the world heritage list (Basquets, 2005).

4-3-2-1-Medina of Aleppo and Selected Neighbourhoods

The old city of Aleppo, like many other old cities around the world, is threatened by structural, social and economical decline.

About 30% of houses are in poor structural conditions, with cracked roofs and walls, overloaded foundations, and damages from domestic and ground water (GTZ, 2006 b).

At the end of the 19th century, the city entered a period of rapid and sustained growth. New residential areas based on European models sprang up towards the west of the Old City; they attracted the attention of the municipal administration during the time of the French Mandate (1920-1946), while the Old City was neglected. Its infrastructure and building stock began to decay. Active demolition came in the wake of plans to make the city more traffic friendly in the 1950s, 60s and 70s. Dramatically worsened living conditions and demands for more modern housing have made residents who could afford it leave the Old City. Structural, social and economic decay and impoverishment have since threatened the Old City and its cultural heritage (Qudsi, 1984).

Some courtyard houses have been subdivided between extended families or sold in smaller units. To solve the growing demand for the additional space, some houses were extended vertically with sometimes ugly new stories. Open courtyards were covered and valuable architectural features removed (GTZ, 2006 a).

In the old city, commercial activities are extended into residential areas occupying the space of the former houses, interfering with the traditional atmosphere of neighbourhoods. Some courtyards or caravansaries have been transformed into storage places or sites of small-scale industrial productions. They have left the neighbourhoods with negative effect of heavy traffic, and air, water and ground pollution. There are also some problems in the infrastructure and accessibility. During certain hours of the day, traffic congestion is acute and it is very difficult to find a parking space (GTZ, 2006 a).

These problems are the result of a process of major changes which have occurred during the past 50 years. [Figure 4-15]
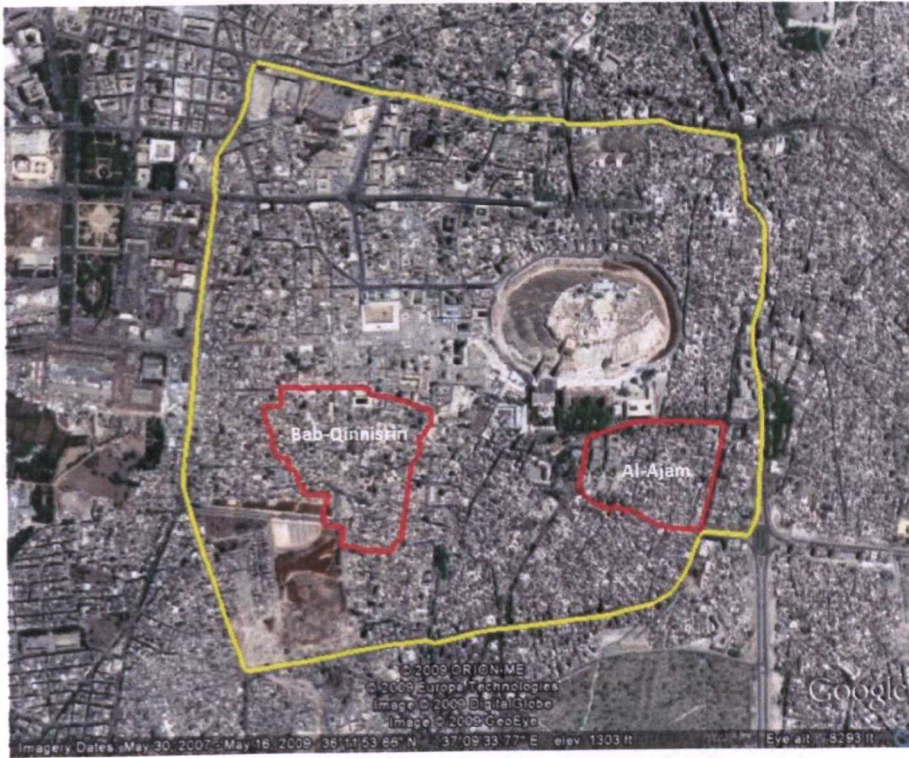
Figure4-15- Location of the Old City, In the Centre of Aleppo, And the Two Selected Neighbourhoods (Aerial View from Google Earth)

As explained in the methodology of the research in chapter 3, two main neighbourhoods in Aleppo were selected for the survey. As the ongoing urban rehabilitation project was in different phase in different neighbourhoods, the survey areas were selected in a way that the viewpoints of inhabitants of dissimilar neighbourhoods, regarding the progress of project, could be taken into consideration. The first neighbourhood, "Bab Qinnisrin" has actually been the action area 1 for the rehabilitation project by GTZ and Aleppo municipality. This area, situated in the south west of the old city (figure 4-15) and adjacent to a gate with the same name, has been chosen as a test area for the various tools of rehabilitation, by the project team. At the time of the survey (June 2007), the scheme had been implemented and accomplished on the principle of "learning by example"; and that is the reason for selection of this neighbourhood.

Bab Qinnisrin was the first neighbourhood where the urban rehabilitation was implemented among 19 action areas, selected by GTZ. To have a basis for comparison, the second area selected for the survey was "Al-Ajam", where no

interventions were still made by the project. This area was situated in the south eastern side of the citadel (figure 4-15). There is no difference between the characteristics of the population living in the two neighbourhoods. The only dissimilarity of the neighbourhoods is the fact that the first one has been undergoing a rehabilitation project, whereas the second neighbourhood is still facing with deterioration and neglect. A part of the survey was also dedicated to the neighbourhoods such as Jallum (in the west side of Bab-Qinnisrin) or Bab-Antakya (in the north of Jallum), that only some aspects of the urban rehabilitation project had been or was being implemented in them.

4-3-2-2-Evaluation of Previous Urban Rehabilitation Projects in Aleppo

4-3-2-2-1-Previous Interventions in the Old City of Aleppo between 1930 And 1992

Aleppo's economic and architectural features have wavered over the centuries. It reached an architectural high point during the Ayyubid period of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and its commercial peak in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and at this time, it was the third largest city in the Ottoman Empire. During the eighteenth century the city fell into a both political and commercial decline. However, the mid-twentieth century saw an awakening to the heritage factors of the old city, and a number of planning schemes were produced, either to enliven its commercial potential, or to maintain its historic significance. Danger and Ecochard produced one of the first town planning schemes under the French administration in the 1930s. This was followed by a second French scheme under André Gutton in 1954. The Japanese planner Gyoji Banshoya produced a further scheme in 1974, and it was at this time that most of the destruction and inappropriate infill that remains today took place. To provide better access for motor traffic, approximately one tenth of the intramural old city was demolished. several neighbourhoods were divided into isolate urban districts separated by wide streets and high-rise houses were built according to a building code totally alien to the traditional setting (GTZ, 2006 b). It was Banshoya's scheme and the

destruction of 42 hectares of significant historic fabric that alerted concerned citizens of Aleppo, who in protest, succeeded in stemming the development. However, even with the support of UNESCO, the implementation of a proper conservation plan was not addressed. It was not until 1983 that a stop was placed on the progress of the plans, and a new plan sought (Rowney, 2004). The final stage of the master plan was ripe for execution in 1978 when serious resistance by conservationists (official and private) began (Qudsi, 1984).

This intervention caused considerable damage. Apart from the destruction and abandonment of historical buildings, whole neighbourhoods were isolated in between the new roads. Multi-story buildings sprang up alongside the new streets. Pollution and increased traffic were an immediate side effect. Furthermore, the integrity and privacy of the areas directly behind the multi-storey buildings was adversely affected. The decay and uncertainty of the future of the urban areas played into the devaluation of the real estate base as well as land speculations. The living environment of entire neighbourhoods was compromised and their social coherence was disrupted. The limited municipal funds available for development were channelled outside the Old City to create new areas planned according to European standards. Services within the Old City deteriorated, as funding was limited for the day to day upgrading and maintenance. The very existence of the historic fabric and the lifestyle it represented were in danger. As a result the out migration from the Old City increased. In the last three decades, the population within the demarcated historical zone decreased by about one third (GTZ, 2006 b).

The first initiatives regarding the safeguard of the old city, started by lobbying of concerned Aleppians in the late seventies-some of them in the government antiquities department- who convinced officials in Damascus to declare the old city, a national monument. At the same time, a Syrian architect, Adli Qudsi, persuaded UNESCO to designate the old city, covering almost 400 hectares, as a world heritage site in 1986. Thereby, they brought an end to the master plan interventions.

The old city committee, a mixed group from the department of antiquities, the municipality and the private sector, was then formed and asked to resolve the conflict between the master plan and the registration decree, and to control al building permits within the historic quarters (Qudsi, 1984).

There were still serous conflicts between the municipality which preferred to carry on the master plan, and the conservation committee about the restrictions made by the decree. However, the conservation committee succeeded in delaying the projects until the UNESCO report was ready. This report suggested guidelines for a new master plan and a total conservation scheme, and became an important reference ain all decisions. The objective of this plan, according to Stefano Bianca (Bianca, 1984), was to find reasonable and viable solutions that lie somewhere between the extremes of blowing up and fossilizing, which will create appropriate developments that can interrelate and reconcile conservation and innovation in optimal ways.

The Guidelines suggested by the UNESCO plan include:

- An integrated planning framework which considers all aspects of planning in mutual interrelation.
- An appropriate transportation strategy, to optimize accessibility to certain areas, put selective restrain on private vehicles, design strategically located car parks, plan well equipped interchange nodes, and create a continues and highly attractive pedestrian network.
- A well-adapted land use scheme to ensure the balance of the urban system.
- A comprehensive urban design strategy: conservation and development in historic areas should be tackled as a combined effort. The goal should be to establish consistency, and coherence within the whole urban structure, while allowing the necessary differentiation between the various components.

- Feedback from pilot projects: principles and policies should be tested by pilot projects which will allow the improvement and refinement of the comprehensive planning framework, before it is too late.(Bianca 1984)

However, these attempts proved insufficient to reverse the process of dilapidation. The historic continuity of the Old City in its traditional form relied on its economic and social vitality and the ability of its residents to maintain and revitalize their homes and neighbourhoods. Therefore, a comprehensive overall strategy for the rehabilitation of the Old City was prepared. The complex nature of urban rehabilitation, its inter-disciplinary approach, and its extensive finances prompted the City of Aleppo to seek assistance. The German Government and the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development were asked to participate. Both responded favourably and the project was born(GTZ, 2006 a).

4-3-2-2-2-Current Project

In 1992, the German Government (BMZ/GTZ) joined the Syrian Arab Republic (City of Aleppo) to initiate the Project for the Rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo. The joint Syrian - German technical cooperation aims at strengthening the urban management capacities of the Municipality of Aleppo, represented by the Directorate of the Old City (DOC). The Project promotes the efforts to pursue a balanced and careful policy in rehabilitating the Old City, to take measures for revitalization, and to secure sustainable future financial resources for the process. Rehabilitation measures focus on the technical infrastructure, housing, environmental conditions and social services. The Project generally follows a poverty alleviation and gender orientation. The rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo is the ultimate objective of the Project. However, in order to achieve this objective, the Project has had to understand the needs of the target groups using the site, primarily the residents. Setting the strategies and tools needed to preserve and upgrade the living conditions of the inhabitants and users of the Old City are necessary steps towards achieving the Project's objectives. This entails the establishment of a professional institution to manage the rehabilitation process

and to ensure its sustainability into the future (GTZ, 2006 b). The need to a comprehensive analysis of interrelated problems, and joint efforts by private and public investments is well recognized by GTZ.

The objectives of this recent project are as below:

- Take immediate steps to address the urgent needs of the Old City residents. These include: emergency home repair for lower income families, maintenance and rehabilitation of dilapidated public infrastructure. It is hoped that public investments will encourage the residents to actively participate in the rehabilitation process.

- Initiate a Development plan based on the detailed analysis of physical, social and economical conditions. This Plan regulates land-uses in such a way to balance the requirements of development with those of preservation. Implementation procedures will be based on identification of priority needs, availability of funds, and participation of the public and private sectors in the process.

- Establish an institutional setup with a good measure of independence. Both the day to day municipal matters and the development issues are to be tackled. This requires the upgrading of the administrative rules and regulations, the training of Project staff and the establishment of a knowledge management scheme. The long term goal is to ensure the sustainability of the rehabilitation process after the internationally-funded Project itself has ended.

- Seek the involvement of all relevant local and international institutions and expand funding sources.

- Start implementation during the planning stage and evaluate results to adapt the ongoing planning process accordingly.

▶ *Urban Management*

By this cooperation, a flexible institutional team has been set up through a time-consuming process, among the different sections of the city administrative. This

team includes specialists from GTZ itself, the municipality, the Old Aleppo, Awqaf, traffic management, electricity, water and gas administrations, and all other institutions who are somehow involved in the interventions inside the old city. According to the project manager of GTZ, this process still needs to be improved, but by now it has been sufficient enough to make comprehensive decisions in the area. One of the team members who has been working with the project for 15 year, believes that this team is becoming progressively more flexible and perceptive to the demands of the project (Interviewed by the author, February 2007).

Overlapping management has always been a fundamental problem in urban rehabilitation projects, especially in the developing countries with insufficient legal instruments regarding historic area management. Devising some criteria to legalize the extent and state of intervention for any of the responsible administrations in the area, can be one of the most initial measures in urban rehabilitation projects, and GTZ seems to be in the process of successfully developing this device.

A geographic information system (GIS) is also set up to manage the complex and interdependent analytical and planimetric data. This enables the monitoring of work on a continual basis and the production of development reports. These maps will inform about the form of the urban area, composition of its structural parts, location of the old town, contrasts, preferences, and local balances, requirements from new housing, commercial or public buildings to infrastructures.

▶ *Infrastructure*

The rehabilitation of infrastructure networks is a major part of the project for the Old City rehabilitation. It has aimed at improving the living conditions of the Old City inhabitants and at reducing neighbourhood's degradation. It comprised the design and execution of new infrastructure networks, traffic and transport management planning and increasing the competence of the technical staff.

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Before starting implementation, public meetings with the men and women of the area were held by social research tem of GTZ in 2001-2004 to pre-inform them about the proposed works, raise their awareness and to listen to their demands. (Wahab 2001, 2004, 2005) The Water Authority, the Telecommunication Department, the Traffic Department and Aleppo Electricity were asked to become part of the work for the coordination of the sewerage, telephone, traffic and water networks upgrading in Old Aleppo. Financing agreements (FA) were signed between the Municipality and GTZ to regulate the funding arrangements and define the conditions of partnership. The outcome of implementing projects in selected action areas of Old Aleppo has been renewed water and sewerage systems and street covers, which improved the living conditions for the inhabitants. New standard tender documents and procedures for infrastructure systems upgrading have been produced based on the increased competence and on the experience gained from the design and works execution in Action Areas (GTZ, 2006 b).

► *Traffic Management*

The overall goals of the traffic concept in the old city are to make sure that living conditions of the inhabitants are improved as the residential areas are protected from through traffic but their accessibility is assured, the function of central commercial is supported by appropriate traffic management, and the attraction of historical monuments is maintained by providing appropriate accessibility for tourists (GTZ, 2006 b).

The aim is the enhancement of the traffic flow on the one side and to impede transit traffic on the other. The concept keeps transit traffic on major roads and relocates it from the neighbourhoods. Transit through the Old City of Aleppo via the Citadel has to be completely cut. The strategy to ban private traffic from certain streets inside the quarters requires parking space in a decent distance from the residential areas. The parking facilities are located in such a manner that they can be reached within a walking distance of 500 meters. A pedestrian network

connects all quarters in the Old City of Aleppo. Furthermore it supplies access to all major tourist attractions. At major intersections measures are foreseen to secure safe crossing. A public transport bus line should be established which calls at the old city gates. This enhances the situation for the inhabitants, who are at present time unsatisfied with the access by public transport to and from their residential area within the quarters. New traffic regulations are established in cooperation with the Traffic Police, aiming at reducing through-traffic and pollution (GTZ, 2006 b).

► *Results Achieved So Far*

The city government has formed an interdisciplinary administrative team (Directorate of the old city) which is gradually taking over the rehabilitation work. Seventy percent of the water and sanitation system of the old city had already been renovated in this way. This guarantees safe drinking water and prevents structural damage caused by leaking water mains. The inhabitants of the old city now enthusiastically contribute their own suggestions for improvement: the desire for a health centre and a kindergarten was expressed in open hearings (Wahab, 2005). This led to the setting up of two "health points" where the people of the quarter receive health care. The first kindergarten has also already been opened.

Furthermore, residents of the old city are using small loans to renovate their houses. About 20 percent of the endangered buildings have been renovated by their inhabitants so far.

Private investment in Aleppo is growing and population figures have stabilised. Between 1945 and 1995 the population of Aleppo fell by half. This trend has been turned around: over the last ten years, the population of the old city has risen by 15,000 (GTZ Official website) .

The Syrian government regards the project as a model for the preservation of historic cities and for modern management of urban development. Consequently the government has recommended Aleppo's rehabilitation and development concept to other Syrian cities.

4-3-3-Conclusion

The current project for the rehabilitation of the old city of Aleppo is directed by the municipality of Aleppo, and operates through two committees. The high committee for the preservation of Aleppo overlooks the whole project, and the technical committee is responsible for controlling all construction activities in the old city. The technical committee supervises major monuments, but conservation work to these monuments must be approved of by the Antiquities Department of Syria.

Cooperating with the GTZ, and the Arab fund for economic and social development have improved the opportunity for dynamic and regular connections between Syrian professionals and stakeholders responsible for the rehabilitation of the city of Aleppo. Apparently, none of the previous master plans-disregarding their success- had been designed by Syrian professionals; therefore there had not been any equivalent to this sort of experience among the Syrian. This gives the best possibility to get the benefit from an internationally experienced organization.

One positive point of the urban rehabilitation project being conducted by GTZ is its clarity and precision regarding the aims and objectives of the project. Initially, based on the previous experiences of GTZ organisation in such projects, and the practical involvement or academic background of local professionals in the urban problems and urban development in the past, the project team have been aware enough about all the shortcomings which must be fulfilled by the projects; and how the project should plan to achieve its objectives.

The project objectives are also introduced to the residents of the old city, through establishing the communication channels between the project and the public. These channels include public meetings, posters and brochures, individual discussions and meetings with target groups, and media. The project team believe that they have been successful in keeping people informed about the process and outcomes of the project. The Aleppian GTZ expert, who has been responsible for

the social studies of the project for many years, indicates that the awareness of the residents is so increased that they sometimes comment on the activities, and criticise them even without having been asked. They are now aware of all their citizen rights and they expect project stakeholders to achieve their legal duties. This fact will certainly inspire the rehabilitation team in carrying on the plan.

At the same time, the website of the project is a very useful resource available for all the researchers who are interested in this project. Every aspect of the plan is described, details are given and made clear with the help of maps and images, and the achievements of the plan are clarified.

On broad terms, it seems that the planned work is being carried out properly. The leaders of different sections of project, all agree that the long term plans are going stable according to the schedule. There has been some deviations in the implementation phase, due to unexpected procedures, which is inevitable; however, the whole project is more or less on schedule according to the planned phases: Phase 0: Preparation and surveys, Phase I: Planning and pilot projects, Phase II: Establishing institution and procedures, and Phase III: Developing sustainable management and financing tools. This fact is approved to be true about the specific objectives of the project, as well, according to the project reports in its website.

The fact that-according to the project team- the project is proceeding accurately, regarding its interrelation with the city administrations and stakeholders, and also regarding the funding bodies, can be assumed as a proof of its success. However, since the project aims at rehabilitating Aleppo as a living city, it is of great importance to evaluate the scheme, according to the public interests and judgement. Leading the scheme towards a sustainable urban development project needs to get people involved and make sure that the objectives are really responding to the community needs and providing them with sufficient motivation to participate.

4-4-Istanbul, Turkey

4-4-1-General Features of Istanbul and Its History

Istanbul, built on the crossroads of two continents, was successively capital of the eastern Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, and the Ottoman Empire. The old city of Istanbul, the capital of three great empires, the witness of three religious conversions and a palimpsest of various civilizations, is unique (WHC, 2006). At present, Istanbul is the largest and most urbanized city of Turkey. Istanbul's heritage predates from old civilizations of Ionian, Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman. At present, the estimated population is over 10 million, by which half of the population is under the age of 35 years and projected to grow to 12 million by 2010. Seventy five percent of the population are Turkish and other communities that inhabit the city are Kurdish, Armenian, Jewish and Greek. Turkey's main religion is Islam as 99% of the population are Muslim. Istanbul is considered a city of immigrants where more than 60% of its population were born outside of Istanbul and the city has grown faster through migration than natural population growth (Avgenocou, et al, 2007, p19).

The historic areas of Istanbul were included in the UNESCO world heritage list in 1985. (Figures 4-16 and 4-17)

Figure 4-16-Istanbul, picture from: http://pages.pomona.edu/~gk014747/misc/istanbul04.jpg

Figure4-17-Istanbul in the Crossroad of Two Continents (Picture Form Google Earth)

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4-4-2-Istanbul and Listed World Heritage Neighbourhoods

In Turkey, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is perceived as the main responsible authority and, within the Ministry, the Directorate General for Cultural Heritage and Museums carries out planning and implementation for the conservation of Turkey's cultural and natural heritage. However, in practice the Ministry takes a far less active role than this might suggest and new legislation gives an enhanced role to municipalities. If a site is subject to legislation of one or more institution, these institutions collaborate for the protection of the site, such as the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (WHC, 2006).

The greater municipality of Istanbul, with a greater municipality mayor who is selected by the general public, is composed of 27 smaller municipalities (boroughs) that are responsible for implementation of master plans and overseeing implementation of borough plans. Each borough has a centrally elected governor and an elected mayor, which run parallel chains of command. This dual administrative system was adopted to counterbalance both the central and local powers, but also became factor for potential conflict by overlapping responsibilities. The last administrative level is neighbourhood level, which is run by a Muhtar, someone from the local neighbourhood who functions as a registration officer that deals with local issues and to convey the opinions and wishes of local people onto the government (Avgenocou, et al, 2007). Apart from Istanbul metropolitan municipality and district municipalities, there are other organizations involved in historic area such as ministry of culture and tourism (world heritage coordination unit), Universities, NGOs, and some other professional organizations.

There are new laws that have been recently introduced that affect urban development in Istanbul. These laws are: the urban renewal law 5366, the urban conservation law 5266, and the press compulsory purchase. That new urban renewal law 5366 was established as a national regulation to generate new development on historic areas and other underdeveloped areas categorized at not suitable for residential. However, the conservation law 5266 that instils preservation and conservation of historical sites and monuments contradict the

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urban renewal law 5366 which enables authority to propose new developments on historical areas. This contradiction has generated a loophole in the legislative system, which is used to justify evictions and demolition within the historical areas of the city. The press compulsory purchase law is used by authorities to purchase properties in which they categorise for public interest development (Avgenocou, et al, 2007).

The old city of Istanbul is inscribed in the world heritage list in 1985, based on criteria (i), (RehabiMed), (iii), and (ADER-Fez). The advisory body confirms that all of the nominated body in the old city of Istanbul correspond to the criteria (i), (RehabiMed), and (iii). For criterion (ADER-Fez) the document emphasises that the traditional quarters of old wooden houses in Suleymaniye, Zeyrek (protected in 1979), and kadirga are rapidly disappearing examples of vernacular architecture that used to characterize Istanbul. Under the "education, information and awareness building" of this document, it is mentioned that within the scopes of the Fener-Balat and Zeyrek rehabilitation projects steps have been taken to involve the local people in the process (UNESCO, 2009).

▶ *Previous Urban development experiences in Istanbul*

In 1934 A. Agache and J.H.Lambert made preliminary studies of the city. The problems highlighted by Lambert were: a weakened property market, anarchic reconstruction, recent buildings of excessive height precluding a panoramic view of urban landscape, scarcity of thoroughfares for motor traffic, and absence of modern cultural amenities. The proposed solutions involved three distinct axes: industry, culture, and sports and tourism (Borie, et al, 1987).

Master plan was proposed by Prost in 1937. This scheme has inspirations from the previous plan by A. Agache and J.H.Lambert, but here the main emphasis is on distribution and aesthetics. The plan is first and foremost a street plan. This plan was the first modern intervention of the west in the near east, together with H. Jansen's plan in Ankara and M.Ecochard in Damascus. In contrast with his

Moroccan project, with European quarters parallel to the medinas(1913-23), and with his plan for the Paris region(1932-4), Prost here undertook a third type of project: the remodelling of a historical city (Borie, et al, 1987).

There was also Luigi Piccinato master plan in 1958 which stressed the dangers confronting historical centres of great cultural value with regard to the vogue for concrete construction and speculation. The plan insisted on the need and urgency for plans to restore historical centres, for landscape plans and for regional plans for the entire territory. Having been inspired by the previous plans, the piccanto plan has the merit of having emphasised of the idea of the urban –organism linked to its hinterland as a single all-in-one organism (Bianchini, 1993).

In the 1980s the outcomes of conservation practices in Istanbul were shaped by the initial impact of globalisation and political modernisation combined with the priorities and strategies of development oriented Mayor who was exercising his powers in the context of the dual planning system. The result was the large-scale destruction of the historic built environment and neglect of much of the rest, despite the strengthening of formal conservation planning powers. During this period the forces of modernisation and development far outweighed conservation concerns (Kocabas, 2006).

In the 1990s the forces of spatial restructuring combined with changed Mayoral priorities to 'protect' the historic CBD from the large-scale redevelopment that had been envisaged in the 1980s, transform some areas of the historic core by cumulative changes of use and small-scale redevelopment and produce islands of gentrifying neighbourhoods in a sea of continuing decay. Overall, the modernisation and development pressures were less than in the 1980s and less of the historic built environment was destroyed. But there was little positive conservation action (Kocabas, 2006).

4-4-2-1-Features of Zeyrek Neighbourhood and Urban Rehabilitation Experiences So Far

The historic heart of Istanbul is surrounded by water on three sides and by a rampart on the other. It is said to be built on seven hills. Zeyrek is situated in the fourth hill of historic peninsula. Timber houses of ottoman architecture (approximately 525 houses) give the unique identity to Zeyrek. Conservation area in Zeyrek is 11.33 hectares in area and has got 6000 population. (Figure 4-18 and 4-19)

Zeyrek has been under protection by UNESCO since 1979, and is one of the four neighbourhoods which are mentioned as architecturally valuable and also under threat of deterioration in the 1985 documents for inscription of Istanbul in the world heritage list (UNESCO, 2009).

According to a joint report by UNESCO and Istanbul Technical University, the social structure of the area has changed completely since 1950s, and it has been reflected on the spatial structure, too. Migrants who are mainly from eastern and south eastern Anatolia are from low-income level (Gulersoy, et al, 2008).

Figure 4-18- Location of Zeyrek in the Old City of Istanbul (Picture from Google Earth)

Figure 4-19- Aerial View of Zeyrek Neighbourhood (Picture from Google Earth)

► *Global Studio, 2005*

Global Studio was convened by Dr Anna Rubbo, Associate Professor in the Department of Architecture, Planning and Allied Arts at the University of Sydney and member of the United Nations Task Force to Improve the Lives of Slum Dwellers. The Task Force was set up to address Target 11 of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, namely to 'have achieved by 2020 a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers' (Garau, Sclat & Carolini, 2005, as cited in Ferguson, 2007).

Istanbul was location of the first interdisciplinary design project of Global Studio in 2005, and the project took place in Zeyrek neighbourhood as a world heritage site inhabited by many migrant groups and characterized by poverty and ethnic tensions (Rubbo & Nicholas, 2008).

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Global Studio initiated its multidisciplinary urban development approach which was developed at the University of Sydney in partnership with Columbia University and The University of Rome, and in conjunction with Istanbul Technical University, the Middle East Technical University and Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in Turkey. The main goal of the global Studio is to help the urban poor, and they have chosen to learn from the community about their values and needs. It has made it essential therefore, to take a participatory approach. The proposals of the project were developed in collaboration with the local population, with the aim being to improve the economic, social and environmental sustainability of the community (Ferguson, 2007).

The project was designed in several work packages which were conducted by students supervise by architects, planners and practitioners. These work packages include:

- To improve the connections between Zeyrek and the rest of the city and boost the area's economy. By revitalizing old routes into Zeyrek and enlivening spaces leading to the mosque, the proposal sought to draw people into the area in a way that would benefit the local community.

- To provide facilities such as a childcare centre, a skills training centre and a women's health centre.

- To look at spatial strategies that would anticipate the impact of an earthquake, using open land as gathering places and aid drop-off points.

- To green the many wastelands to produce a chain of gardens and gathering places.

- To mobilize the local children to clear a neglected site create a swing and paint a mural.

Although according to the project report, this scheme was inspiring at the time of implementation, there were limitations that slowed down the research and design process. It was a very short program carried out in one week, while the students from different cultural and educational background and in different stages of their studies had to work in an environment where the first language is not English:

"Participatory design takes time. A meaningful collaboration where both professional skills and community input is valued requires far more than a week. Many students felt that they had not been able to give Zeyrek nearly as much as its inhabitants had given them. They felt they had not been able to facilitate a useful level of community participation and it was unlikely that the work they had started would be continued once they left. A comment made by Cameron Sinclair showed the reality of what had been done: the mural wall, which had been so exciting and involved so many people, was a wonderful symbol of hope for the future. But the students would disappear; if it did not lead to anything else, in five years time it could become a sign of empty promises and disappointed hopes." (Ferguson, 2007, p12)

► *Rehabilitation Scheme by Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Directorate General for Cultural Heritage and Museums, 1985 to Date*

The Historic Areas of Istanbul was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1985. However, since 1993 concerns have been expressed over the legislative arrangements, conservation plans and the effectiveness of organisational relationships between decision-making bodies responsible for the safeguarding of World Heritage.

In 2003 a socio-economic survey was made in Zeyrek community, results of which were presented to the World Heritage Centre. This survey recommended conserving of a timber house in Zeyrek to act as an exemplar of conservation practice. This recommendation was completed in 2005 by ICOMOS Turkey in collaboration with the Zeyrek Community Conservation Association and with technical input from ICOMOS IWC (International Wood Committee) (WHC, 2006).

Another event in 2003 was "save our roofs" campaign which is a civil society initiative established jointly by Turkish Timber Association (TTA), Minister of Culture and Tourism, The Governorate and Mayor of Istanbul and the UNESCO

Deputy Director-General for Culture, with the aim of promoting economical repairs to save timber houses in Zeyrek. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism has allocated US$ 122,750 for the conservation of a further six houses by the TTA, but the administrative problems in transferring this sum to an NGO have so far not been resolved (WHC, 2006).

In 2005 grants started to be provided to individuals for the preparation of restoration proposals and their implementation within the framework of the new Conservation Legislation (WHC, 2006). Since then, benchmarks have been appointed for each project to be implemented by the authorities, two of which include Zeyrek neighbourhood: amendment of first degree conservation zone to coincide with the boundaries of the world heritage core area by February 2007; and comprehensive revision of Zeyrek area study to transform them from development plan to implementation plan which prioritise the conservation of existing heritage structures to international standards by February 2008. It is recommended that the grants now available from central government for conservation should be augmented by local funding, particularly to support private owners.

Fatih municipality (including Zeyrek) plans to target the available grants from the ministry of culture and tourism by motivating owners in conserving their houses based on the project proposal. According to "Etude" project manager in Fatih municipality (interviewed by author, September 2007), although Zeyrek project is supposed to be an urban development scheme, because of shortage in funds, in practice, most of the fund is spent on rehabilitation of individual buildings which are selected among the listed Ottoman buildings whether inhabited or vacated. Investment is made in private buildings provided that the owner will reside in the building for 5 years after the rehabilitation, or has to pay back the invested fund. Moreover, any structural intervention in the building must be supervised by the municipality. (Figures 4-20&4-21)

In 2005 grants started to be provided to individuals for the preparation of restoration proposals and their implementation within the framework of the new Conservation Legislation. According to the State Party, as reported in the 2006 progress report to the WHC Committee, new legislation enacted in 2004 are designed to equip local authorities with: "more efficient technical and administrative tools in the field of conservation and thus is believed that it will enhance the public participation and state support for the conservation of the historical assets." However, The Ministry of Culture and Tourism has hitherto not succeeded in sharing information on World Heritage issues with the municipalities and other stakeholders, so that there is little local awareness of World Heritage values, or of the requirements of the Operational Guidelines (ICOMOS/UNESCO, 2006).
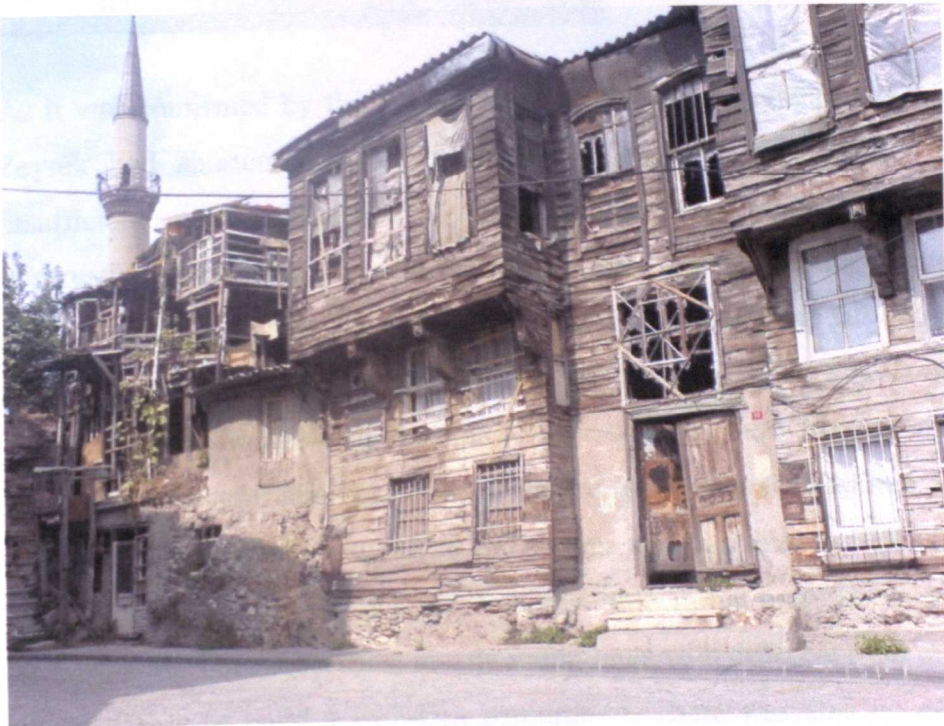

Figure4-20- Timber Houses in the Area Are Generally in Very Poor
Condition (Picture Taken By the Author, September 2007)

Figure4-21- An Example of a Recently Renovated Timber House in Zeyrek (Picture Taken By the Author, September 2007)

As it was confirmed by the project manager, the urban rehabilitation scheme in Zeyrek had shortcomings which according to him, were mainly based on insufficient funds (Interview by the author, September 2007). Personal observations by the author in the neighbourhood also proved this situation. The physical condition of the ottoman wooden housed was dramatically poor. Except for a few buildings which were rehabilitated either by ICOMOS Turkey or by Turkish Timber Association, the majority of buildings were dilapidating, but still inhabited by several families. Apart from few play areas for children, which did not seem to have standard qualities and enough safety, public facilities in the area were poor. However, a very noticeable condition in the area was lack of social infrastructure. The inhabitants, mostly immigrants with different rural origins, had not been able to build a well-knit community. There was also no evidence to support the idea that the municipality is supporting the community to improve their social connections in a way that would promote the communal benefit of the inhabitants of the area.

4-4-3-Conclusions

The distinctive value of Zeyrek area is recognised by the stakeholders in Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and measures are taken to preserve the unique remains of the ottoman heritage in Zeyrek, as recommended by and with financial help of UNESCO. However, the solutions seem to be of a temporary nature rather than providing the area with sustainable developments.

On the other hand, since the project has been more concentrated on rehabilitation of individual buildings rather than an urban development project which would meet the everyday needs of all inhabitants of the area, large number of local people are either unaware about it or know about the project through unofficial resources. This dilemma, along with the ever-increasing urban problems in the area has lead to a sever distrust toward the municipality, among the residents of the area, including both the original residents and also the immigrants who relate this negligence, to their poverty.

Another serious problem in the area is physical deterioration. The municipality investment is focused on individual buildings and other aspects of the urban area are left unattended. Moreover, there is a limited number of building which are recognised as qualified for the municipality grant; the most important criteria for a building to be qualified are its historic and architectural value and willingness of the owner to live in the property for five years after the rehabilitation. Many of the owners are not interested in making such commitment, and on the other hand they cannot afford to rehabilitate the building by themselves. There are also a quiet large number of owners who have left the area to live in other parts of Istanbul. Some of these owners have let their properties to deprived tenants with low rent and therefore are neither interested in making a contract with the municipality, nor in doing any kind of maintenance in the building. Since the tenants are in very poor economic condition, they can not afford the maintenance, too. What's more,

they do not intend to pay for the maintenance of a property which does not belong to them. All these factors have resulted in increasing number of buildings in dangerously poor physical condition, or in worse situations, vacant buildings or ruins which have the potential of being a place for garbage release, or gathering place for people with antisocial behaviour. Since lots of these buildings are ottoman wooden houses, they also increase the risk of fire in the neighbourhoods.

Generally, the measures made by municipality seem to be very insufficient. Besides, other features of area development can hardly be noticed in the area. Apart from developments required for the daily lives of the local, there is a good potential in Zeyrek to be developed as a tourist destination within Istanbul with its numerous Ottoman buildings, mosques, and also "Zeyrek hane" as a sacred place visited by many pilgrims, in the centre of neighbourhood.

Nonetheless, social problems appear to be the most dominant problem in the area. Large percent of the current inhabitants of the area are immigrants from rural areas. This group include very low income people who are generally uneducated and not at all attuned for the urban life style. Lack of hygiene in the area in spite of municipality's accomplished plans, disregard to urban social norms, and misuse of public urban facilities... are among the consequences of this incompatibility. As a result most of the original inhabitants of the area have either left Zeyrek to other parts of Istanbul, or are willing to do so.

Finally, there is a lack of constructive dialogue between the local community, and the municipality. The municipality's plans and objectives are not transparent enough for the local people. Furthermore, the immediate needs of inhabitants are not met and even the targeted owners are just informed rather than being involved, which contributes to the negative relationship between the municipality and the community.

4-5- General Conclusions

This chapter provided a background of the general features and the history of the three case study cities.

The three of the cities have run through a very long and rich history; experienced several dynasties ruling them in different periods; political and economical ups and downs which have affected their urban structure; and finally, all of them have managed to survive until the current time.

Obviously, although having passed the test of time, the cities are faced with different problems. Structural deterioration is the most noticeable problem which is observed in all three cities with different severity. The Ottoman wooden houses of Zeyrek in Istanbul are the most deteriorated during the time, while masonry buildings of Aleppo have had a better endurance, compared to wooden buildings in Zeyrek and mud brick buildings in Fez.

The historic centres of all the three cities have been recognized as valuable by local, national or/and international stakeholders and have been listed in the world heritage list of UNESCO in 1981 (Fez), 1986 (Aleppo), and 1985 (Istanbul). Zeyrek neighbourhood, however, was under protection of UNESCO since 1979.

Having recognized the value of these urban fabrics, different groups in local, National or international level have proposed plans to safeguard or rehabilitate the considered urban fabrics in different times since their inscription in the UNESCO's world heritage list. The investigations made through available reports and records of these urban development projects, which are described through this chapter, help to gain better understanding of the approaches taken previously in regard with urban development in these cities. Although different methods have been taken in the three cities with different levels of intervention, few remarks can be made about them: A) None of the schemes in the three cities, being it a small scale neighbourhood regeneration project or a comprehensive master plan, have

been fully accomplished due to different restrictions. B) There are projects among these schemes which focus more on modernization rather than preservation of the historic urban fabric. C) Although public participation has been mentioned to be considered in the project plans, there is no report or evidence of community involvement in any of the schemes.

Next chapter concentrates on the survey made about the current urban rehabilitation schemes in the three cities of Fez, Aleppo and Istanbul (Zeyrek).

Chapter 5: Data Collection and Analysis

5-1-Introduction

As explained in chapter three, based on a defined criteria and with consideration of several factors including, time, budget and accessibility of the cities to the researcher the three cities of Fez in Morocco, Aleppo in Syria and Istanbul in Turkey (Zeyrek neighbourhood) have been selected for the case studies.

This chapter provides further detail on the process of data collection and analysis in these cities, including personal observation, interviews with the stakeholders and interviews with the inhabitants of the considered neighbourhoods.

The findings of the survey are analysed with SPSS software, and are presented in the form of charts. At the first three sections, the data gathered about each city is analysed, and in the last part, the three cities are compared regarding the previously analysed data, to provide the basis upon which different scenarios are recommended in the next chapter.

5-2-Fez

5-2-1-Data Collection

In November 2006, field work was conducted in Fez in the form of a survey among the stakeholders of the urban rehabilitation project in Ader-Fez institute which is responsible for the urban rehabilitation projects in the medina of Fez, as

well as among the inhabitants of a number of neighbourhoods within the historic area. The main aim of the survey was to assess the approach of ADER-Fez project in regard to public awareness and public participation and the level of its success in achieving this aim. It was also planned to make out how that certain level of participation has informed the outcome of the whole urban rehabilitation project that was under implementation by ADER-Fez. Therefore, the emphasis is put on the questionnaire which is answered by inhabitants of the historic area. However, speaking to the stakeholders and members of the project team, especially those directly involved in the implementation of the scheme, was necessary to have reliable information about the socio-cultural background of the people to be interviewed. All the interviews at this stage were made in English, but for interviews carried out with the inhabitants of the selected areas, an interpreter was employed, who was fluent in English and Arabic. He was also a native Fassi who knew the area well and was also able to communicate with people in the neighbourhoods.

The approach taken in conducting the surveys is explained in detail in the methodology chapter. However, it is worth restating that since the people to be questioned are mainly lay people or people with a limited educational level, the questionnaire was presented to them in the form of an informal interview. Considerable amount of time was spent in each interview to build trust toward the interviewer, and to make the purpose of the questionnaire completely clear to the interviewees. On average each interview would take around an hour to first provide a friendly environment for the conversation and then making sure that the interviewees have understood the purpose of the survey, and were happy to take part in it. It was a structured face to face interview, where suggestive or misleading questions were avoided, and the questions were kept simple and straightforward. However, to keep up with the friendly environment of the interview it happened that in some cases that the interviewer did not adhere to the questionnaire format; however responses to most questions were gained. Figure 5-1 summarizes the data collection process in Fez:

Data Collection Techniques		
Personal Observations in the Medina	• Spending time in the streets of the medina in different neighbourhoods, investigating the structural condition of public space, searching for public facilities, ... • Making informal chats with people in different subjects related to their life in the medina	
Interviewing Stakeholders and Academics	**Name of the interviewee**	**affiliation**
	Fouad Serghini	Director of ADER-Fez
	Naima Lahbil	Head of social program of ADER-Fez
	Alla Said	Architect, Guesthouse owner/manager
	Jawad Bou Kadi	Neighbourhood manager (Seffarin)
Interviewing the Inhabitants	• Face to Face interview based on structured questionnaire	

Figure 5-1- Data Collection Techniques

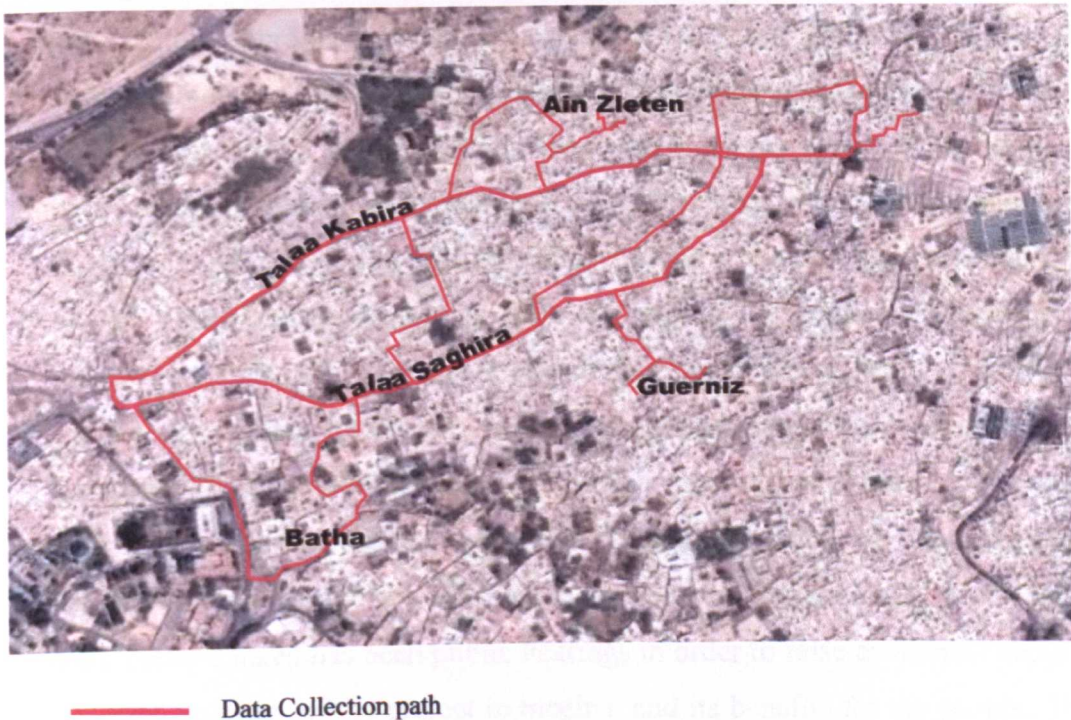Figure 5-2 shows the paths and locations in different neighbourhoods in Fez, where the interviews took place:

——— Data Collection path

Figure 5-2- Paths and Locations of Data Collection in Fez Medina (Map Taken From Google Earth)

5-2-2-Interview with the Stakeholders in Fez

As part of the field survey, it was planned to meet with people who were in some way involved in the urban rehabilitation project which was being implemented in the medina, being it directly working with the project team or having special information about all or some aspects of the project.

In Fez, the director of ADER-Fez was interviewed in this regard; Mr. Fouad Serghini. However, since he and part of his team were busy participating in a workshop about Hammams (public baths) at the same time as the field work (Dumreicher, 2006), the meeting took place after the field survey. The interview took place in his office, located in Ville Nouvelle, and was conducted in English. He introduced himself as an architect who has been working as the head of the rehabilitation project since 1989. The discussion was about the first initiatives of the scheme and its approaches and also the restrictions they have been faced with during the implementation of the scheme. He was also asked about the participatory approaches taken by the project. Like other resources (Bianca 1980 & 1983, Radoine, 2003), Serghini reminded that the initiatives of safeguarding the medina started by a group of Moroccans who had been educated in Europe. He believed that although the restrictions to construction, which were made during the French colonial period, had helped saving the structure of the medina, it had on the other hand prevented it from its organic development. However, the ADER-Fez team aim to achieve sustainable development while allowing the median to maintain its organic growth. About the restriction of the project, he mentioned of legal and financial shortcomings and notified that new construction guidelines are being prepared to improve the legal shortages. An important part of the discussion was about participatory approaches. Serghini explained that the main method taken has been public hearings in order to raise awareness about the different activities of the project in medina, and its benefits for the people. There has been social gatherings with all groups of people, and also regular gatherings with heads of "Amical"s or neighbourhood managers. He admitted that the

gatherings have been more beneficiary for the project team in order to be more familiar with the needs and priorities of people; but there is need for more sessions and gatherings and different methods for awareness rising. According to him, having carried on several public hearings, they still only been successful to raise concerns about heritage among more educated groups of people, and those who are economically in better situation.

In Fez, the researcher had also the opportunity to have a short discussion with Dr. Naima Lahbil, an economist who was the head of social program of ADER-Fez. She did not mention of any other approach rather than those pointed out by Fouad Serghini. However, having surveyed the social characteristics of the medina had led her to the idea of finding appropriate ways to obtain gentrification as a means of development in medina.

With regard to gentrification, an interview was made with a couple who had bought and rehabilitated a historic courtyard house in medina, and started a small guesthouse: Dar Seffarin, where the interview took place, in English. Alaa Said, an Iraqi-born Architect and his wife Kate, a Norwegian Graphic designer run the guesthouse and had also contributions to the neighbourhood. Alaa, who had studied architecture in Norway, said that after spending around 20 years in Europe, he liked to go back and live in an Arab society. He appreciated living in the medina and was active in attending the meetings arranged by ADER-Fez, and helping their neighbours to be informed about the project and the way they could benefit from it. However, he criticized ADER-Fez in this regard and believed that if it was not with the help of enthusiastic people like him; ADER-Fez would not succeed in informing the inhabitants of medina. Alaa stated that he would happily support his neighbours, being it technical support to maintain their houses or even financial support. Generally, Alaa and Kate had a good relationship with their neighbours, and this was confirmed by the neighbours who were interviewed later. Kate also stated that although it is not easy for her, she does her best to respect the social and cultural norms of the medina's society and she found this issue very important in keeping good communication with people in the neighbourhood. To help them with the daily tasks of the guesthouse, they had

employed 5 young people from the medina and their relationship appeared to the researcher more like family or friend rather than employer/worker relationship.

Jawad Bou Kadi was one of the neighbourhood managers that the researcher was successful to meet and interview. The interview was made with the help of an interpreter. It started in the small office that was allocated for the neighbourhood manager in Seffarin neighbourhood and continued with a short walk in the neighbourhood to Mr. Bou Kadi's house. Jawad was a 46 year old teacher (2006) who had accepted to be neighbourhood manager because of personal interest in the urban heritage of the medina. His first responsibility was to help people understand the benefits of the urban rehabilitation project in their lives. He said that initially, people were suspicious about the whole urban project because they were anxious that the implementation of the project will lead to the raise of taxes. He also acted as a trustee to listen to peoples' problems, help them solve them or convey them to the stakeholders. In his office he showed the brochures and posters which were designed by ADER-Fez for awareness rising. It was interesting that none of the project team of ADER-Fez mentioned about them before. On the way to his house, people would stop him to ask questions or making appointments to see him in his office. Jawad lives in a small courtyard house with his family, when was asked if he has used a loan from ADER-Fez to restore his house. He explained that he has carried out regular maintenance on his house which is now in a relatively good condition. However, since he meets the stakeholders in ADER-Fez and in the municipality regularly, and has good relationship with them, people think that he is using special financial help from the project.

5-2-3-Findings of the Survey

In Fez, interviews were made with 49 people, randomly selected among the inhabitants visited in their residences, or craftsmen and shopkeepers at their shops. Among the 49 interviews, 11 of them were considered unreliable due to

different reasons. Some of the respondents were merely amused by the idea of being interviewed, and did not answer the questions responsibly. Another group were not convinced that the interviewer is independent to the stakeholders and assumed that responding positively to all questions might somehow affect their future. For this reason, the questionnaires which could not be trusted were removed from the analysis. The total sample therefore, is 38 interviews.

As mentioned, before starting to interview the inhabitants of the medina and while making personal observations on the life in the medina, informal chats were made with the locals such as shopkeepers, women who were shopping or taking their bread to the public bakery, groups of women chatting in front of their houses while watching their children play... . Discussions were about the positive and negative issues regarding living in the medina. Most of them mentioned the multifamily houses as a major problem. They stated that they like their neighbours and the fact that they are like a big family sharing the house, however, lack of privacy was a problem to most of them. Many families shared the bathroom or kitchen, or both of them and most of the women wished to have their own private facilities. People also mentioned that the health services in the medina are not sufficient and they also have accessibility problems. One mentioned that she had to carry her old mother on cart to a health centre in an emergency incident. Those who had been living in the medina for longer mentioned that it used to be very safe, but since people from rural areas are moving to the medina, safety has been declined. In some areas people complained about the surface waters in the winter which run in their houses. A few families were concerned about the education of their children and believed that living in Ville Nouvelle can provide their children with better schooling. Generally, most of the people who took part in the discussions, especially women, stated that if they could afford, they would like to live in a private flat in the modern city. However, unemployment and poverty was the principle problem of most of them, which made the idea of moving to a private accommodation as a dream to them. Some women were concerned that joblessness might lead their youth towards illegal jobs or even drug addiction. Magda Sibley has reported similar results after her survey in fez in 2004 (Sibley, 2006).)

The number of male interviewees was higher than the female (60% male and 40% female). It was due to the fact that there were unemployed men and also those who used their residences as workshop, who were available at home to answer the questions as the head of the household. At the same time, a number of interviews were made with the shopkeepers (all male) at their shops, especially in the two main areas of Talaa Saghira and Talaa Kabira. Among the male respondents, only 20.8% of them reported themselves as unemployed. However, considering the ones with informal jobs, the percentage can be much higher. (Figure 5-3)

Figure5-3- Male Employment in Fez, From Total Sample of 38 Respondents

As for education, most of the residents of the medina are poorly educated. The level of illiteracy is 37.5%, with illiterate women slightly more than men. Nevertheless, 50% of interviewees have high school or university degrees. (Figure 5-4) regarding education, this sample cannot be representative of population. The illiteracy rate in Morocco is 47.7% based on 2004 census (CIA, 2009).
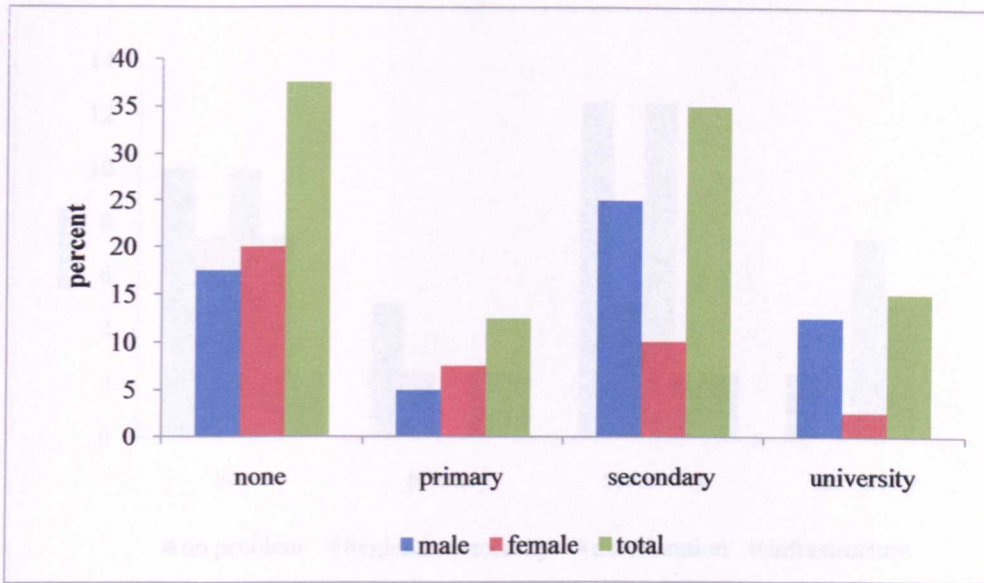
Figure 5-4- Education Level in Fez, From Total Sample of 38 Respondents

Sensitivity of the residents about the major problems in their neighbourhoods more depended on their living style rather than their education level or their gender. Thirty percent of the interviewees didn't mention of any major problem in their area. This number was even higher when they initially were asked "what problems do you have in your neighbourhood". Therefore, to remind them about the problems as observed by the interviewer, the problems were named one by one and they were asked if they felt any shortcomings regarding each of them. For example "are you happy with the hygiene in the area?" or "is your neighbourhood safe?" This helped them think deeper about the problem and even in few cases, mentioning of other similar problems which were not pointed out by the researcher. However, the impression was that most of the respondents are accustomed to this living condition, and this makes them unable to observe the problems and shortcomings in their living environment.

An important point made known in this part of the interview was that, lacking of enough education or training about their citizen's rights, most inhabitants could not tell between what they can do themselves to upkeep their environment or even their houses, and what they can expect from the stakeholders. (Figure 5-5)
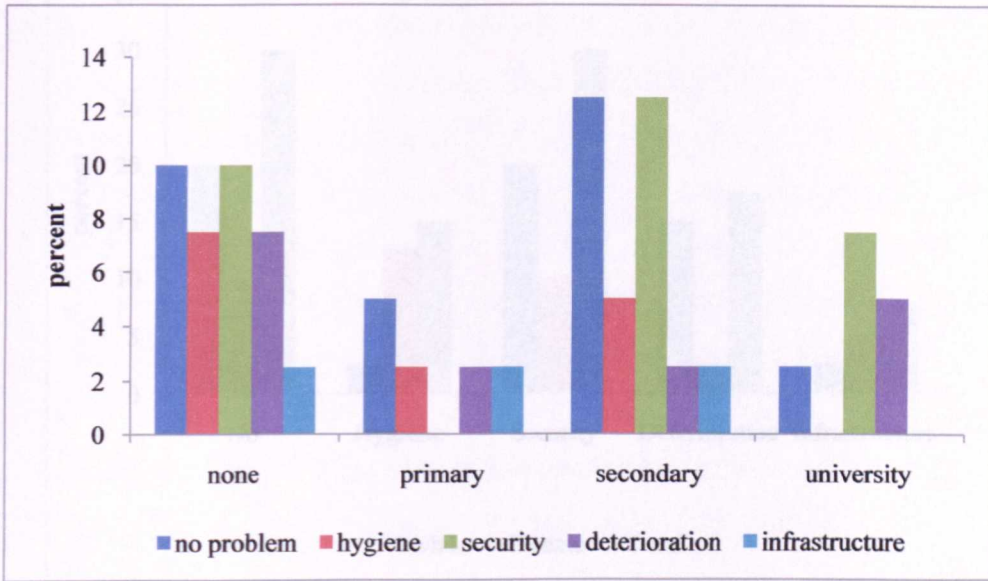
Figure 5-5- Major Problems in the Respondents' Neighbourhood in Fez According to Education Level, From Total Sample of 38 Respondents

The survey also showed that whereas men were more concerned about the physical condition of their residences and the security of the neighbourhood, the main concern of women was hygiene problems, which give a picture of the different roles men and women, take in the household. (Figures 5-6 and 5-7)
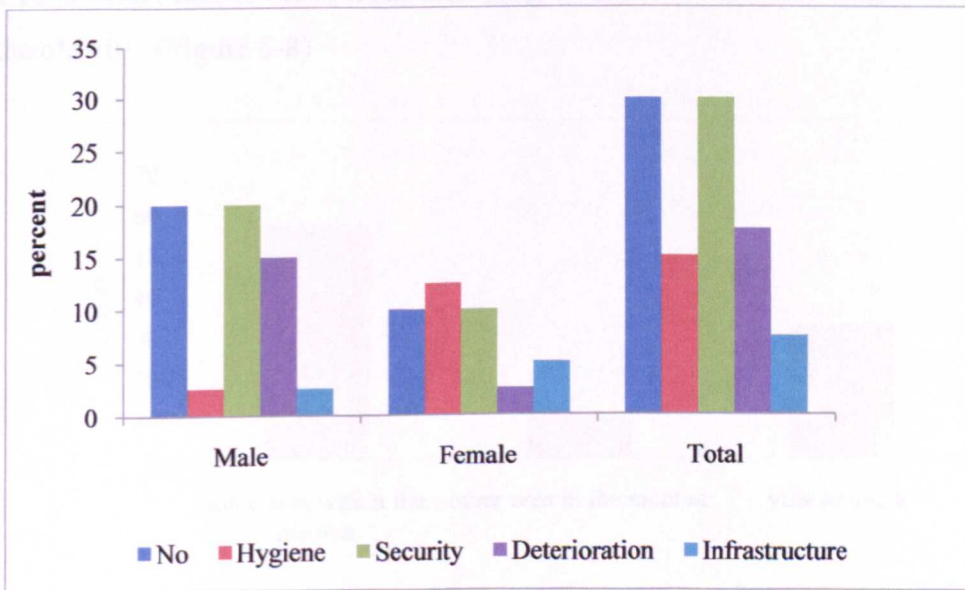
Figure 5-6- Problem Awareness in Different Genders, Fez, From Total Sample of 38 Respondents
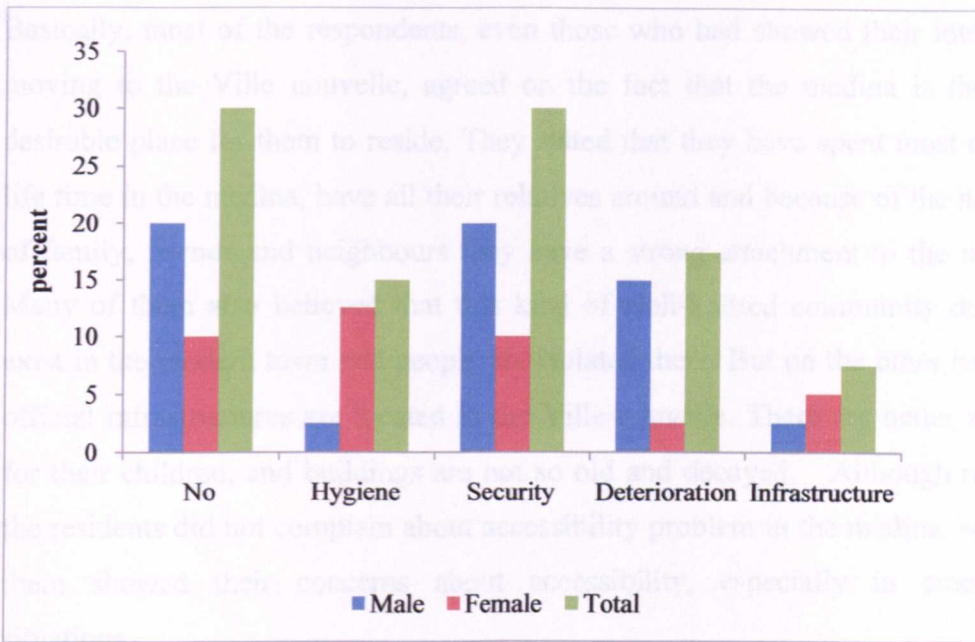
Figure 5-7- Problem Awareness in Different Genders, Fez, From Total Sample of 38 Respondents

When the respondent were asked whether they preferred to live in the medina or would they wish to move to Ville nouvelle or any other destination, 57.5% of them preferred to stay in the same area, while 32.5% wished to move to Ville nouvelle (the modern city which were made by the French in the colonial period) and 10% would like to move from their neighbourhood to another neighbourhood in the old city. (Figure 5-8)
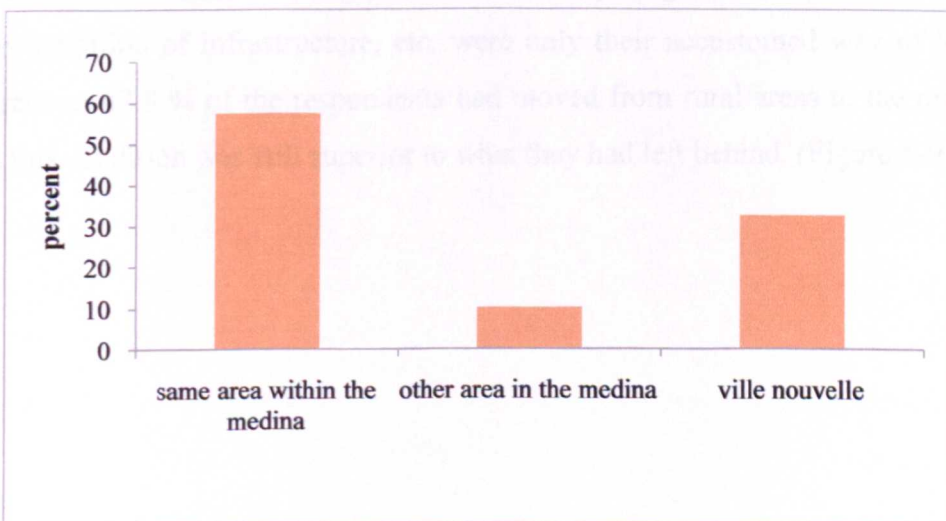
Figure 5-8- Area Preference in Fez, From Total Sample of 38 Respondents

Basically, most of the respondents, even those who had showed their interest in moving to the Ville nouvelle, agreed on the fact that the medina is the most desirable place for them to reside. They stated that they have spent most of their life time in the medina, have all their relatives around and because of the network of family, friends and neighbours they have a strong attachment to the medina. Many of them also believed that this kind of well-knitted community does not exist in the modern town and people are isolated there. But on the other hand, all official infrastructures are located in the Ville nouvelle. There are better schools for their children, and buildings are not so old and decayed. Although most of the residents did not complain about accessibility problem in the medina, some of them showed their concerns about accessibility, especially in emergency situations.

Altogether, according to the interviews and informal talks to the people in medina, the level of their expectations is very low. Their being content about their living condition in the medina doesn't mean that there is not much problem in the area. There is actually a simple reason for that; this is the only style of living they have ever known and got accustomed to. They of course complained about more tangible problems like unemployment, poor state of their houses, lack of space, lack of school for their children in their neighbourhoods; but many major problems which were observed by the interviewer such as very poor hygiene inside and outside the buildings, absolute lack of play ground for children, lack or poor condition of infrastructure, etc. were only their accustomed way of living. Moreover, 47.8 % of the respondents had moved from rural areas to the medina, and this condition was still superior to what they had left behind. (Figure 5-9)
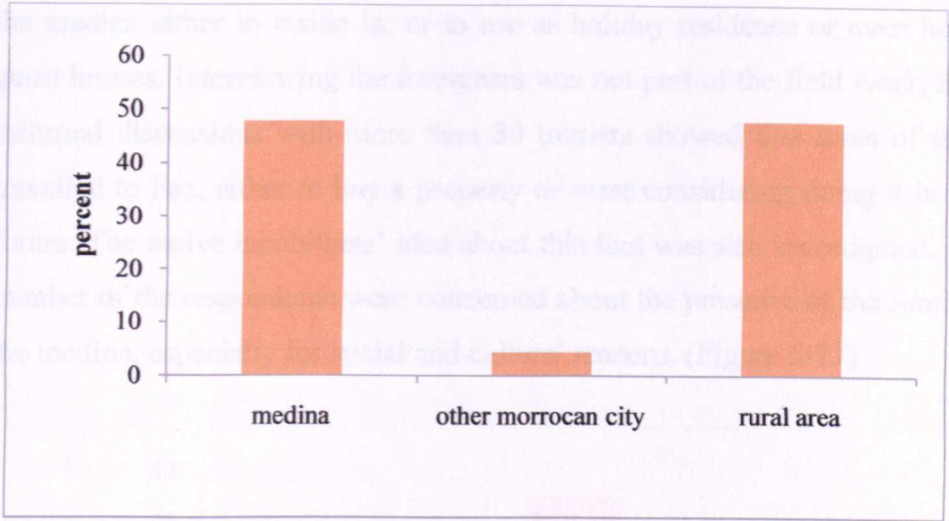
Figure 5-9- Origin of the Interviewees in Fez, From Total Sample of 38 Respondents

The number of people who share one house as their residences is quiet high (figure 5-10). 35% if the interviewees were shared tenants of the buildings they lived in. Whether they were a single person or a family of five, their space in the building included one room, a shared bathroom, and a shared courtyard. Most buildings did not have any kitchen. For cooking, they either used a corner in their rooms or a corner in the courtyard, which could be shared again.
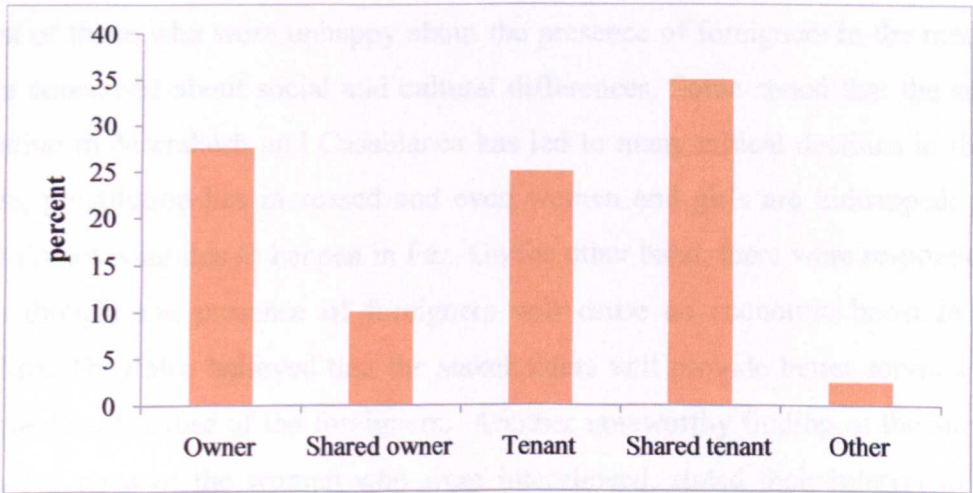
Figure 5-10- Type of Residency of the Interviewees in Fez, From Total Sample of 38 Respondents

Another controversial factor that is generally believed to be changing the shape of the medina is the rapidly increasing number of foreigners who buy properties n

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the medina either to reside in, or to use as holiday residence or even hotels and guest houses. Interviewing the foreigners was not part of the field work; however, informal discussions with more than 30 tourists showed that most of them had travelled to Fez, either to buy a property or were considering doing it in the near future. The native inhabitants' idea about this fact was also investigated. A large number of the respondents were concerned about the presence of the foreigners in the medina, especially for social and cultural reasons. (Figure 5-11)
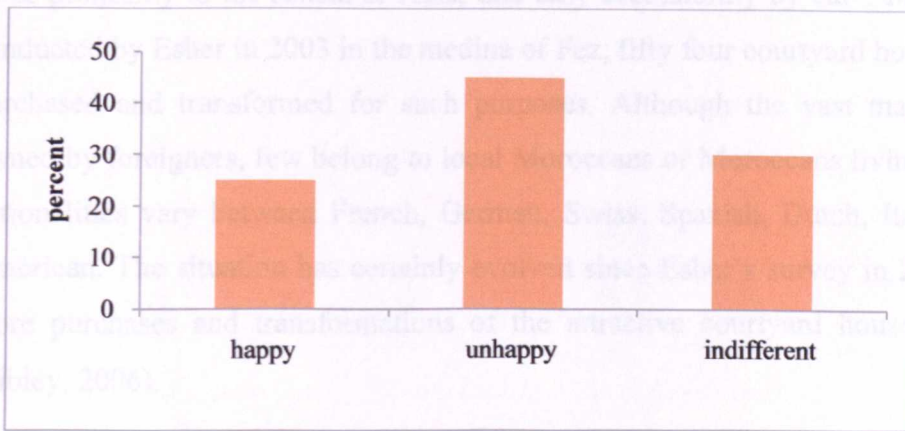
Figure 5-11- Idea about Foreigner Residents in the Medina of Fez, From Total Sample of 38 Respondents

Most of those who were unhappy about the presence of foreigners in the medina were concerned about social and cultural differences. Some stated that the same satiation in Marrakesh and Casablanca has led to many ethical declines in those cities, prostitution has increased and even women and girls are kidnapped; and they do not want this to happen in Fez. On the other hand, there were respondents who thought the presence of foreigners will cause an economic boost in the medina. They also believed that the stakeholders will provide better services for the medina, because of the foreigners. Another noteworthy finding of the survey was that most of the women who were interviewed, stated their interest in the presence of foreigner women; and the motivation of all of them, was the opportunity to learn their way of living. Interestingly, these women were aware of the significance of education on their lives; a fact that shows how educational campaigns can be successful in the medina.

Magda Sibley also states that the recent increasing the number of European and Americans buying courtyard houses in the Moroccan medinas can be easily felt in the observation of websites advertising Riyads, Moroccan palaces and courtyard houses as luxurious holiday homes and hotels offering the exotic experience of Morocco. A study conducted by a German geographer reveals that "in 1999, western foreigners lived in approximately 150 Riyads. Most preferred accommodation which stood out for their not yet completely dilapidated fabric, close proximity to the Jemaa el-Fnaa, and easy accessibility by car". In a survey conducted by Esher in 2003 in the medina of Fez, fifty four courtyard houses were purchased and transformed for such purposes. Although the vast majority are owned by foreigners, few belong to local Moroccans or Moroccans living abroad; nationalities vary between French, German, Swiss, Spanish, Dutch, Italian, and American. The situation has certainly evolved since Esher's survey in 2000 with more purchases and transformations of the attractive courtyard houses of Fez (Sibley, 2006).

While gentrification is generally assumed as a negative phenomenon, what is happening in the medina of Fez as gentrification, may serve as a relief to its problems. The increasing number of the foreigners who are interested in living in this medieval city, or having a residence for their holidays in the area, have lead to an increase in the costs of living in medina. On the other hand, many of the foreigner residents tend to restore their properties on their own budget, and also invest in upkeep of the area surrounding their residence. This new factor may in long term motivate the Fassi middle class who have left the medina for Ville Nouvelle or other cities in Morocco, to settle down in Fez again and bring back the original traditions with them. What is suggested here is not displacing the low-income families from their residences. As the survey results showed, the majority of low-income families lived in old courtyard houses in very poor condition. The houses which were originally built to accommodate one family were shared between 3-6 families, with insufficient facilities, some of them even in life danger. The revenues that can be gained through gentrification of the area can help those in charge of the project to provide low cost housing for these

tenants. At the same time, the unique characteristics of courtyard houses can be preserved through investment of gentrifiers.

In this situation of destitution, adversity and despair, this survey result was not unexpected that many people would not like to participate in the urban rehabilitation project. However, the longer they had been in habited in the medina, the more they would be willing to be involved in the rehabilitation schemes (figure 5-12).
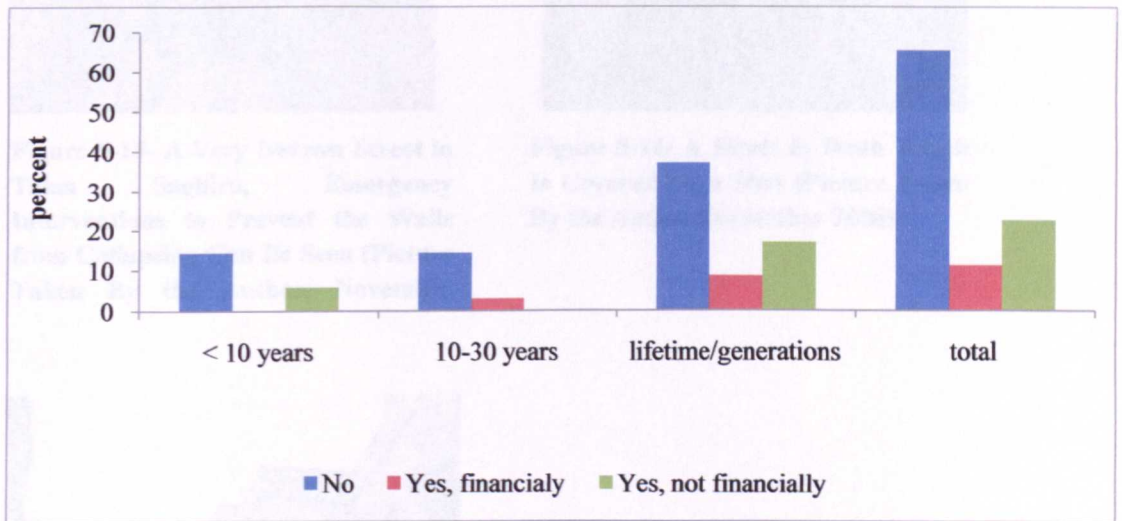
Figure 5-12- Willingness to Participate in Urban Rehabilitation Project, based in the duration of stay in the unit, Fez, From Total Sample of 38 Respondents

Figures 5-13 to 5-26 are taken by the author from different locations in the medina. Since most of the respondents would not like their pictures to be taken, most pictures are for the streets or buildings in the neighbourhoods:

Figure 5-13- A Very Narrow Street in Talaa Saghira, Emergency Interventions to Prevent the Walls from Collapsing Can Be Seen (Picture Taken By the Author, November 2006)

Figure 5-14- A Street in Douh Which Is Covered By a Sbat (Picture Taken By the Author, November 2006)

Figure 5-15- Neighbourhood Centre, Ain Zliten (Picture Taken By the Author, November 2006)

Figure 5-16- Saha Seffarin, Centre of the Neighbourhood and the Medina (Picture Taken By the Author, November 2006)

Figure 5-17- The Garbage Were Collected Very Early in the Morning by Carts, Talaa Kabira (Picture Taken by the Author, November 2006)

Figure 5-18- In Some Households People Used to Take Water from Public Fountains to Avoid Bills. Ain Zliten (Picture Taken By the Author, November 2006)

Figure 5-19- A House in Talaa Saghira Which Was Under Restoration Using the Loan from ADER-Fez (Picture Taken By the Author, November 2006)

Figure 5-20- A Private House in Talaa Saghira Which Is Regularly Maintained By the Owner (Picture Taken By the Author, November 2006)

Figure 5-21- Courtyard Of A House Shared By 3 Families. Zqaq Rommane (Picture Taken By the Author, November 2006)
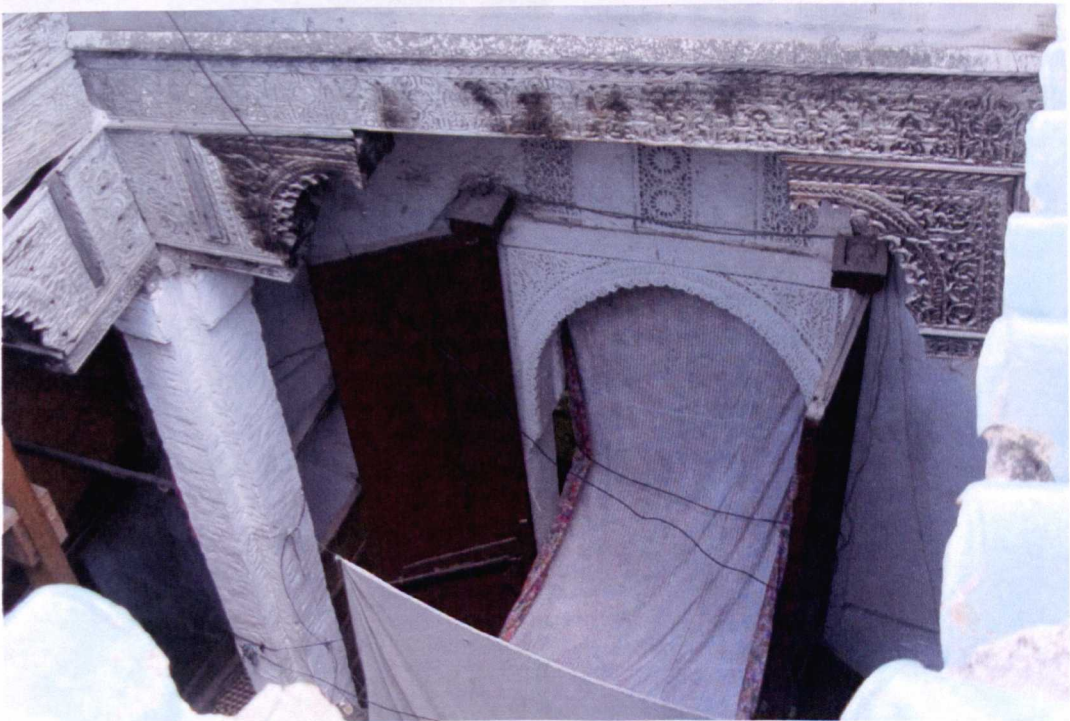
Figure 5-22- View from the Roof Top of a Courtyard House Shared by 4 Families. Curtains and Cardboards Are Used to Provide Privacy for Each Household. Guerniz (Picture Taken by the Author, November 2006)

Figure 5-23- View from Inside a Courtyard House Shared By 4 Families. Emergensy Interventions to Prevent form the Collapse of the Building Can Be Observed in the Courtyard As Well As Inside the Rooms. Guerniz (Picture Taken by the Author, November 2006)

Figure 5-24- A View from another Shared Courtyard House. The Residents of this Room Have Used Several Layers of Curtains to Provide Visual Privacy from the Courtyard and Roof Top, and from the Shared Corridor, and at the Same Time Letting Fresh Air Inside the Room. Guerniz (Picture Taken By the Author, November 2006)

Figure 5-25- A View from the Courtyard of House Shared By 2 Families And 2 Individuals. The House Is Owned by Awqaf, and the Households Pay Negligible Rent. Guerniz (Picture Taken by the Author, November 2006)

Figure 5-26- A View from another Shared Courtyard House. This House Is Shared Between 7 Families. In This Building, Permanent Walls Are Introduced to Provide Privacy. Guerniz (Picture Taken by the Author, November 2006)

5-3-Aleppo

5-3-1-Data Collection

In February and June 2007, field work was conducted in Aleppo in the form of a survey among the stakeholders of the urban rehabilitation project in Aleppo municipality and in GTZ, as well as among the inhabitants of few neighbourhoods within the historic area. The main aim of the survey was to assess the approach of the project in regard with public awareness and public participation and the level of its success in achieving this aim, and also to investigate what level of participation did take place in the whole urban rehabilitation project. Therefore, the emphasis is put on face to face interviews with the inhabitants of the historic area. However, speaking to the stakeholders and members of the project team, especially those directly involved in the implementation of the scheme, was necessary to have reliable information about the socio-cultural background of the people to be interviewed. All the interviews at this stage were made in English, but for interviews made with the inhabitants of the selected areas, an interpreter was employed, who had B.A. degree in Architecture and was fluent in English. She was also a native Aleppian who had previous experience of interpreting in the same area and context for other researchers.

The interviewees were selected randomly among the inhabitants of Bab Qennesrin area, which is one of the pilot areas where the urban rehabilitation project has taken place and completed; Al-Ajam neighbourhood where no intervention had still been made at the date of interviews, and also few inhabitants of other neighbourhoods that have not been subject to an area rehabilitation scheme, but small scale projects and interventions in monumental buildings have affected their neighbourhoods.

Figure 5-27 summarized the data collection process in Aleppo:

Data Collection Techniques		
Personal Observations in the Old City of Aleppo	• Spending time in the streets of the medina in different neighbourhoods, investigating the structural condition of public space, searching for public facilities, ... • Making informal chats with people in different subjects related to their life in the medina	
Interviewing Stakeholders and Academics	**Name of the interviewee**	**affiliation**
	Hala Malandi	Lecturer, University of Aleppo, School of Architecture
	Mohamed Atalla	Head of the School of Architecture, University of Aleppo
	Meinolf Spiekermann	GTZ Project Director in Aleppo
	Mazen Samman	• coordinator of the municipal Administration Modernization Program • Head of Planning and Studies department in the old city project)
	Razan Abdul Wahab	local expert of community development at GTZ, Aleppo
	Ghada Rifai	head of planning section at GTZ, Aleppo
Interviewing the Inhabitants	• Face to Face interview based on structured questionnaire	

Figure 5-27- Data Collection Process in Aleppo

Figure 5-28, a-c show the locations in Aleppo where the interviews took place:

Figure 5-28a- Location of the Neighbourhoods Where the Interviews Took Place (Map Taken From Google Earth)
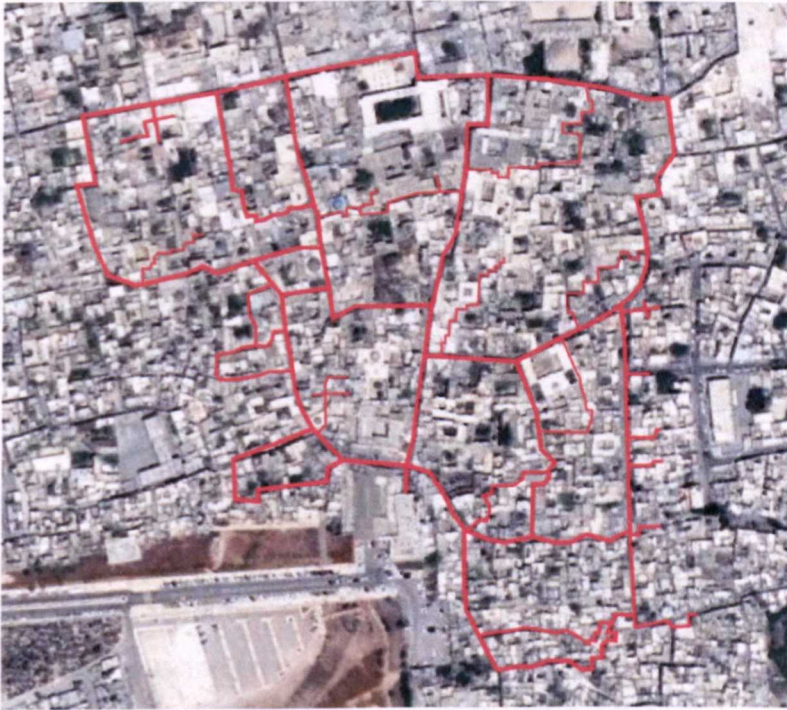
Figure 5-28b- Data Collection Path in Bab-Qinnisrin (Map Taken From Google Earth)
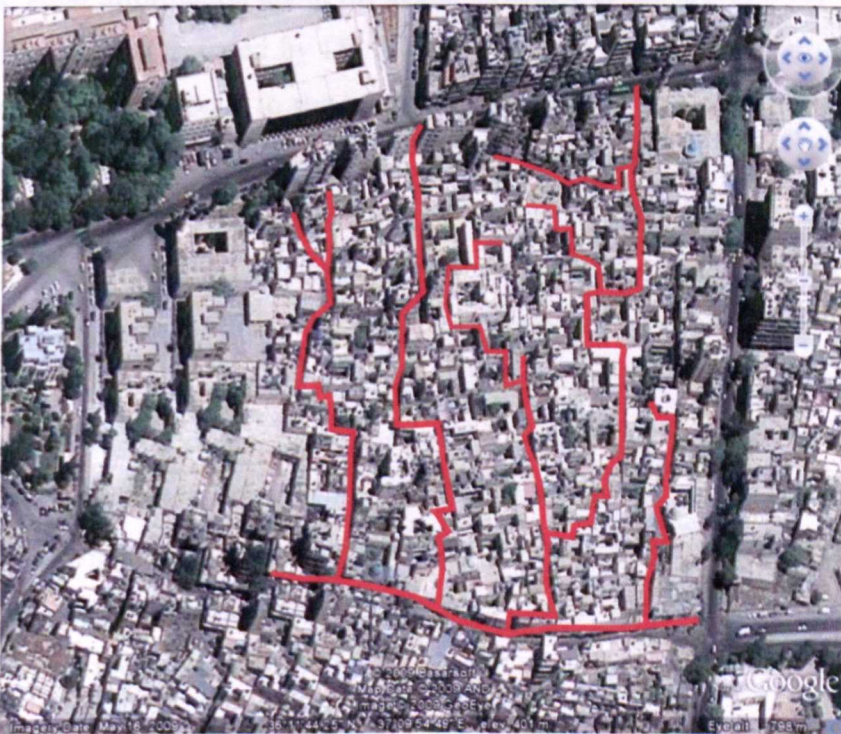
Figure 5-28c- Data Collection Path in Al-Ajam (Map Taken Form Google Earth)

5-3-2-Interiew with the Stakeholders in Aleppo

The survey in Aleppo took place in two different trips. The first one, in February 2007 provided the opportunity to meet few people among the stakeholders and talk about the urban rehabilitation project which was under implementation by GTZ, and also to visit the old city and make personal observation before making interviews with the inhabitants.

The first meeting was in the school of architecture in the University of Aleppo. This was a pre-planned meeting with Dr. Hala Malandi a school teacher, and Dr. Mohamed Atalla the head of the school (theory and history of architecture). They were well informed about the history of the old city and different neighbourhoods, and also the previous interventions in Aleppo old city, but did not have direct information about GTZ project. However, Dr. Malandi had the experience of conducting social survey in Bab Al-Nasr neighbourhood in the old city, and could provide good information about the social structure of the area. At the same time, an excursion was arranged by Dr. Atalla to the old city, I order to introduce the different neighbourhoods to the researcher. Like what Fouad Serghini had stated about heritage awareness in Fes, Dr. Atalla assumed that only well educated people are aware of the value of their urban heritage. He believed that the main problem that any urban development project in Aleppo might face with, is legal shortcomings, because from the previous experiences to date, whenever a legal problem occurs, a temporary solution will be offered and again in subsequent projects the same problem has to be solved in one way or another and it makes considerable delays in implementation of the schemes. Dr. Atalla was also helpful in making quick appointments with Mazen Samman, head of planning and studies department in the old city project of Aleppo municipality; and Meinolf Spiekermann project director of GTZ.

Mazen Samman, coordinator of the municipal Administration Modernization Program and Head of Planning and Studies department in the old city project, was

interviewed in his office in the Municipality palace of Aleppo. He is an architect and has been working in the old city project since 1997. Samman argued that although it was not initially easy to raise awareness among people in the old city, after implementation of first stages of the projects people were not only informed, but also happy with the outcomes of the schemes. He especially pointed out the part of the project which had made restrictions to vehicular access to some neighbourhoods. Unlike Dr. Atalla, Samman argued that legal problems were negligible, and most of them had already been resolved by making some upgrading to the building code. Samman stated that the project had progressed in accordance with the plan.

Meinolf Spiekermann, the director of GTZ was interviewed in GTZ office, "Madrassat Seif Al Dawlah" in the old city. He made a brief history of the current structural and social situation of the old city of Aleppo, and the background of GTZ project, with reference to the website of the project (GTZ Official website). He several times emphasised that the main aim of the project is to make the old city liveable to its inhabitants and that if the city is preserved without considering this fact, sooner or later the life in the city would be strangled. Regarding this emphasis on public involvement, Spiekermann was asked how he had found communicating with people here, since people in this region tend to distrust authorities. He admitted that it has been really difficult at the beginning and the project team had to learn during the process of the scheme. According to him, people were especially suspicious at the beginning, because they thought that presence of German in the area will damage the reputation of their neighbourhoods. As the scheme progressed, people's trust started to increase. However, he believed that this trust building owed mainly to the long duration of the project, and the developments made during a period of more than ten years helped them gradually make a positive perspective about GTZ. Spiekermann hoped that the scheme, which was about to complete soon (2007) had provided a strong foundation on which a sustainable development would continue to take place in the old city of Aleppo.

In the office of GTZ in Aleppo, two other members of the team were interviewed. Razan Abdul Wahab, the local expert of community development, and Ghada Rifai, the head of planning section.

Razan, an architect who has been working with the project for 15 years, were asked about awareness raising, and participatory methods taken by the project so far. She mentioned public awareness campaigns, public meetings and gatherings for men and women, house visits, questionnaires, and posters and brochures, as awareness raising approaches of the project. She said that the major issue that cause resistance among people, were traffic regulations which made restriction to vehicular access to some areas, but the social team of the project, with the help of Mukhtars (neighbourhood managers), tried to help people understand the long term benefits of the changes for them. Razan also confirmed that in the beginning it has been very hard to gain public trust towards any governmental intervention, but the situation improved gradually. According to her, though, following the new regulation by people was received as a level of participation in the area. As for the restrictions that the project was faced with, Razan pointed out lack of expertise and "the routine lack of awareness" in the responsible bodies. Nevertheless, she said, the government had been very flexible and supportive to the demands of the project.

The last person to be interviews in GTZ was Ghada Rifai, an urban planner who had joined the team five years earlier (2007) as the head of planning section. Like others, she believed that heritage awareness among Syrian people is very low, and only educated people would consider their urban and cultural heritage as valuable. However, the initiation of the urban rehabilitation project, and especially the presence of foreigners in the area, has had a great contribution in public awareness about their heritage. Regarding public participation, Rifai stated that only in some small scale social infrastructure projects were people engaged in the process, but public gatherings and meetings were generally organized only to introduce the final plans to the residents. Refai mentioned that the current law which is applied in the old city is the same law applied everywhere, whereas she believed, the old city needs to have more specific regulations concerning architectural and urban

heritage. This problem as she pointed out had caused long delays in the process of the scheme.

During the few days spent by the Author in Aleppo to meet and interview the project team and other stakeholders, some time was also allocated to visit the neighbourhoods and make personal observations on the life in the old city. Informal talks were made occasionally with people in the area that showed interest in talking about their neighbourhoods. Generally, living conditions in the old city of Aleppo were better than that in Fez. Rural immigration neither was observed during the survey, nor was reported in previous researches. Unless a few cases, multifamily houses were not observed, and the existing multifamily houses were actually shared between family members like with parents or siblings, which is a traditional pattern. Still, many people stated that they would like to move to the modern parts of the city, because there are always better public facilities than the old city.

5-3-3-Findings of the Survey

Sample Characteristics

The survey was conducted in a total sample of 50 residents in different neighbourhoods of the old city of Aleppo. Survey respondents were closely balanced in terms of gender (52% male and 48% female). The Syrian government's "Program for Combating Unemployment" estimated that the national unemployment rate among adults of working age is approximately 16%. In all areas, 100% of the adult males reported to be either self-employed (73.1%) or employed by public or private sectors (26.9%). Forty eight percent of the interviewees were women among which 87.5% were housewives. 4.2% reported themselves as self-employed and only 4.2% considered themselves as unemployed, since they were seeking for a job outside the home. The low

percentage of employed female is consistent with other studies. The "Social study for the areas surrounding Bab-Qinnisrin Park", made by The Aga Khan Trust for Culture in January 2007, also indicates that around 97% of women are not employed outside the home.

The male unemployment rate may appear less than it is in reality, because a high percentage of the respondents who reported themselves as self-employed could be counted as unemployed; however, the nature of the survey didn't allow a more detailed investigation in this regard. (Figure 5-29)
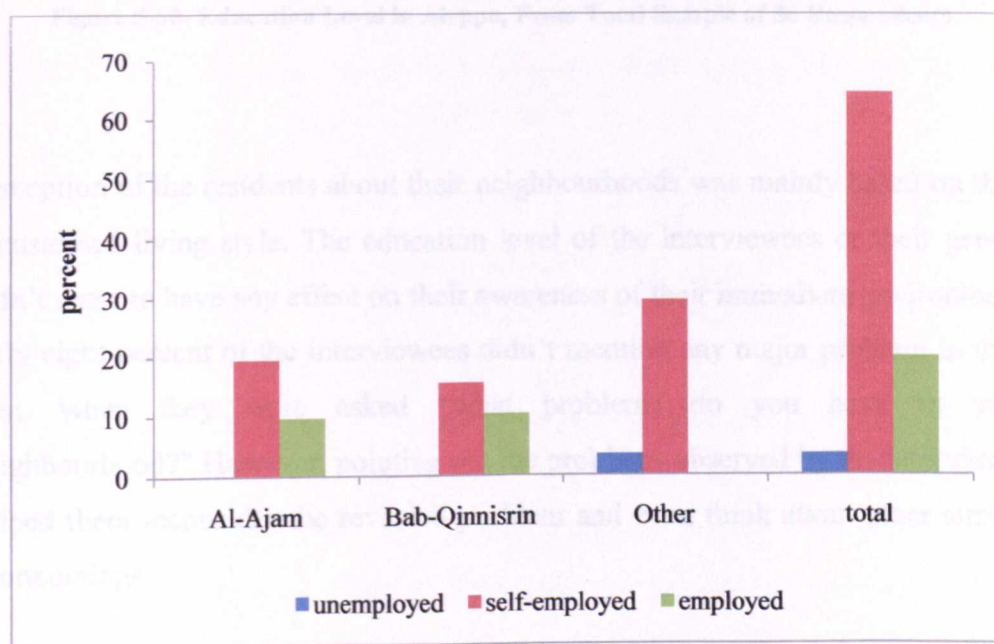
Figure 5-29- Male Employment in Aleppo Respondents, From Total Sample of 50 Respondents

As for education, residents of all areas are poorly educated. The level of illiteracy is 32%, with illiterate women slightly more than men. In total, 80% of the questioned population have attended less than 6 years of school. (Figure 5-30)
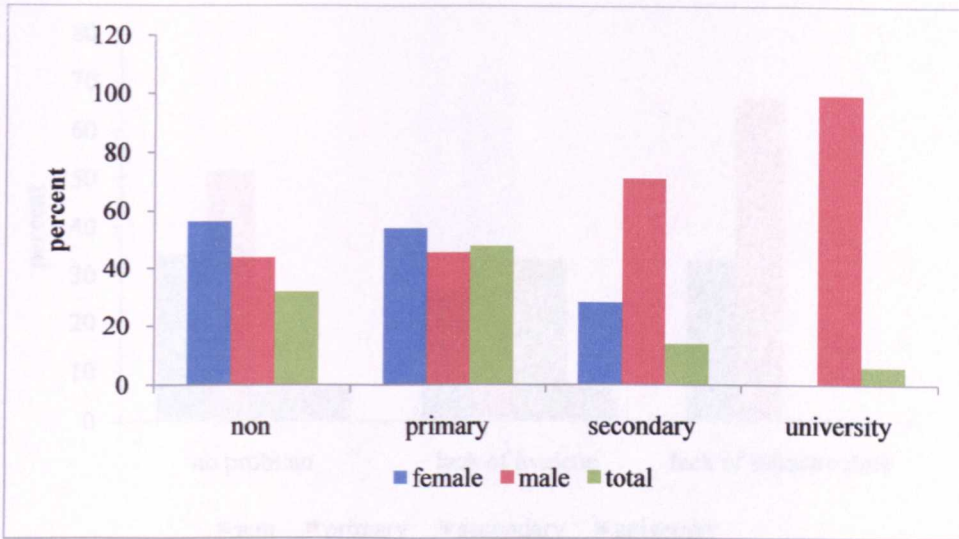
Figure 5-30- Education Level in Aleppo, From Total Sample of 50 Respondents

Perception of the residents about their neighbourhoods was mainly based on their accustomed living style. The education level of the interviewees or their gender didn't seem to have any effect on their awareness of their immediate environment. Fifty eight percent of the interviewees didn't mention any major problem in their area, when they were asked "what problems do you have in your neighbourhood?" However, pointing out the problems observed by the interviewer helped them reconsider the revealed problem and even think about other similar shortcomings.

An important point made known in this part of the interview was that, lacking of enough education or training about their citizen's rights, most inhabitants could not tell between what they can do to upkeep their environment, and what they can expect from the stakeholders. For example, nobody criticized the lack of a play area for their children, who were playing in the unsafe streets; but almost everybody complained about hygiene problem in their neighbourhoods which was caused largely by their own behaviour rather than municipality's failure in waste collection. (Figure 5-31)
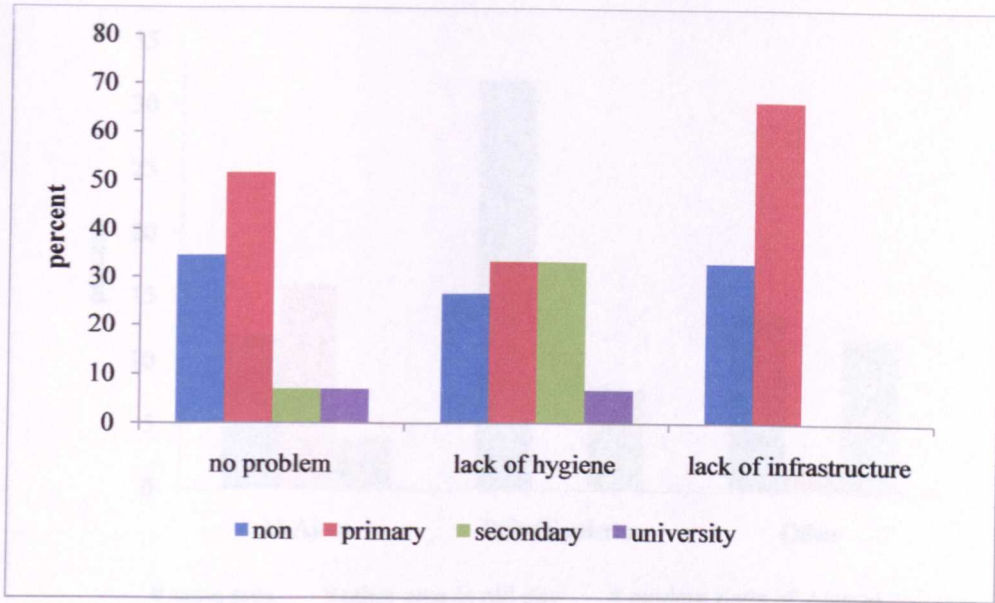
Figure 5-31- Major Problems Mentioned by Aleppo Interviewees, from Total Sample of 50 Respondents

Enquiring about the respondents' desire to stay in or leave their neighbourhood, 58% of them preferred to stay in the same area, while 24% wished to move to the modern parts of the city and 18% would like to move from their neighbourhood to another neighbourhood in the old city. Whereas 80% of residents of Bab-Qinnisrin area would rather stay and live in their neighbourhood, this percentage drops off to 37% in Al-Ajam. In the later area, 50% of the residents would rather continue living in the old city but in another neighbourhood, one which is better maintained. This rate is actually 88.9% of all the respondents who would rather live in the old city, if not exactly in their own neighbourhood, and highlights the contribution of the rehabilitation process in certain neighbourhoods on the perception of the inhabitants of the old city. In Bab-Qinnisrin area, where the rehabilitation project has taken place, 80% of the respondents would remain in their neighbourhood and the other 20% rather move to the modern parts of the city in seek of a totally different life style. (Figure 5-32)
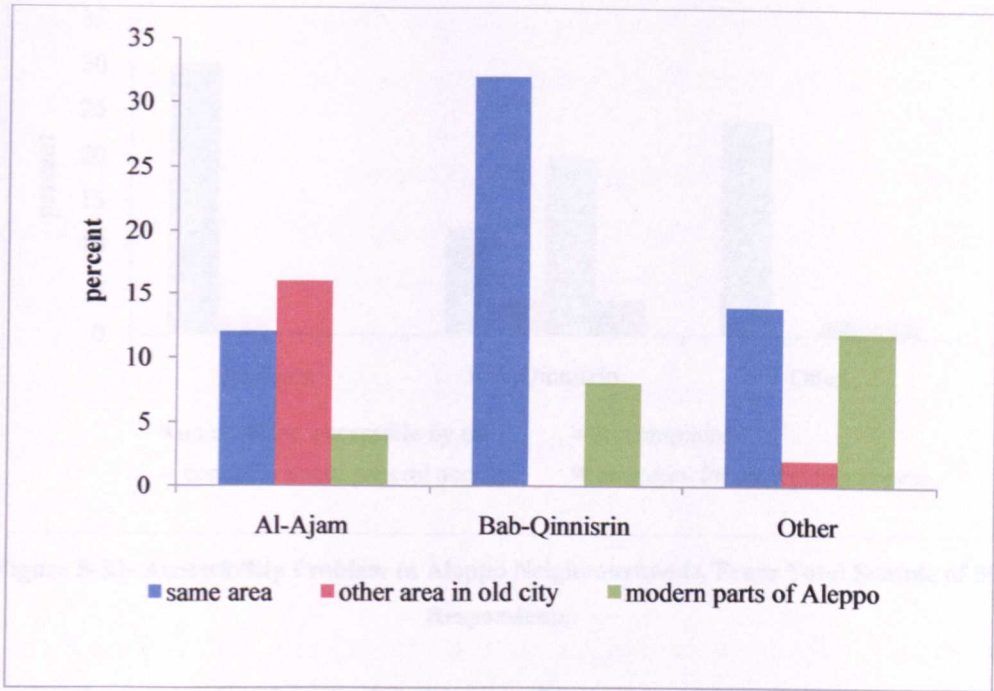
Figure 5-32- Area Preference among Aleppians, From Total Sample of 50 Respondents

The reason behind people's motivation in staying in their neighbourhoods or leaving it was different in each neighbourhood. Whereas people in Al-Ajam, where no intervention has taken place would only like to move to a nearby neighbourhood with more facilities and better infrastructure, the main reason for the people in other neighbourhoods, was being fascinated by the different and seemingly more convenient living style in the modern parts of Aleppo. In Bab-Qinnisrin area there was also another reason behind people's motivation to leave and that was the recent changes in accessibility to the area which had made limitations for some of them to access their houses by car. (Figure5-33)

People in this neighbourhood who had recently lost the vehicular access to their houses, expressed their dissatisfaction about is. There were also concerns among some respondents about vehicular accessibility in case of emergency.
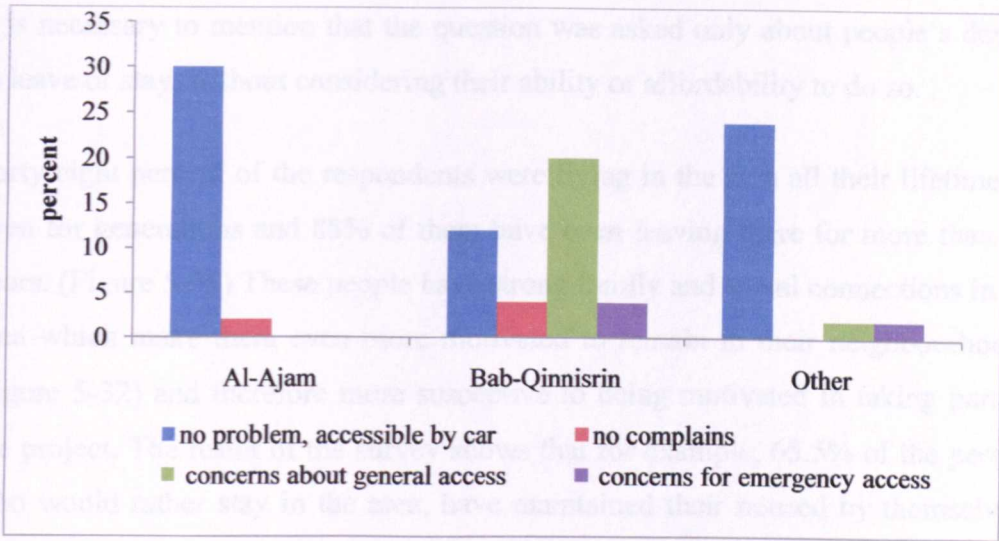
Figure 5-33- Accessibility Problem in Aleppo Neighbourhoods, From Total Sample of 50
Respondents

It is worth mentioning that the inhabitants of Bab-Qinnisrin neighbourhood didn't
express their satisfaction with the urban rehabilitation project in their area. A large
number of them even reported to be unaware of such scheme. However, their
satisfaction could be recognized through their general perception of their quarter,
their eagerness to stay and maintain their houses, and their positive attitude
towards the future. Consequently, despite the recent increase of the price of real
estate in the neighbourhood, still, the majority of the respondents preferred to stay
rather than selling the property and leaving. (Figure5-32 and 5-34)
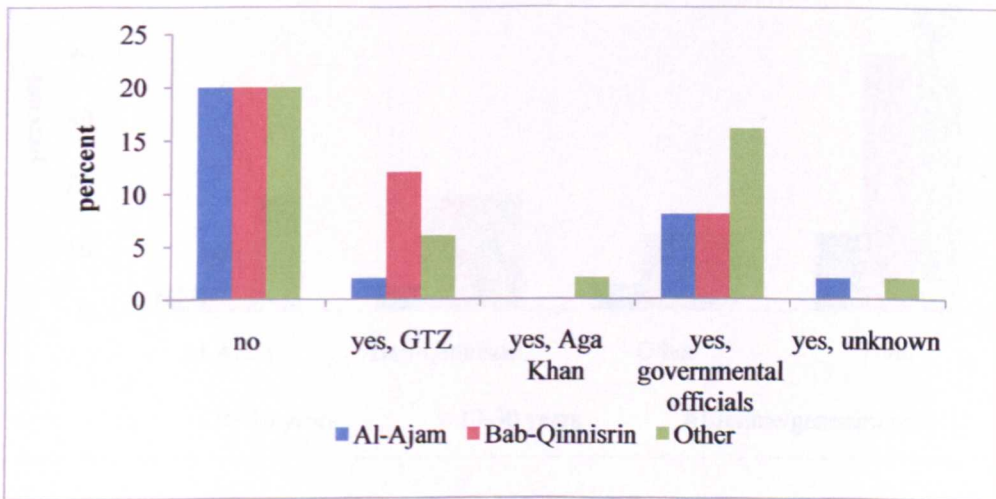
Figure 5-34- Awareness about Urban Rehabilitation Projects in Aleppo, From Total Sample
of 50 Respondents

It is necessary to mention that the question was asked only about people's desire to leave or stay, without considering their ability or affordability to do so.

Forty eight percent of the respondents were living in the area all their lifetime or even for generations and 88% of them have been leaving there for more than 10 years. (Figure 5-35) These people have strong family and social connections in all area which make them even more motivated to remain in their neighbourhoods (figure 5-32) and therefore more susceptive to being motivated in taking part in the project. The result of the survey shows that for example, 65.5% of the people who would rather stay in the area, have maintained their housed by themselves, and not relying on governmental financial help. (Figure 5-36)

On the other hand, maintenance of the buildings by the stakeholders doesn't have any effect on the owner's decision in leaving the area. Figure 5-36 shows that all the interviewees whose houses were maintained by the government, are among those group that prefers to move to the modern parts of Aleppo. These respondents stated that there are more public facilities in modern parts of the city, and they also provide a better quality of services. Better schooling for children was the main concern of many of those who wished to move from the old city.
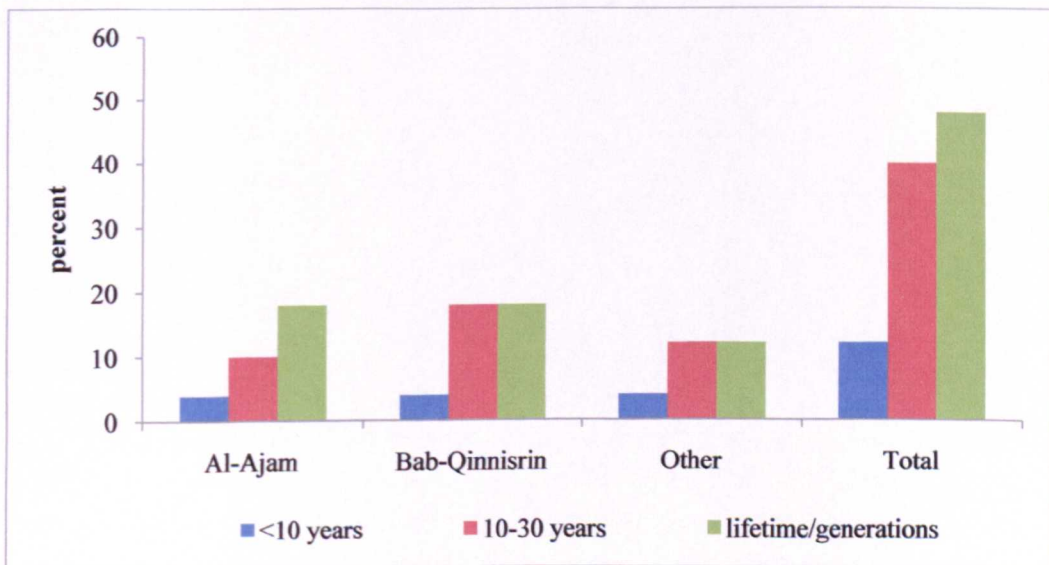
Figure 5-35-Duration of Stay in the Neighbourhood in Aleppo, From Total Sample of 50 Respondents
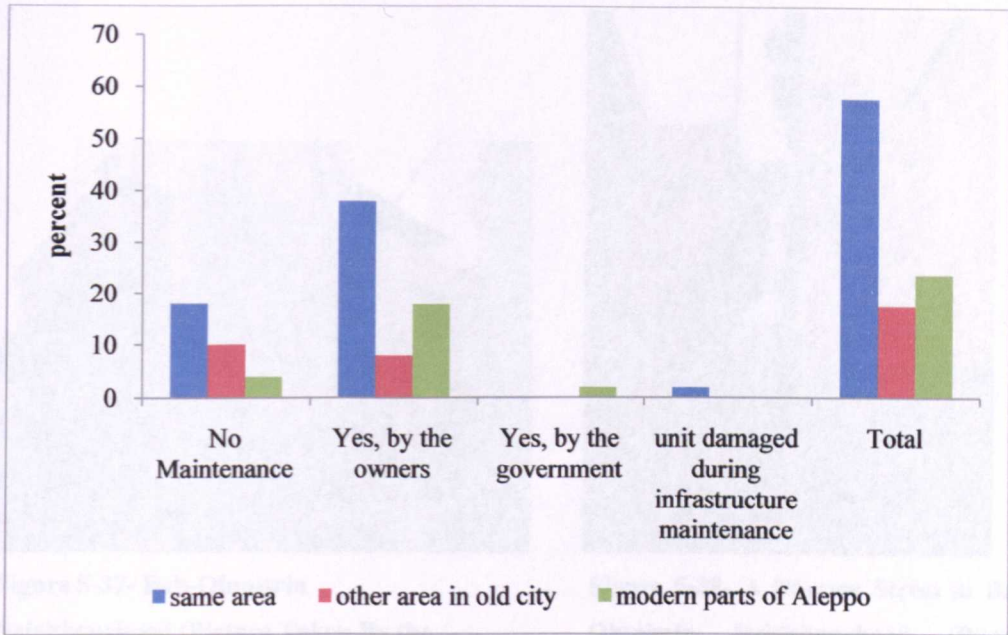
Figure 5-36- Area Preference Based on Previous Maintenance in Aleppo, From Total Sample of 50 Respondents

In Aleppo the author was advised not to take a camera while interviewing people, to respect their social issues and avoid any conflict. Therefore the pictures 5-37 to 5-48 are taken on a Friday morning when most people are attending communal prayers:

Figure 5-37- Bab-Qinnisrin
Neighbourhood (Picture Taken By the
Author In June 2007)

Figure 5-38- A Narrow Street in Bab-
Qinnisrin Neighbourhood (Picture
Taken By the Author in June 2007)

Figure 5-39- A Street in Bab-Qinnisrin
Neighbourhood, People Walking
Towards the Friday Mosque for the
Communal Prayer (Picture Taken By
the Author in June 2007)

Figure 5-40- A Street in Bab-Qinnisrin
Neighbourhood (Picture Taken By the
Author in June 2007)
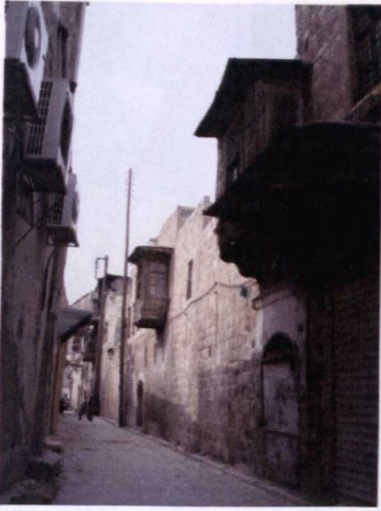
Figure 5-41- A Street in Al-Ajam Neighbourhood (Picture Taken By the Author in June 2007)

Figure 5-42- Al-Ajam Neighbourhood (Picture Taken By the Author in June 2007)

Figure 5-43- Al-Ajam Neighbourhood (Picture Taken By the Author in June 2007)

Figure 5-44- A Close in Al-Ajam Neighbourhood (Picture Taken By the Author in June 2007)

Figure 5-45- Jallum Neighbourhood (Picture Taken By the Author in June 2007)

Figure 5-46- Jallum Neighbourhood (Picture Taken By the Author in June 2007)

Figure 5-47- Bab Antakia Neighbourhood (Picture Taken By the Author in June 2007)
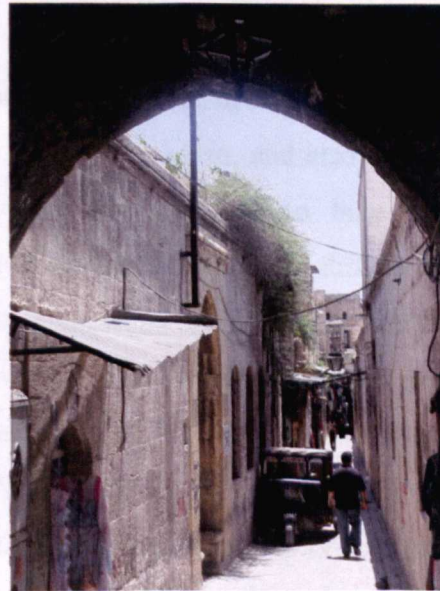
Figure 5-48- Bab Antakia Neighbourhood (Picture Taken By the Author in June 2007)

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5-4-Istanbul

5-4-1-Data Collection

In September 2007, a field work was conducted in Istanbul in the form of a survey among the stakeholders of the urban rehabilitation project in Fatih municipality (a section of Istanbul municipality) and experts in Istanbul technical university, as well as among the inhabitants of Zeyrek, a neighbourhood within the historic area and under Fatih municipality. The survey aimed at gaining an understanding of physical and social characteristics of the area and analysing social structure of Zeyrek, as well as their interaction with their environment, their expectations, their perception of the historic area they are living in, and also their awareness of the current urban project in the area through face to face interview. The interviewees were randomly selected among residents of different parts of the area. This neighbourhood was selected based on the information provided by the experts in ITU and few NGOs who were involved in rehabilitation projects around Istanbul. Zeyrek has been nominated by UNESCO as a conservation area since 1985; however, it is only in the UNESCO/WCH joint project report 2006 that a deadline has been confirmed for the implementation of conservation plan for Zeyrek as well as three other core areas: "The Zeyrek, Sultanahmet and Theodosian Walls Conservation Implementation Plans for the four core areas should be developed by thoroughly revising the existing "Urban Design Projects" and should be submitted before 1 February 2008" (ICOMOS/UNESCO, 2006).

The main aim of the survey was to assess the approach of the project in regard to public awareness and public participation and the level of its success in achieving this aim, and also to make out how that certain level of participation has informed the outcome of the whole urban rehabilitation project. Therefore, the emphasis is put on the questionnaire which is answered by inhabitants of the historic area. However, speaking to the stakeholders and experts in academia and in NGOs, especially those directly involved in the implementation of such schemes, was necessary to have reliable information about the socio-cultural background of the people to be interviewed. All the interviews in this stage were made in English, but for interviews made with the inhabitants of the selected areas, an interpreter was employed, who had B.A. degree in Architecture and was fluent in English. She was also a native of Istanbul who had previous experience of doing social surveys in the same area. Figure 5-49 summarized the data collection process:

Data Collection Techniques		
Personal observations in Zeyrek	• Spending time in the streets of the medina in different neighbourhoods, investigating the structural condition of public space, searching for public facilities, ... • Making informal chats with people in different subjects related to their life in the medina	
Interviewing Stakeholders and Academics	**Name of the interviewee**	**affiliation**
	Ozlem Ozcevik	Lecturer in the Faculty of Architecture, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, technical university of Istanbul
	Daphne	Architect, hotel owner/manager in Fener-Balat neighbourhood
	Zeynep Gunay	Research assistant at the department of urban and regional planning, Technical University of Istanbul
	Mehmet Ustaoglu	Director of "Etude Project" at Fatih municipality, Istanbul
Interviewing the Inhabitants	• Face to Face interview based on structured questionnaire	

Figure 5-49- Data Collection Process in Zeyrek

Figure 5-50 shows the location of the interviews made in Zeyrek neighbourhood:
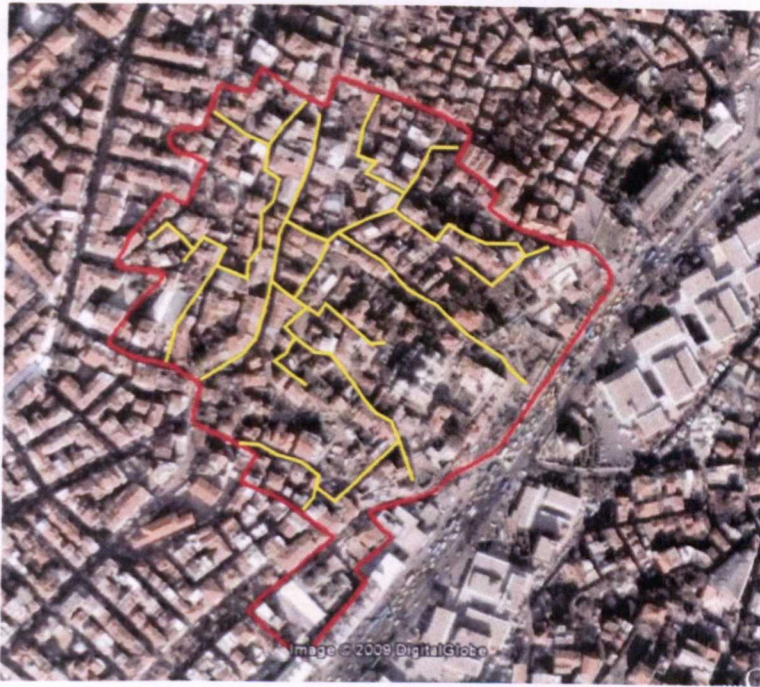
| | Borders of the neighbourhood | | Data Collection path |

Figure 5-50- The Location of the Interviews in Zeyrek Neighbourhood

5-4-2-Interview with the Stakeholders in Istanbul

The first meeting planned in Istanbul was in the Istanbul Technical University, with Dr. Ozlem Ozcevik, a lecturer in the Faculty of Architecture, Department of Urban and Regional Planning. She also works with Istanbul municipality on Zeytinburnu Ottoman neighbourhood regeneration project. Since community development is a major part of the projects she is involved with, she was very helpful in representing the social structure of historic areas of Istanbul. She stated that the most important factors effecting urban regeneration projects in Turkey is the need towards modernization and sustainability. In this regard she suggested that capacity making for participatory approached is essential; however, the problem with public participation is that it is still not integrated in most of the urban regeneration schemes.

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Although Zeyrek was selected as the research area, she offered the researcher to visit Fener- Balat neighbourhood, as well, in order to see if it suits the research conditions. Taking her advice, a meeting was arranged with an architect who had renovated four 110 years old houses in Fener neighbourhood, and had started a boutique hotel by combining these renovated buildings. Daphne confirmed that fener and Balat are developing neighbourhoods, however, the rehabilitation plan which has been implemented by Fatih municipality with support of EU, did not much affect the general conditions in the neighbourhood. According to her, the factor that brought back the life to the neighbourhood is that architects, artists, journalists...have started buying, renovating and living in the old houses of the area and this has positively affected the living standards of the neighbourhoods and is changing the face of the area.

In the Istanbul Technical University, Zeynep Gunay, a research assistant at the department of urban and regional planning, had also useful information about different neighbourhoods in historic parts of Istanbul and the different urban rehabilitation projects which were being implemented in them. Zeynep has been involved in the Global Studio urban design project in Zeyrek in 2005, and provided valuable advice for conducting the research in the area. However, like other interviewees, she only was informed that an urban rehabilitation project is being implemented in Zeyrek, but was not aware of the progress of the project.

Before interviewing the residents of Zeyrek, a meeting was planned with Mehmet Ustaoglu, the director of "Etud Project" as he introduced himself, or the rehabilitation project of Zeyrek neighbourhood. This interview was made with the help of an interpreter. He gave a brief background about the neighbourhood and about the urban rehabilitation project by Fatih municipality. He explained how the urge to invest the available grants and the necessity of safeguard of the existing Ottoman houses has led to more focus on building conservation. Ha said that the listed ottoman building which are vacated and their owners are unidentified are restored by the municipality. For those buildings resided by their owners, or rented out also, the cost of restoration will be paid conditioned that the owners will reside at least 5 years in the building after the restoration takes place. The

reason behind this condition according to him was to bring the original inhabitants of Zeyrek back to the area and improve the social structure of the neighbourhood, since the social surveys which were made before the project showed that the social structure of the area is changing rapidly. Ustaoglu believed that so far, the project has been successful to bring a number of the original inhabitants of Zeyrek back to their neighbourhood.

5-4-3-Findings of the Survey

Before interviewing the inhabitants of Zeyrek, few days were spent in the area by the researcher in order to make personal observations about the living condition of people, and public facilities in the area. The most obvious observation was poverty. Men were seen so often sitting and chatting by their houses in day-time, since they were jobless. Some of the Ottoman houses which were shared by several families were in such a poor structural condition that it was hard to believe they are occupied. Whereas rural immigrants, who seemed to be the majority of the residents could be seen everywhere in public spaces chatting or doing parts of their house chords by their houses, the original inhabitants of Zeyrek seemed to have restricted themselves in the privacy of their residences and not interested in socializing with the newcomers.

Based on the information gathered during the field work (September 2007), the social structure of the area was found to be changing considerably. About 68% of the current inhabitants of the area were immigrants (figure 5-51) from the east and southeast of Anatolia. They are usually extended families sharing the household. There were also many units in the area shared by several different families. These groups have no attachment in the neighbourhood and are there only because of the relatively low prices. Moreover, the immigrants are mainly from low-income level, and are either tenants or live illegally in properties which were left by the owners. This leads to lack of both interest and affordability of the people to participate in the urban projects. Still, when asked, the willingness to participate is quite high. These findings also correspond to the findings of another survey made by Istanbul technical university and UNESCO (Gulersoy, et al, 2008).
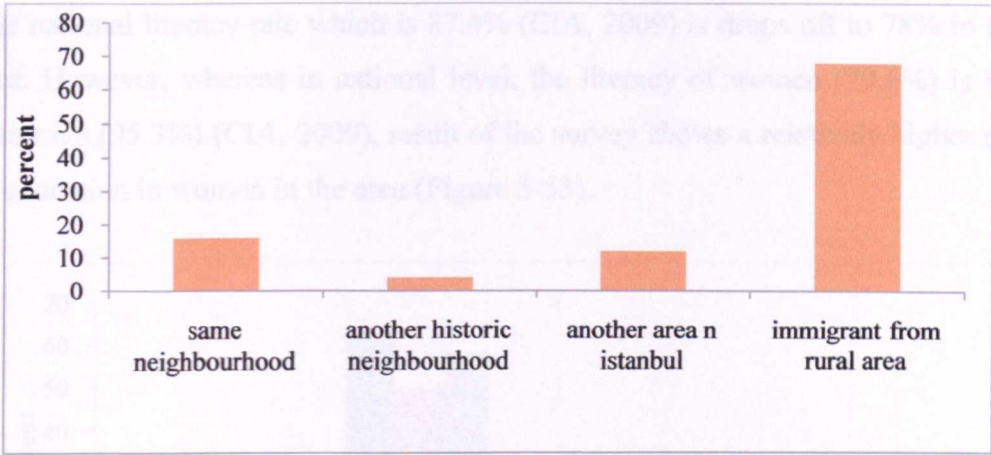
Figure 5-51- Origin of the Respondents in Zeyrek, From Total Sample of 50 Respondents

Survey respondents were closely balanced in terms of gender (56% male and 44% female). Unemployment rate in Turkey is 9.9% plus underemployment rate of 4% (CIA, 2009). Twenty five percent of male respondents reported themselves as unemployed, which is quiet high, compared to the national unemployment rate (Figure 5-52). Forty three percent of male interviewees reported themselves as self-employed which matches with the joint survey of ITU/UNESCO which covered the entire neighbourhood (Gulersoy, et al, 2008, p8). This statistic It is worth mentioning that more than 60% of the unemployed male respondents were among those who had migrated to Istanbul from rural areas in seek of a better life. Forty four percent of the interviewees were women among which 72.7% were housewives.

Figure 5-52- Male Employment in Zeyrek, From Total Sample of 50 Respondents

The national literacy rate which is 87.4% (CIA, 2009) is drops off to 78% in this area. However, whereas in national level, the literacy of women (79.6%) is less than men (95.3%) (CIA, 2009), result of the survey shows a relatively higher rate of education in women in the area (Figure 5-53).
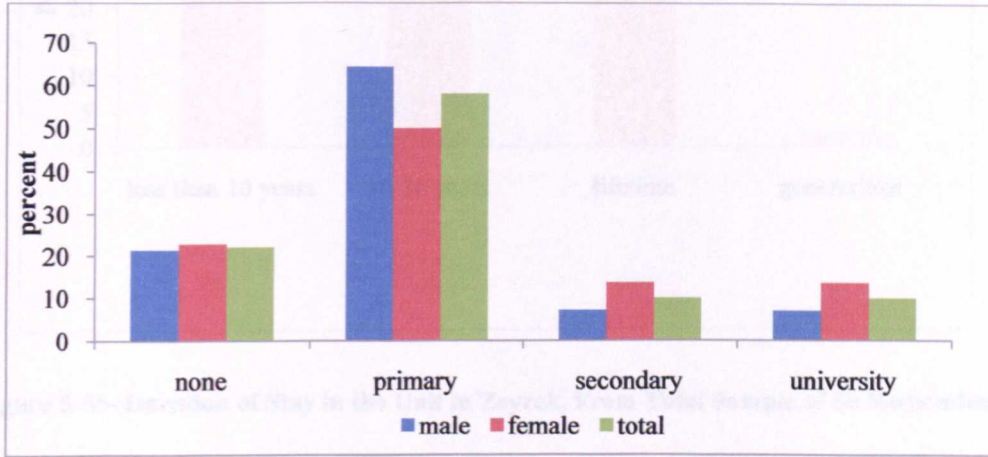
Figure 5-53- Education level in Zeyrek, From Total Sample of 50 Respondents

48% of the families are tenants, while other 48% own their units individually, or shared with other members of family. The rest are illegal occupants of properties which are left by the owners. This last group of units are in very poor physical condition. Almost half of the families in Zeyrek have lived in their residences less for than 10 years. These figures also correspond with those of UNESCO/ITU project (Gulersoy, et al, 2008) (Figures 5-54 and 5-55).
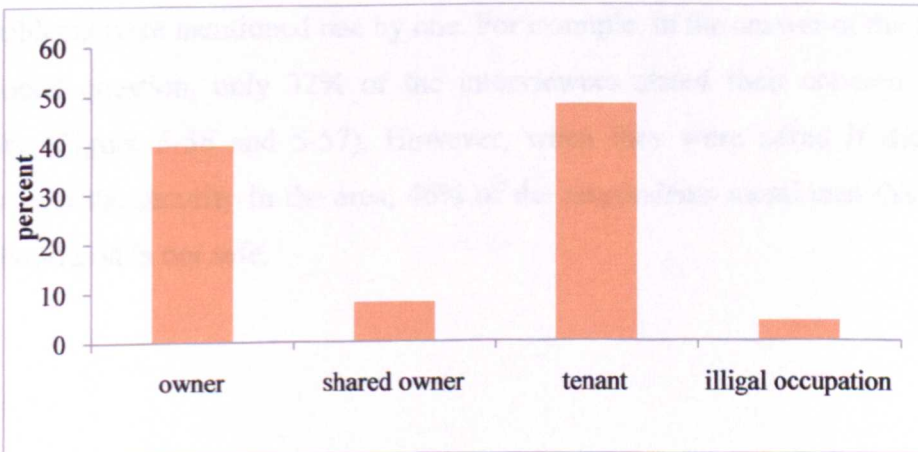
Figure 5-54- Type of Residency in Zeyrek, From Total Sample of 50 Respondents
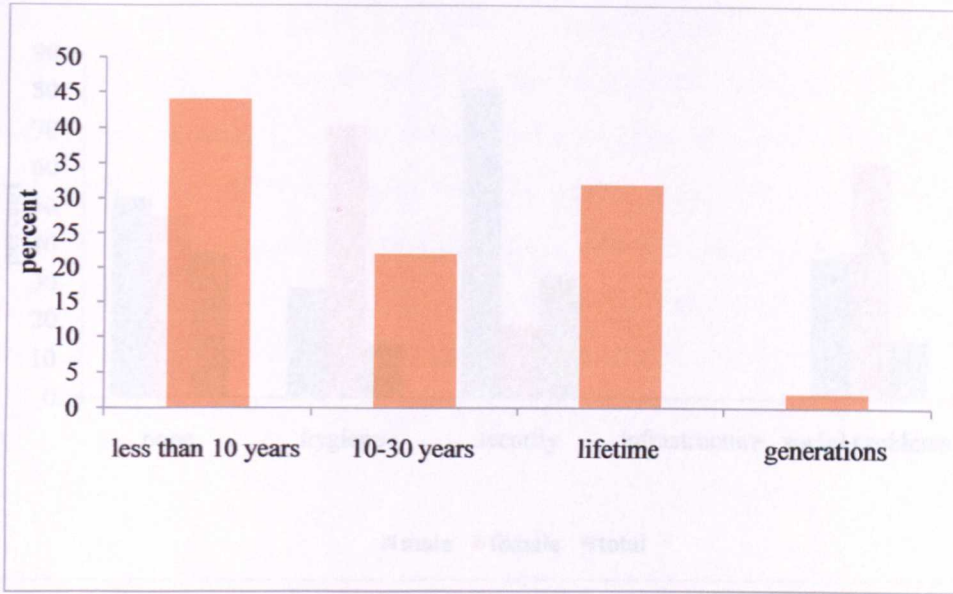
Figure 5-55- Duration of Stay in the Unit in Zeyrek, From Total Sample of 50 Respondents

Awareness of the residents about their immediate environment in the neighbourhood highly depended on their accustomed living style. While the education level of the interviewees didn't seem to have any specific effect on their perception of the problems in the area, different concerns were reported by male and female respondents. Whereas hygiene and social problems in the neighbourhood were the major concern of women, men were most concerned about security in the area. But at the end, 38% of the interviewees didn't mention of any major problem in their area, when they were asked "what major problems do you suffer from in your neighbourhood?" but the results were different when the problems were mentioned one by one. For example, in the answer of the above mentioned question, only 32% of the interviewees stated their concern about security (Figure 5-56 and 5-57). However, when they were asked if they are happy with the security in the area, 46% of the respondents mentioned that their neighbourhood is not safe.
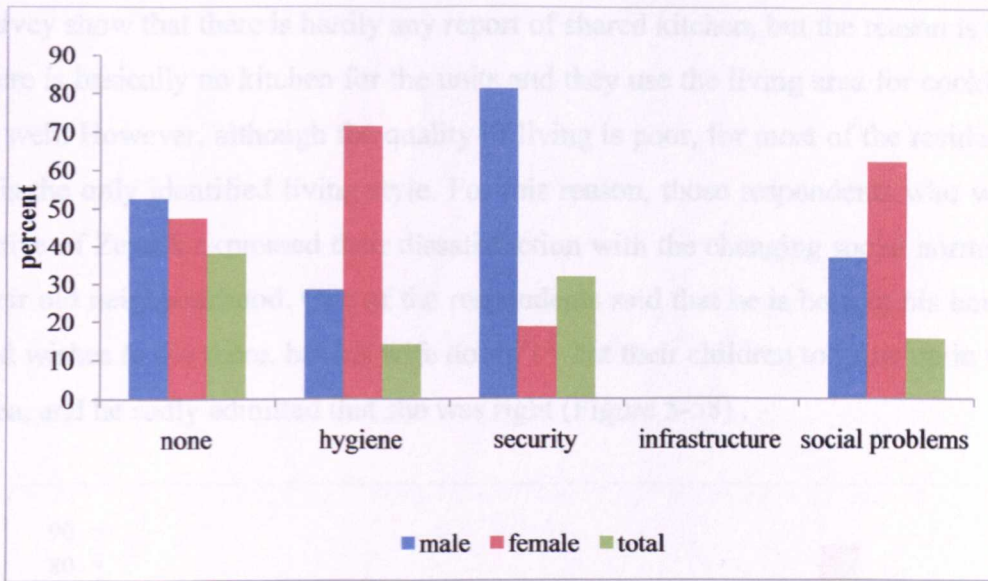
Figure5-56- Problem Awareness in Different Genders in Zeyrek, From Total Sample of 50 Respondents
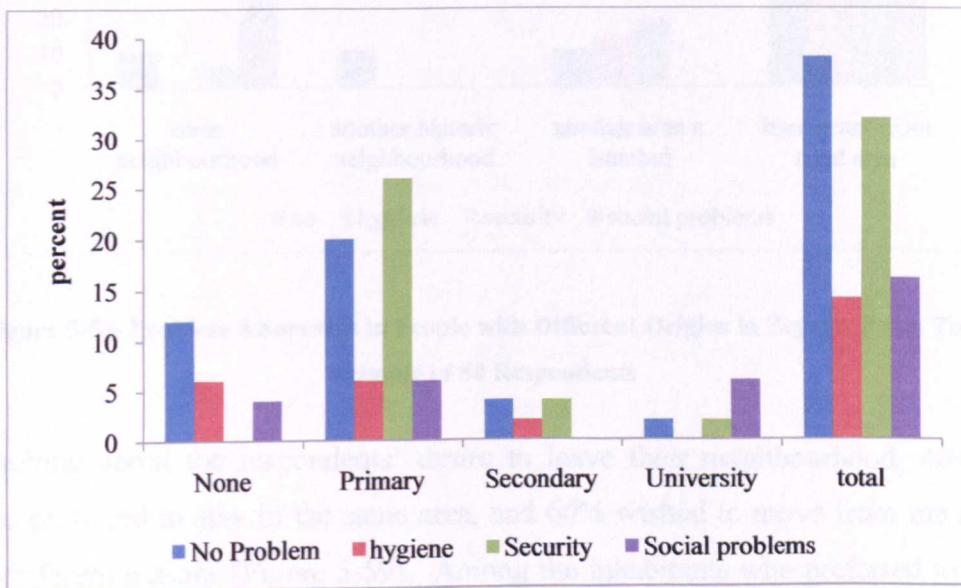
Figure 5-57- Problem Awareness Based On Education Level N Zeyrek, From Total Sample of 50 Respondents

On the other hand, most of the current residents are low-income immigrants who are unconcerned about the historic value of their units or the neighbourhood. Another problem lies in the fact that these houses are built to accommodate a single family while, today, most of them are shared with more than one family who share some common spaces like bathrooms. The results of house to house

survey show that there is hardly any report of shared kitchen, but the reason is that there is basically no kitchen for the units and they use the living area for cooking, as well. However, although the quality of living is poor, for most of the residents, it is the only identified living style. For this reason, those respondents who were native of Zeyrek expressed their dissatisfaction with the changing social norms of their old neighbourhood. One of the respondents said that he is born in his house, and wishes to die there, but his wife doesn't want their children to grow up in this area, and he sadly admitted that she was right (Figure 5-58) .
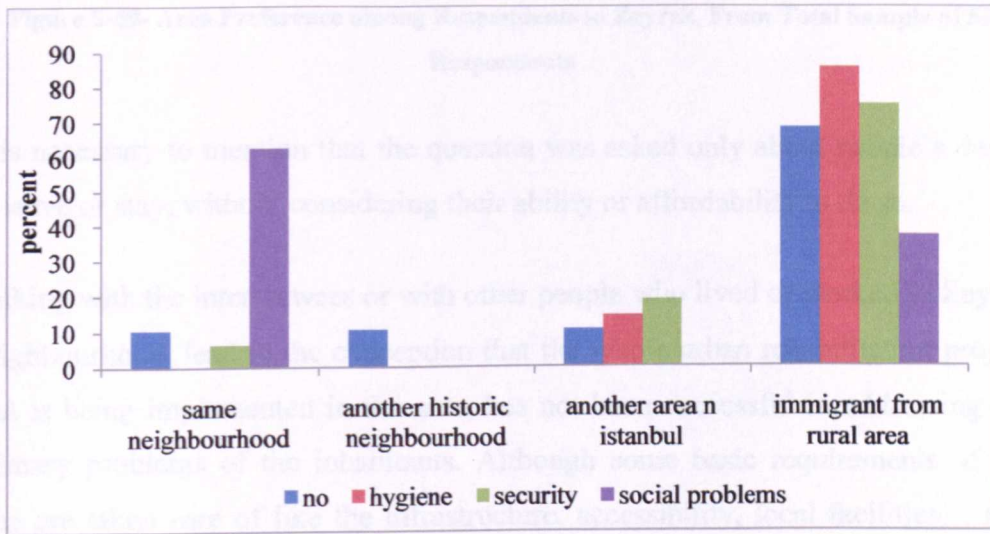
Figure 5-58- Problem Awareness in People with Different Origins in Zeyrek, From Total Sample of 50 Respondents

Enquiring about the respondents' desire to leave their neighbourhood, 40% of them preferred to stay in the same area, and 60% wished to move from the area, for different reasons (Figure 5-59). Among the inhabitants who preferred to stay in the area, only 15% had some attachment to their neighbourhood, and the rest had selected this option, because of its affordability. Also the 44% of the interviewees, who had wished to live in any area but Zeyrek, were staying there because they could afford the rents or even were living illegally in vacant houses without paying any rent.
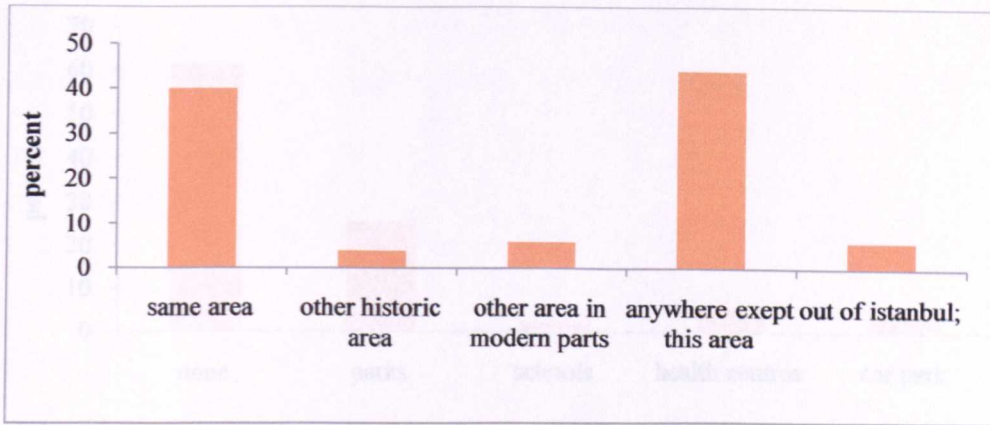
Figure 5-59- Area Preference among Respondents in Zeyrek, From Total Sample of 50
Respondents

It is necessary to mention that the question was asked only about people's desire
to leave or stay, without considering their ability or affordability to do so.

Talking with the interviewees or with other people who lived or worked in Zeyrek
neighbourhood, lead to the conception that the whole urban rehabilitation project
that is being implemented in the area, has not been successful in addressing the
primary problems of the inhabitants. Although some basic requirements of the
area are taken care of like the infrastructure, accessibility, local facilities... still
the residents show a strong desire to leave the area. Finding of the survey show
that there is no complain about infrastructure, people have easy access to and from
their houses and from the neighbourhood to other parts of the city, and they are
also content with the public facilities in the area (Figure5-60). The only service
that some (25.5%) of the respondents mentioned was parks and play grounds for
children. At the same time, in the areas where the municipality had provided
playgrounds for the children (using the spaces of vacant and ruined buildings), the
residents of nearby houses were complaining about the unwanted crowd and noise
in the area. Moreover, awareness about the project among local people was
relatively good. 80% of the inhabitants knew about the municipality's
interventions and about the grant which the owners could use conditioned that
they would live in their buildings for 5 years after using the grant. However, only
32% of the respondents stated that they have officially been informed and the rest
had only heard about it from other local people (Figure 5-61).
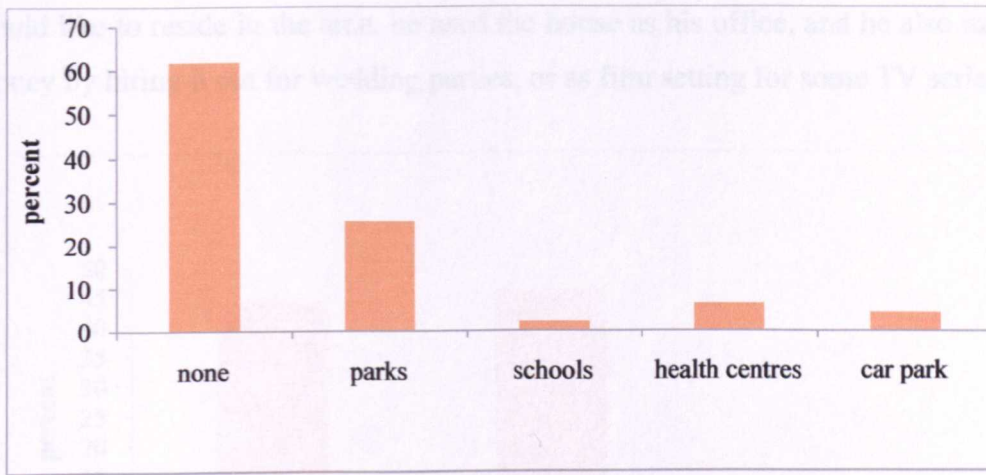
Figure 5-60- Lack of Facilities in Zeyrek According to a Total Sample of 50 Respondents
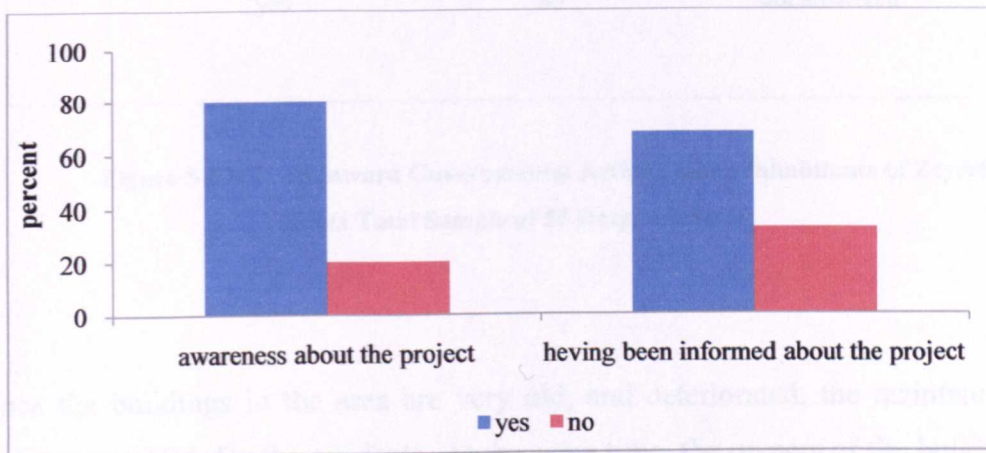
Figure 5-61- Awareness about Urban Rehabilitation Projects in the Zeyrek, From Total Sample of 50 Respondents

Relationship between the municipality of Fatih area, which Zeyrek is a part of, and residents of Zeyrek is very unsatisfactory. A large number of inhabitants stated openly that they do not trust the municipality (figure 5-62). There is a strange belief that governmental funds are only used for the properties, where the owners are in reasonable economic situation. The feeling of being excluded among low income or unemployed families is quite high. On the other hand, the owners who can afford the rehabilitation costs prefer not to rely on governmental help, since the condition of having to reside in the property for 5 years after the rehabilitation is not encouraging. The owner of one of the houses had renovated his very large property, by his own investment; but since no one in his family

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would like to reside in the area, he used the house as his office, and he also made money by hiring it out for wedding parties, or as film setting for some TV series.
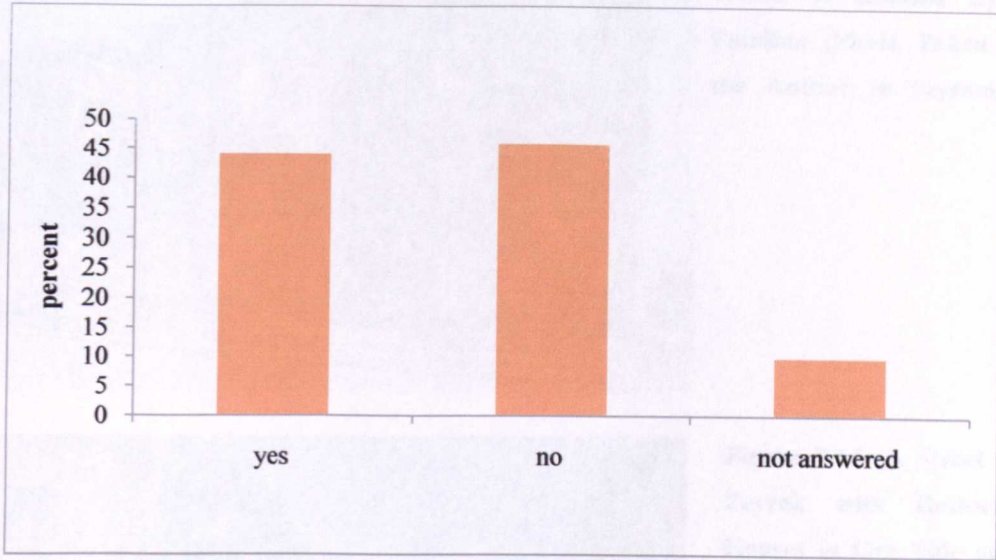
Figure 5-62- Trust toward Governmental Action among Inhabitants of Zeyrek, From Total Sample of 50 Respondents

Since the buildings in the area are very old, and deteriorated, the maintenance costs are too high for the residents. At the same time, the owners of the buildings are either uninterested and have left their buildings or claim that they are receiving a very low rent that can not include the repair costs. Even if some residents are able to afford some small scale repairs, they are not interested in doing so as they do not own the building. Most of the owners prefer to demolish and build a multi-story modern building which would entitle them to more profit in the long term. When the idea if the tenants were asked about this, most of them disagreed; however, this was not because they cared about the value of the building, but only in the fear of being evicted. Figures 5-63 to 5-75 present a general image of Zeyrek neighbourhood:

Figure 5-63- A Deteriorated Ottoman House in Zeyrek Which Is Resided By 4 Families (Photo Taken By the Author in September

Figure 5-64- A Street in Zeyrek with Restored Houses in One Side and Decayed Ones in the Other Side (Photo Taken By the Author in September 2007)

Figure 5-65- This Room Is The Residence Of A Family Of 6 (Parents And 4 Kids). There Is a Shared Bathroom in the Building, But No Kitchen (Photo Taken By the Author in September 2007)

Figure 5-66- This Building Is Restored By Its Owner Who Is an Architect (Photo Taken By the Author in September 2007)

Figure 5-67- This Building Is Nearly Vacant, However, Two Families Including the Owner Live In the Ground Floor (Photo Taken By the Author In September 2007)

Figure 5-68- This Building Is Restored By the Municipality Conditioned That the Owner Will Reside In It for 5 Years (Photo Taken By the Author in September 2007)

Figure 5-69- Women Selling Their Handmade Ornaments in One Street of Zeyrek (Photo Taken By the Author in September 2007)

Figure 5-70- This Building Is Restored By Its Owner and Is Used As Film Location (Photo Taken By the Author in September 2007)

Figure 5-71- A Recently Built Apartment Building with Wooden Facade to Look Like Ottoman Buildings of the Neighbourhood (Photo Taken By the Author in September 2007)

Figure 5-72- This Building Is In Very Poor Condition, But the Owner Has Only Afforded a New Door to Increase Safety (Photo Taken By the Author in September 2007)

Figure 5-73-Another Deteriorated Building Resided By 6 Families (Photo Taken By the Author in September 2007)

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Figure 5-74- This Building Is Restored By Municipality Conditioned That the Owner Will Reside In It for 5 Years (Photo Taken By the Author in September 2007)

Figure 5-75- This Building Has Benefited From Regular Maintenance by Its Owner and Is Only Resided By One Family (Photo Taken By the Author in September 2007)

5-5- Comparison of the Three Case Studies

Figure 5-76 is a summary of the characteristics of interviewees in the three cities of Fez, Aleppo and Istanbul, based on the field surveys made in 2006 and 2007.

	Fez (sample of 38)		Aleppo (sample of 50)		Istanbul (sample of 50)	
Origin Of The Residents **(Percent In The Sample)**	Medina	45			Same area	16
	Other Moroccan city	2.5			Other historic area	4
	Rural area	52.5	*		Modern parts of Istanbul	12
					Rural area	68
Male** Employment** **(Percent In The Sample)**	Unemployed	20.8	Unemployed	3.6	Unemployed	28.6
	Self-employed	29.2	Self-employed	64.7	Self-employed	42.9
	Employed	25	Employed	20.1	Employed	25
	Informal job	25	Informal job	0	Informal job	3.6
Education Level **(Percent In The Sample)**	No education	37.5	No education	32	No education	22
	Primary	12.5	Primary	48	Primary	58
	Secondary	35	Secondary	14	Secondary	10
	University	15	University	6	University	10
Type Of Residency **(Percent In The Sample)**	Owner	27.5	Owner	58	Owner	40
	Shared owner	10	Shared owner	32	Shared owner	8
	Tenant	25	Tenant	8	Tenant	48
	Shared tenant	35	Shared tenant	2	Shared tenant	0
	Other	2.5	Other		Illegal occupant	4
Major Problems In The Area **(Percent In The Sample)**	No	30	No	58	No	38
	Hygiene	15	Hygiene	30	Hygiene	14
	Security	30	Security	0	Security	32
	Deterioration	17.5	Deterioration	0	Social problems	16
	Infrastructure	7.5	Infrastructure	12	Infrastructure	0
Area Preference **(Percent In The Sample)**	Same neighbourhood	57.5	Same neighbourhood	58	Same neighbourhood	40
	Other area within the medina	10	Other area in Old Aleppo	18	Other historic neighbourhood	4
	Ville nouvelle	32.5	Modern parts of Aleppo	24	Modern parts of Istanbul	6
					Anywhere except current area	44
					Out of Istanbul	6
Lack Of Facilities In The Area Under Study	None	59	None	34	None	61.7
	Park	6	Park	0	Park	25.53
	School	10	Kindergarten	12	School	2.13

(Percent In The Sample)	Health centre	25	Health centre	54	Health centre	6.38
	Car park	0	Car park	0	Car park	4.26
Accessibility (Percent In The Sample)	**		No problem	66	**	
			No complain	6		
			General access problem	22		
			Emergency access problem	6		
Awareness About Urban Rehabilitation Project In The Area (Percent In The Sample)	No	72.5	No	60	No	20
	Yes, ADER-Fez	17.5	Yes, GTZ	20	Yes	80
	Yes, Fez municipality	2.5	Yes, Aga Khan	2		
	Yes, unknown	7.5	Yes, Syrian government	32		
			Yes, unknown	4		
Trust Towards Government (Percent In The Sample)	***		***		Yes	44
					No	46
					Not answered	10

* In Aleppo, 100% of the interviewees were native of Aleppo. Rural immigration is mentioned in none of the documents about Aleppo

** Medina of Fez is a totally pedestrian area, with only four access routes which brings facilities to four of the medina gates. In Zeyrek, Istanbul, on the other hand, the whole area is accessible by car

*** Interviewees in Fez and Aleppo were not content to express their trust/distrust towards governmental action openly

**** The number of employed female interviewees in all three cities was negligible. This fact was also confirmed in Aga Khan social survey of Aleppo where only male employment was considered

Figure 5-76- Characteristics of the Samples Interviewed In the Three Cities

Through the above comparison, the most important issue that the three compared Middle East and North African cities are faced with, regarding their urban rehabilitation projects, are as follow:

- The education level of the residents of the historic neighbourhoods is quiet low.

- Unemployment, leading to poverty, is a major factor in the three cities, though Aleppo has a considerably better situation in this regard.

- Except for Aleppo, more than 50% of the population of the other two cities are migrants from rural areas, who have moved to the relatively affordable parts of the city, in seek of job and better life.

- Although the cities still suffer from problems such as lack of hygiene, insufficient infrastructure, lack of public facilities like health centres, gardens, kindergartens..., awareness about these shortcomings among the residents is scarce.

- Despite all the problems, still large numbers of the residents prefer to live in their neighbourhoods. This fact can serve as stimuli to encourage people's participation.

- Although the stakeholders of all three urban rehabilitation projects maintain that the schemes are community-based, the majority of the residents claim to be unaware of the projects (especially in Fez and Aleppo), or have been informed by unofficial sources.

- Even though people in Istanbul were the only group who agreed to express their opinion about the governmental actions, the residents of the other two cities also implied their distrust implicitly.

As mentioned above, one of the major issues in Fez and Istanbul is the large number of rural immigrants residing in the designated area. As stated before, not only do they bring their different life style, they are also not concerned about the future of the neighbourhood. While in Aleppo, where almost all of the population is native, the tendency to remain in the area, and participate in maintaining it, is higher (Figures 5-77 and 5-78).
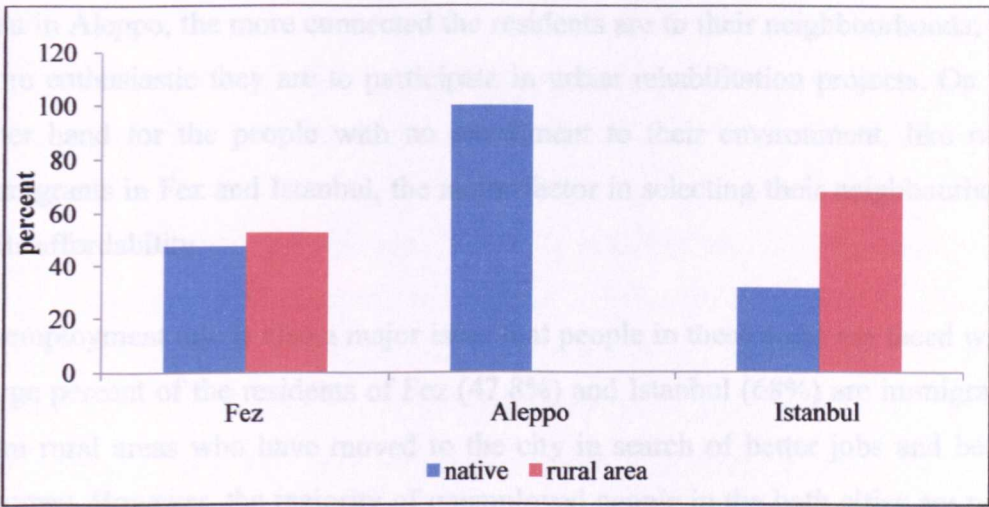
Figure 5-77- Origin of the Inhabitants in the Three Cities
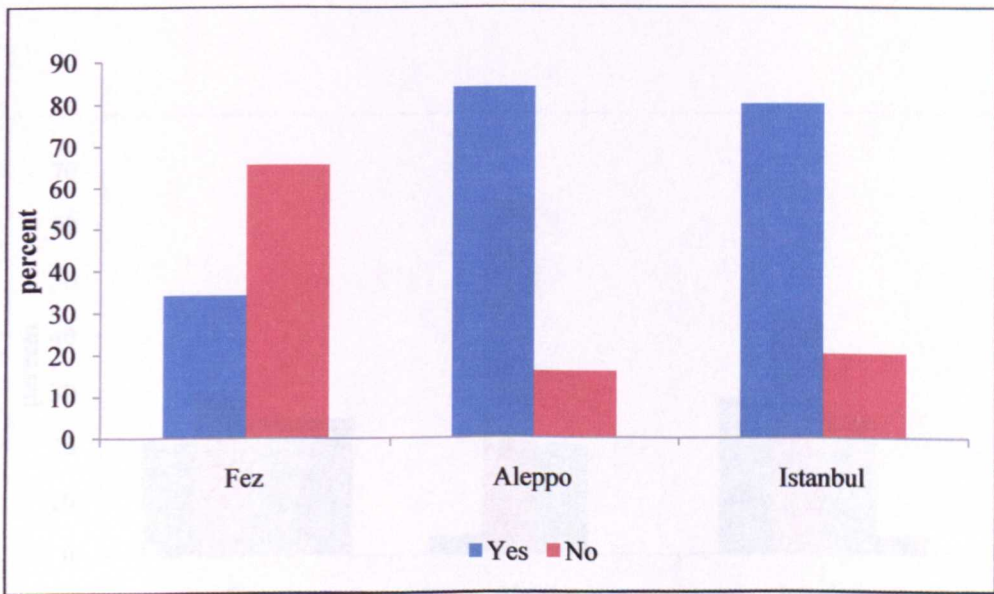
Figure 5-78- Tendency toward Participation in the Three Cities

It is necessary to mention here that the large number of interviewees in Fez who are unwilling to participate in current or future rehabilitation project is not completely due to the fact that many of them were not originally from Fez. Poverty in Fez is also an important determinant factor in this case. However, as

seen in Aleppo, the more connected the residents are to their neighbourhoods; the more enthusiastic they are to participate in urban rehabilitation projects. On the other hand for the people with no attachment to their environment, like rural immigrants in Fez and Istanbul, the major factor in selecting their neighbourhood is its affordability.

Unemployment rate is also a major issue that people in these areas are faced with. Large percent of the residents of Fez (47.8%) and Istanbul (68%) are immigrants from rural areas who have moved to the city in search of better jobs and better incomes. However, the majority of unemployed people in the both cities are rural migrants, who will remain out of job and add up to the poverty in the area, or will engage themselves in informal jobs which still cannot secure a sufficient income for them (Figure 5-79) .
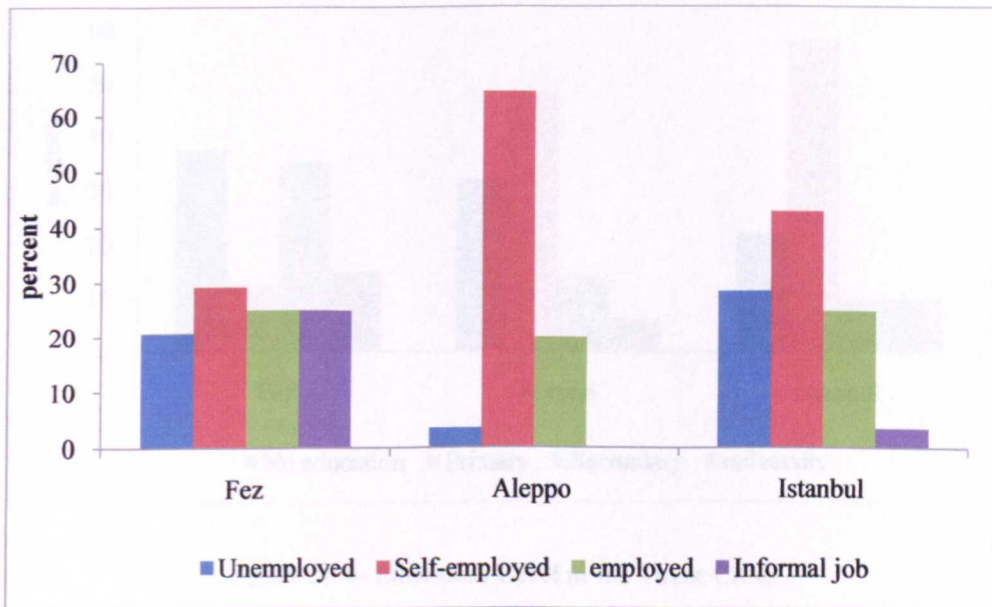
Figure 5-79- Employment Rate in the Three Cities

Illiteracy rate is also high in the historic areas of these three cities. The majority of the residents are either illiterate, or have very limited education. Apart from the

fact that lack of education will make it more difficult for them to find proper jobs, what concerns this research is the difficulty in explaining and advertising the ongoing urban rehabilitation projects to the inhabitants. In order to motivate the residents to participate in urban rehabilitation projects, the first step should be informing them about the problems their area is facing, and how the projects are going to change the situation. All the process and also the benefits of the schemes must be demonstrated to them in a language which is understandable for them. Sending brochures door to door (Aleppo) or attaching posters to the neighbourhood centres (Fez) cannot be useful in updating residents with the project process, although they are helpful if used with other participation methods (Figure 5-80) .
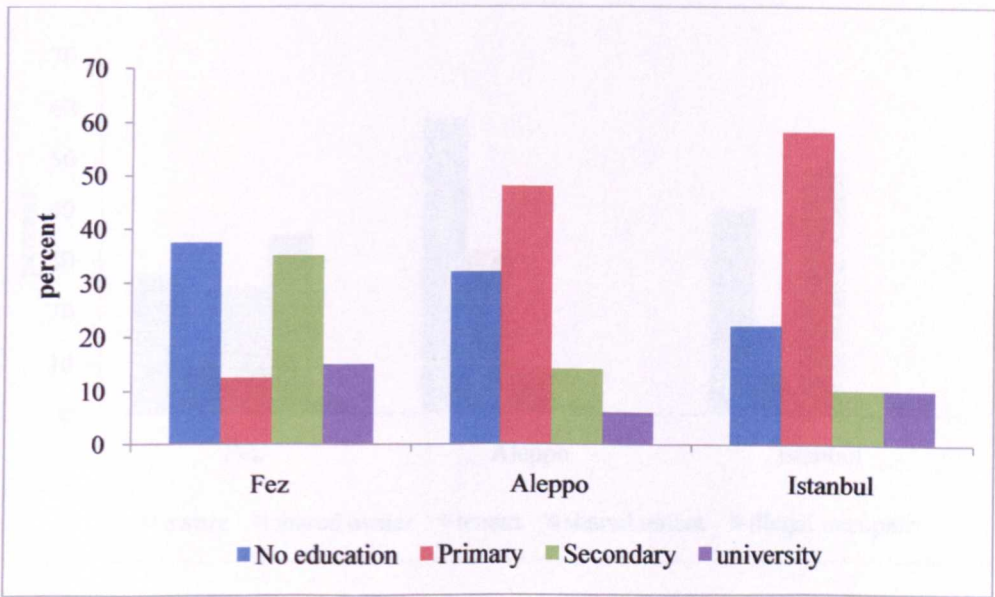
Figure 5-80- Education Level in the Three Cities

The survey results show that property ownership is an important factor in the attitude of the residents towards participation in the rehabilitation of either their residences or their neighbourhoods. In Fez, with the lowest rate of property ownership among the inhabitants, the tendency to take part in urban rehabilitation

projects is very low. This factor specially impacts on the rehabilitation of the residential buildings where the residents are not the owners of the house. These houses are mostly in very poor structural condition; for this reason, the tenure is low and affordable for the poorest groups of the immigrants. Therefore, the deprived tenants of the building are often economically unable to pay for the cost of maintenance. Moreover, it would not be sensible for them to pay for the maintenance of someone else's property. The owners on the other hand, claim that the amount they are charging for rent is very low, so they cannot pay for the maintenance as well. Both tenants and owners believe that the "government" should invest in the preservation of their valuable "historic" building (Figure 5-81).
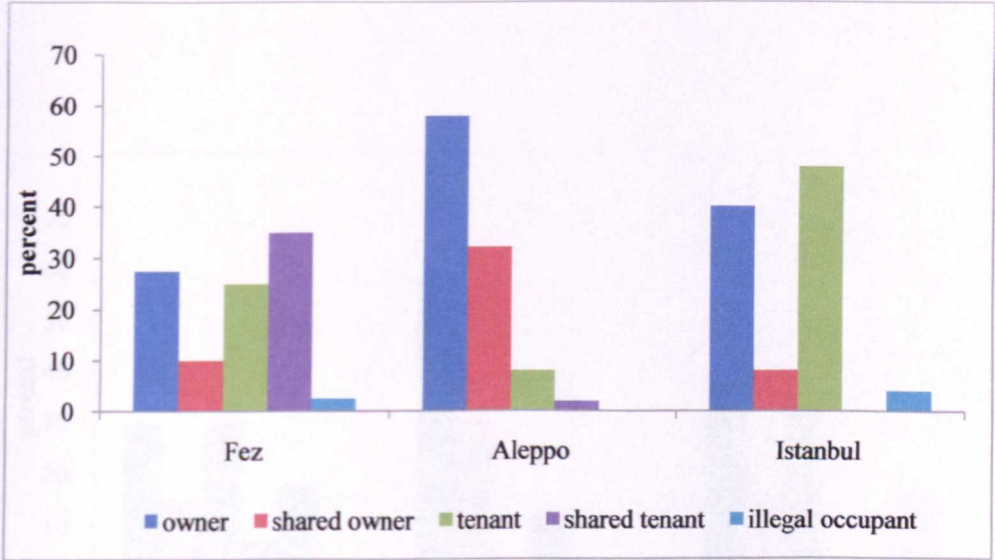
Figure 5-81- Type of Residency in the Three Cities

A very interesting finding of the survey was about the respondents' perception of the problems in their area. In all three cities, despite investments and measures taken by the projects in improving hygiene, security, public facilities, and

especially infrastructure, there are still problems and shortcomings in all areas. Obviously, improving all these conditions needs considerable financial investment, and also time. However, the point here is not the shortcomings and problems, but the unawareness of the majority of residents, in all three cities, about them. The questionnaires were designed so that the interviewees were first asked "what are the major problems in your neighbourhood?" and "what public facilities do you lack in your neighbourhood?" to which the majority answered with "there are no problem " or "there are no facilities lacking". However, when the problems were mentioned in the questions, like: "are you happy with the hygiene in the neighbourhood?" or "do you have health centre in your area?", then they would express their problems as a response to the specific question (Figure 5-82).
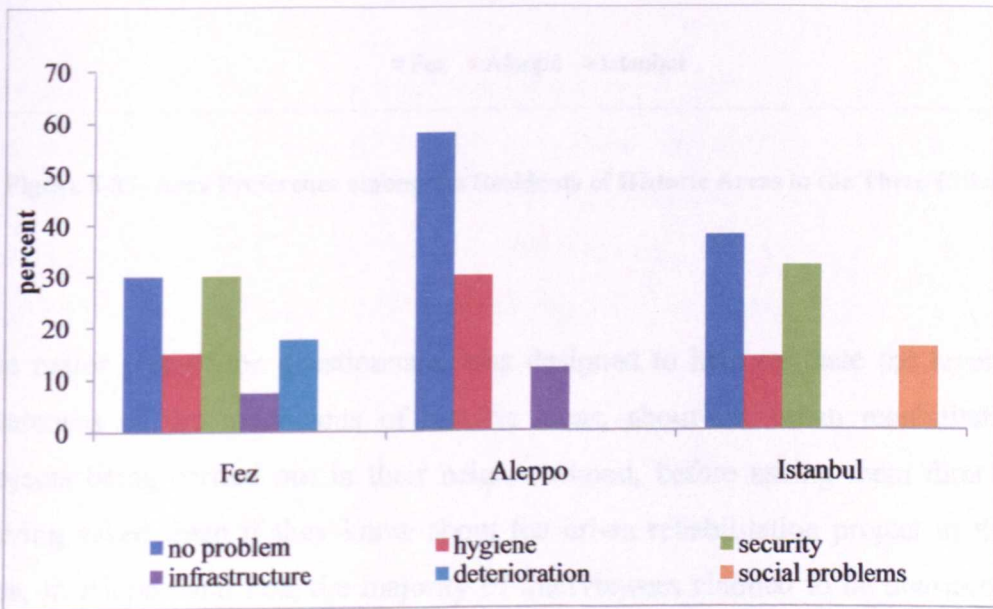
Figure 5-82- Problem Awareness in the Three Cities

The tendency of people to stay in their neighbourhood appeared to be above all related to the origin of the residents or the duration of their stay in the neighbourhood rather than the conditions of the area (Figure 5-83). Istanbul, with

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the majority of residents coming from rural areas, was the only city where a large percent of the interviewees would rather live "anywhere except here". Generally, native people would either prefer to stay in the same neighbourhood, or –few of them- move to the modern parts of the city where their relatives and friends had moved before. For the immigrants, the most important factor was affordability.
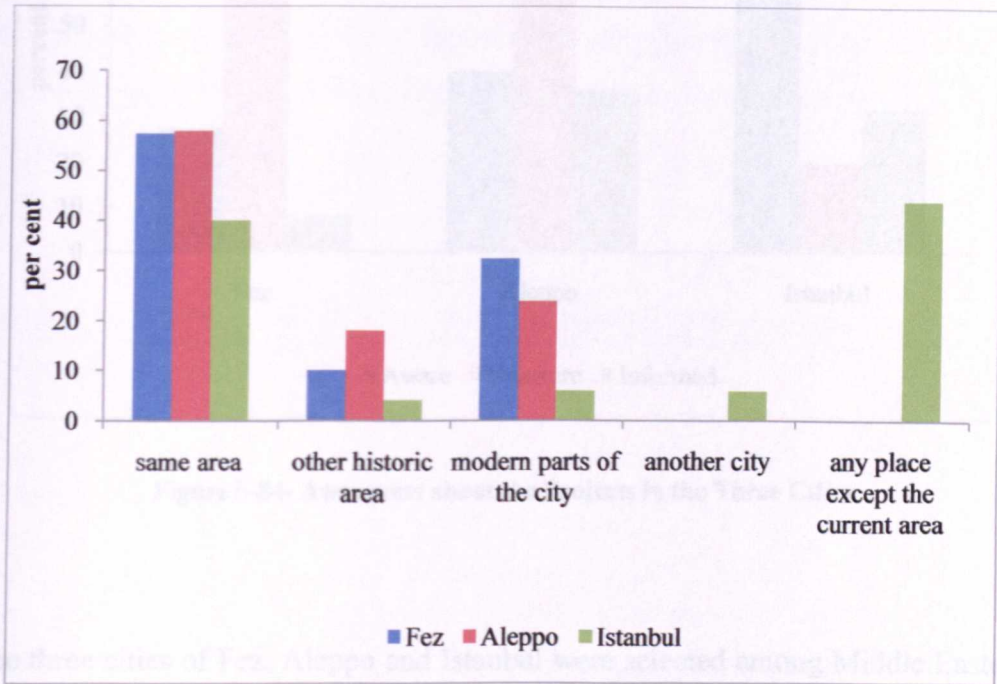
Figure 5-83- Area Preference among the Residents of Historic Areas in the Three Cities

The major part of the questionnaire was designed to help evaluate the level of awareness of the inhabitants of historic areas, about the urban rehabilitation projects being carried out in their neighbourhood, before asking them directly. Having asked them if they know about the urban rehabilitation project in their area, in Aleppo and Fez, the majority of interviewees claimed to be unaware of the project, whereas in Istanbul 80% of people had sufficient information on the scheme. However, in the three of the cities, the number of the people who admitted to be informed by those in charge of the schemes was very limited (Figure 5-84).
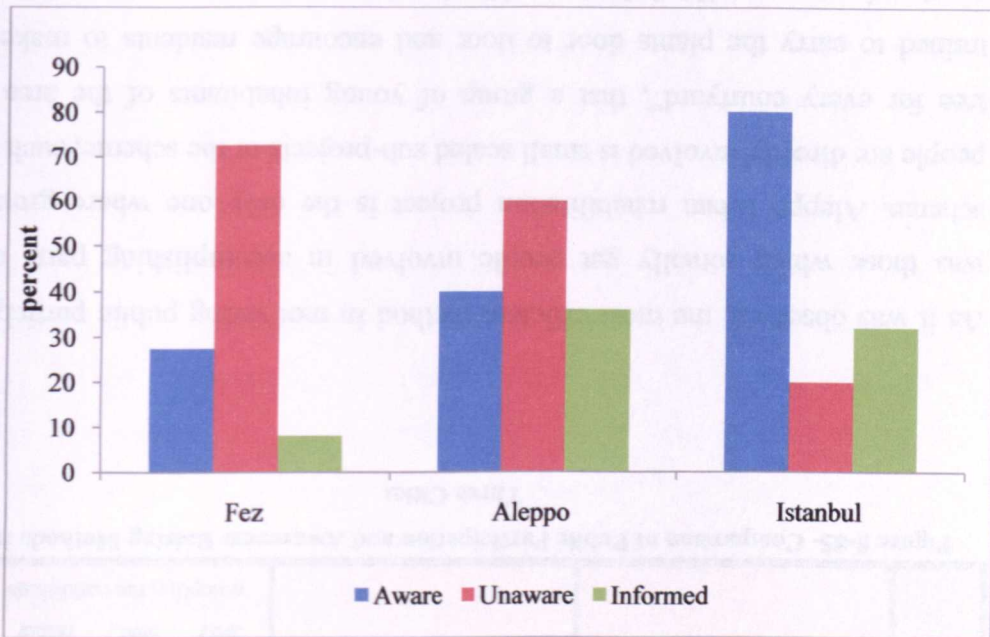
Figure 5-84- Awareness about the Projects in the Three Cities

The three cities of Fez, Aleppo and Istanbul were selected among Middle Eastern and North African cities, where urban rehabilitation projects were planned considering community involvement. The designated public participation methods were accomplished in Fez medina, the old city of Aleppo and Zeyrek neighbourhood in Istanbul. Each city had taken different method/s with different scales. Yet, the findings of the fieldwork revealed that the process has not successfully addressed the target groups. The majority of the residents were hardly aware of the shortcomings of their neighbourhood, let alone the project's objectives, process and effects on their lives. With inhabitants so uninformed about their immediate environment and their rights and responsibilities regarding their neighbourhood, participation seems a very high ambition. Nevertheless, figure 5-85 compares the awareness raising and participation methods, taken in these three cities, and how they have addressed the project objectives:

	Public Awareness Methods	Public Participation Methods	Impacts On The Project
Fez	1-Public hearings 2-Focus groups 3-Posters and brochures 4-Workshops	1- Providing owners with loans and technical advice for the maintenance of their buildings	1-Motivating the owners who had left the medina, to invest in their properties 2-Communicating with the inhabitants through "Amical"s
Aleppo	1-Public hearings 2-Posters and brochures 3-Media 4-Awareness campaigns 5-Workshops	1- Organising groups of local participants in different social and environmental activities 2-Providing people with micro-credits and technical advise to repair their houses	1- Citizens with improved and directed expectancy 2-Promoted communication between stakeholders and residents of the area 3-Stimulated the inhabitants to stay in the area and invest there
Istanbul	1-Neighbourhood administration system to communicate between residents and government	1-Rehabilitation of valuable properties, applying a set of conditions for the owners	1-Communication between residents and government through "Mukhtar"s 2-Owners prefer to leave their properties, or repair them on their own, rather than accepting the conditions

Figure 5-85- Comparison of Public Participation and Awareness Raising Methods in the Three Cities

As it was observed, the most efficient method in motivating public participation was those which actually get people involved in accomplishing parts of the scheme. Aleppo urban rehabilitation project is the only one where groups of people are directly involved is small scaled sub-projects of the scheme, such as "A tree for every courtyard", that a group of young inhabitants of the area were trained to carry the plants door to door and encourage residents to make their courtyards greener. Workshops, public hearings, exhibitions, competitions for

school children…were all different methods taken to inform and engage people in Aleppo. Although the number of people who had completely understood the message were not very high, still the way people cared for their neighborhoods, their awareness about their citizen rights and their expectations for the future of their area, showed clearly that the methods taken have to some extent been successful. While in Fez, the same methods could not have informed the inhabitants as efficiently as Aleppo. A main difference between Aleppo and Fez is the structure of their population. In Aleppo, almost all the inhabitants are native of the old city, with strong connections to their area; but in Fez, a large number of the inhabitants come from rural areas. Poverty and unemployment in Fez is another factor that make people more concerned about their personal issues, and also more expecting from the stakeholders regarding the upkeep of their neighborhoods and their residences.

On the other hand, the loans on rehabilitation of historic buildings has motivated some owners who live in Ville Nouvelle to rehabilitate their properties, not to reside in, but to turn them into restaurants, hotels, or mansions. Foreigners also can use these loans if they buy and rehabilitate a property, on the condition that they will reside in it. All these factors have contributed to real estate activity and the growing presence of foreigners in Fez, either as tourist, or as residents. Although, the presence of foreigners helps the economy of the medina, the Moroccan residents believe that the prices are raising rapidly, making it difficult for them to afford their living costs. Moreover, there are concerns about social changes both among residents and stakeholders.

Istanbul has a different circumstance, compared to Aleppo and Fez. Although neighborhood managers (Mukhtar) are selected, Zeyrek rehabilitation project is supposed to involve the community, there is no evidence of any measure to communicate directly with the community, or their representatives. Apparently, the only way people get to know about the urban rehabilitation project and the available loan on property rehabilitation, is when someone calls in person to the municipality in seek of a construction permit or the like. Yet, most people have heard from unofficial sources about the details of the scheme. However, most of

the original owners have left Zeyrek for other parts of Istanbul, and the drastic social change in the area is motivating the rest to leave it, too. Therefore, the condition of five year residency in the property is not appealing for most of them. This condition is initially meant to bring the original inhabitants back and improve the social structure of the neighborhood. However, there are prerequisites that need to be met before such an ambitious aim could be achieved.

Lessons learned from the three field works can be summarized as follows:

- Unemployment and poverty are two major problems that need to be attended, in any community-based urban rehabilitation scheme.
- Social and emotional connections to neighborhood are very important factors that contribute to people's motivation to participate in the rehabilitation of their areas.
- In areas with high rate of illiteracy, awareness-raising needs more painstaking process. If a community-based urban rehabilitation project is planned, public involvement needs to be dealt with, well in advance of the scheme.
- Even with the selection of most effective public participation methods, the lack of trust among people towards governmental actions plays the main role in people's indifference or lack of enthusiasm to participate.

What approach needs to be adopted to tackle these issues and barriers, will be discussed in next chapter.

5-6-conclusion

The first three sections of this chapter give explanation of the way data is collected in the three cities of Fez, Aleppo, and Istanbul, and the analysis of the data with the help of SPSS. The information gathered through the survey, give a

picture of who the inhabitants of the considered neighbourhoods are, and how they perceive their neighbourhoods and the urban rehabilitation project which is taking place in there. The three main characteristic of in common in the people interviewed in all three cities are that they are from the economically vulnerable groups of society; the level of education is very low among them; and they all directly or indirectly implied their distrust towards governmental actions.

The current urban rehabilitation projects in the three cities are also compared regarding the methods taken for public awareness and public participation, and how the impacts of these methods can be observed in the community. Aleppo among the three cities seems to be the most successful in involving the public by choosing methods that would directly engage people in the implementation of a small scale project within the urban rehabilitation scheme; whereas the urban rehabilitation project in Zeyrek doesn't seem to have any public attention, let alone participation.

Having highlighted the barriers to community participation in this chapter, the next chapter suggests two scenarios for future urban rehabilitation projects. One scenario recommends methods to overcome the barriers to public participation, and the other one is recommendation of a different method to engage public participation which id gentrification.

Chapter 6: Recommendation for Two Scenarios for Improvement of Public Participation in Urban Rehabilitation Projects in the Historic Cities in the MENA Region

6-1-Introduction

The five previous chapters provide the theoretical and empirical background of the research on which the recommendations of this chapter are based.

In chapter one, introduces the basis of the research, which is urban heritage. In this chapter different concepts and meanings regarding urban heritage development are defined along with current concerns about urban development such as sustainability, social capital, and public participation. Another part of this chapter investigates the international charters and recommendations regarding urban heritage, with special focus on their view about public participation.

In chapter two, Islamic city is introduced briefly, along with the role of social interactions in shaping and in development of Islamic cities and also how modernization have influenced historic urban fabrics in them. The next part of this chapter deliberates on current problems and challenges of Islamic cities and how community-based development is perceived in the MENA region.

After explaining and justification of the research methodology and the limitations and obstacles which it was faced with in chapter three, chapter four contributes to the three case study cities, their general features and histories, and evaluation of previous and current urban rehabilitation projects in them.

Chapter five deliberates on the empirical part of this research. Findings of the survey in the three case study cities are presented and analysed in this chapter, after having explained the data collection process.

This chapter, therefore, provides a culmination to the research by recommending two scenarios for improvement of public participation in future urban rehabilitation projects in the MENA region. Obviously these recommendations are developed according to the findings of the surveys in the three case study cities of Fez, Aleppo, and Istanbul.

6-2- Promoting Public Participation in Urban Rehabilitation Projects In the MENA

The common problems regarding public participation in urban rehabilitation projects of the three case study cities of Fez in Morocco, Aleppo in Syria, and Istanbul in Turkey have been discussed and analysed, according to the data gathered during field surveys. Generally, the condition of the historic areas, even after the implementation of a rehabilitation project, is not encouraging. Until recently, the historic areas of the cities in the MENA countries would deteriorate either through the policies of the decision-makers attempting to modernize the central areas with the introduction of new constructions; or by complete neglect. This trend has been changing in the recent decades and governments have started to show interest towards the urban heritage especially if a rehabilitation scheme can be economically profitable. In many of these urban rehabilitation projects, involving the inhabitants of the designated neighbourhoods is admitted to be among the objectives of the schemes, and considered important in the process of decision making and implementation of the projects. However, in most cases public participation has not been more than a ticked box in the project reports. The results of surveys conducted in the three case study cities confirmed that a large number of the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods not only have not had any active role in the process; they are not even well informed about the rehabilitation projects themselves.

6-2-1-Problems That Need To Be Dealt With To Promote Public Participation

It is ironic that lack of money is so often such a good preserver of historic buildings and abundance of wealth so often a guarantor of their destruction through demolition, or simply through tasteless remodelling or a transformation of their setting...this reaction against traditional societies and patterns of living

makes it difficult to persuade people that the artefact of their own culture are worth preserving. Many inhabitants of traditional Islamic countries are not easily convinced that a building in its old form is of greater value than a building remodelled by western technology. Humility and modesty make them underrate their own architectural traditions (Lewcock, 1980).

Lewcock's statement very well demonstrates the perception of the native residents of historic neighbourhoods in Islamic countries, as discussed in chapter two. On the other hand, the situation in historic urban areas where rural migration has changed their social structure is much worse than "underrating architectural and urban traditions". Social diversity and rural migration is a significant problem in many MENA cities, leading to lack of attachment towards the old neighbourhoods among the inhabitants and severe change in the urban living style. Moreover, not only the residents haven't got any information about the value of their historic area, they are usually not even interested in seeking this information (Chapter 5, Figures 5-82).

Unemployment and poverty, as two other major problems which are interrelated, prevent the residents from any other activity, except dealing with their financial problems and finding ways to survive the day (Chapter 5, Figure 5-79).

However, the survey results show that the main factors for failure in attracting public participation are immigration (leading to lack of attachment of the inhabitants to the area), illiteracy and lack of trust towards governmental actions among the residents of historic areas.

6-2-2-What Issues In Urban Rehabilitation Should Be Considered In Promoting Public Participation?

The historic areas of a city are often home to lower-income families whose physical, social, economic and cultural values are different from and beyond the perception of bureaucrats or planners (Steinberg, 1996).

As was discussed in the previous chapters, in all the three projects in the case study cities, with different extent, public participation was meant to be considered as an important part of the schemes and measures had been taken-according to the project reports-to involve people in the process. However, in practice, the main focus of the projects was on the rehabilitation or renewal of the infrastructure, or built heritage. The connections between the community and their built environment were neglected, leading to a feeling of social exclusion. Therefore, the outcomes of the urban rehabilitation projects, especially the social aspects could not be observed in the community, as it was stated in the project reports.

Urban rehabilitation project cannot be successful without supportive and efficient legislation, public awareness and funding. Nevertheless, neither legislation nor sufficient financial investment can guarantee the success of the projects without the public belief in the necessity of rehabilitation. It is the human inhabitants who create and constitute the socio-cultural and economic system which gives life to the physical environment. Therefore, despite all different approaches and methods that a rehabilitation scheme might involve in different MENA cities, considering effective ways to include the public in all the different levels of decision-making should be their first priority.

In the case study projects in Fez, Aleppo and Istanbul public participation was not the central factor of the schemes. Plans were decided beforehand and the community were only informed about them. Moreover, the experiences showed that the residents are reluctant to new interventions in their neighbourhoods until they can see its direct benefits to their lives. The projects have to either convince people about the long term benefits of the different stages of the scheme, or prioritize the stages in a way that people can see some positive outcomes in short term and gradually build trust towards the projects.

In the three studied cities, as a commonly used method of public participation and to facilitate the communication between people and stakeholders, representatives (Mukhtars) have been selected among the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods, to mediate between people and the project managers, express the community needs

to the decision-makers as well as conveying the project objectives to the people. In fez, the researcher was successful in meeting and interviewing one of the neighbourhood managers. However, in Aleppo and Istanbul, although the same process had been implemented people hardly knew their representatives. The problem is that, the representatives are recruited on a voluntary basis; but according to the experts involved in the social part of the projects, this task has not created challenge among the inhabitants. There have been hardly as many volunteers as the number of the neighbourhoods; so the representatives were usually selected regardless of their abilities to represent their community. Certainly, the key is not forcing people to take responsibility; but enough time and effort should be spent on creating incentives, and on educating people to care about their living environment and to be eager to take responsibility in a task which can directly affect their lives in a productive way.

Moreover, since the neighbourhood managers are in regular contact with the stakeholders, there is the risk that after a while the same distrust that exists towards the government (this is what people of the region label any person or institute who has responsibility in the urban rehabilitation project in their area), would be developed towards these mediators. This is the actual concern expressed by one of the neighbourhood managers in Fez who did not even dare make small maintenances to his house in the fear of being convicted of using public funds.

All these factors should conduct the future urban rehabilitation projects towards new methods of involving the public in the decision-making process in a way that they are convinced that their voices are heard and that no decision is made without considering their needs. Their ownership to those projects which affect their immediate environment needs to be proven to them. This important issue should be the main concern in all the different aspects of urban rehabilitation schemes in the region.

6-2-2-1-Political Aspects (Legislation)

Political support in urban rehabilitation is crucial especially in the MENA countries where every action is under the control of the central government. This issue is however, very difficult to obtain. Basically, it is difficult to achieve political commitment on urban heritage rehabilitation, when governments are faced with more urgent problems like unemployment, inefficiency of health or education system, and such. Even if politicians are convinced to change some policies in this regard, the changes usually remain on paper and hardly ever come into practice. There are many cases in different countries in the region where there have been policies supporting area rehabilitation projects, but in practice, what happens in projects is conservation of monumental buildings (Lewcock, 1980). In the MENA all large scale projects, including urban projects, are organized either by governmental organizations, or by the private sector or international organizations which are authorized by the central government.

Institutions and economic and administrative instruments must be devised to organize and promote the schemes. Still, one important issue in urban rehabilitation projects that is covered in the political level is new legislation about construction or any kind of intervention in the historic areas. By now, this legislation has only consisted of regulations which are so restrictive to the owners that make them either refrain from their intended measures, or find ways to circumvent the regulations.

The first issue that needs to be organized in the political level is the institution of a unique organization to be responsible for all the interventions in historic cities, according to the national policies and international standards. In some cities in the region, historic part of the city is considered an area like other areas of the city and is taken care of by the municipalities. Some other historic cities or neighbourhoods are protected by ministries or organizations that are in charge of cultural heritage, or housing. In some cities an organisation is set up which is composed of representatives of all ministries who can be involved in decision making in historic cities. Overlap of management in historic areas has been a main cause of failure or imperfection of many urban projects. Experiences show that

what is important at the end is not the institution, but the fact that this institution should have the authority to make independent decisions about any type of intervention in the historic areas. A good collaboration between all the ministries involved and national and international organizations is very important, but there needs to be a unique organization, independent from all of the mentioned ministries and organizations, to be in charge of planning, decision-making and monitoring the project during and after accomplishment.

The second step in political level should be revising the related legislation. Regulations are necessary in order to protect the heritage, being it urban or architectural or cultural, from unpredicted changes that may lead to loss of their values and prevent possible damages to whole or parts of their entities or their authenticity. Nevertheless, if these legislations are too restrictive, they may lead to resistance from the owners of the historic buildings. In the three case study cities, apart from the general regulations which were applied in the whole city, there were regulations especially designed for application in the historic area (interviews with the stakeholders, Chapter5). These regulations included many aspect of intervention from building codes for the material or design of buildings in the case of repair or reconstruction (Aleppo, Fez), to restrictions in ownership transfer (Aleppo, Istanbul) or change of function. The regulations are necessary in the urban rehabilitation projects and facilitate control of the schemes during and after implementation. However, since there are inevitable restrictions to the measures people can take in developing their old buildings or their functions, there should also be inspiring supports for those owners who wish to improve the condition of their heritage properties. Exemptions from tax, low-interest loans, financial and technical assistance with the rehabilitation... are methods that have been successfully taken in several cases such as the studied cases of Fez and Aleppo, or Hafsia Quatrer in Tunis (The World Bank, 1999). It is worth mentioning that this type of assistance is helpful in encouraging people in investing and participating in the upkeep of individual buildings, but does not help much in promoting public participation in the urban aspects of the schemes. Though, having invested in the rehabilitation of their own properties, they will probably be more enthusiastic in improving their environment, as well. Therefore,

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encouraging awards can also been allocated for those participating in the upkeep of their environment, taking care that it doesn't lead to the feeling of social exclusion for those who cannot afford to participate.

6-2-2-2- Cultural and Social Aspects

As Steinberg (Steinberg, 1996) also argues, social aspects of urban rehabilitation in developing countries manifest themselves in particular through the presence of the poor, who (as recent immigrants) have become resident in very crowded historic building stock, usually suffering from the impacts of sub-division and over-utilization of outdated services. This picture is contrasted by the fact that many well-to-do owners of historic buildings have moved elsewhere and have lost interest in the upkeep of their properties. The income situation of the poor and the disinterest of the absentee landlords who earn hardly any income from the low rents being paid by the occupants of the old housing stock have strongly contributed to the decay and lack of maintenance of old housing in historic city centres. According to the field work, the social aspects proved to be the main factor in the gap between the project objectives of involving the public, and the actual public involvement in the urban rehabilitation schemes. On one hand, the awareness of people residing in the historic areas about the shortcomings of their residences and neighbourhoods and about the ways that urban rehabilitation projects are going to improve this condition is very restricted. On the other hand, awareness campaigns appeared to be ineffective in encouraging the poor, jobless and uninterested inhabitants to participate in the projects. There is therefore, a need for public participation methods, especially designed for the inhabitants of each historic Islamic neighbourhood, with their specific social characteristics. It is worth mentioning that, considering the education level and the social structure of the areas, awareness raising have to be the first step before taking any method of public participation. The experiences of public meetings and hearings in Aleppo and Fez have proved to be ineffective in involving all groups of people. Generally, the people who attend the meetings and public hearings are those who

are personally interested and enthusiastic. They might have had previous experience of maintenance or construction that has made them visit municipality or other responsible organizations, and this way, they have been aware of new schemes or regulations; or in very few cases, they are concerned about the future of their neighbourhoods. However, the majority of people do not attend the meetings and although they have personally chosen not to attend, it doesn't prevent them from feeling excluded. Basically, they don't attend, because they don't believe that their voices would be heard (Interviews with inhabitants of historic areas in Aleppo (2007) and Fez (2006)). Moreover, as a rule in the region, the men are considered as the head of the family, and usually there are only the heads of the families who will attend the meetings and have their say based on their own priorities.

For the above mentioned situation, and since awareness-raising is an initial and fundamental step of any urban rehabilitation scheme, ways should be sought to address as much different groups of people as possible in the awareness raising process. There needs to be meetings aimed at different groups such as women, elderly, youth, unemployed, different trades, and different ethnic groups if applicable...and as many groupings as necessary depending on the social structure of the community. Nevertheless, the aim of this grouping will only be targeting more people and encouraging larger numbers of the inhabitants to attend the meetings, be informed and educated, and at the end be willing to make informed and active participation. Therefore, provisions should be made that this grouping does not lead to segregation in the community and arise a sense of contest among different groups.

The same criteria also apply for other methods of awareness-raising like posters and brochures, media advertisements, workshops.... They can all be designed to aim at special target groups so that more groups of people are motivated to take part. The enormous ability of the media in influencing the society should be used. However, in the communities where illiteracy rate is high, printed media can only target a very limited number of people who can not represent the community. Television and radio can be used more successfully in communication with the

targeted groups, while posters and brochures can also be helpful if the message is mainly conveyed through illustrations rather than words.

Another issue that needs to be taken into consideration as a social aspect of urban rehabilitation is education. Bearing in mind that the majority of the residents have limited education, training them in different levels will contribute in their ability and willingness to make informed participation in the future urban rehabilitation projects. Teaching materials should be prepared for different levels pre-school to high school and apart from providing information on the benefits of urban rehabilitation; they should also provide guidelines for appropriate behavioural change in the residents of historic areas. In this regard, adult education can also be an efficient way to help different groups of people learn about their citizen rights and responsibilities. In other words, the sense of self-reliance should be stimulated in them, motivating them in expressing their needs and taking part actively in the process of fulfilling their requirements. Empowerment of the community will lead to a sustainable society.

In education, like in awareness-raising, different groups of people can be targeted to achieve better results. Specialized workshops should be arranged according to the needs or qualifications of different groups. University students in related fields can be encouraged to do their field works in this context. NGOs can be invited to take part in awareness-raising and in education campaigns in support of the project.

Poverty alleviation is also a very important social issue to be considered. As the survey results showed, a large number of the residents of the studied areas are struggling for survival. Until their main concern is earning the minimum requirements of living, it would be of no use to expect them to participate in the events organized by the projects. Although rehabilitation of the area will contribute to its economic development and increase of job opportunities, an effective way to reduce poverty and also connect people to the project is providing employment for the local people in different sections and stages of the

projects, as has happened in the Hafsia Quarter in Tunis and in Marrakesh (The World Bank, 1999 and RehabiMed, 2008).

6-2-2-3- Economic Aspects

Economic aspects are among the principle aspects of urban rehabilitation in the region. In most of the countries in the MENA, a challenging task is finding the financial support to invest in the urban projects, because experiences show that most governments or other responsible organizations can hardly afford the rehabilitation of their historically or culturally valuable monuments, let alone rehabilitating a whole urban area with its entire different feature. Most of the urban rehabilitation projects in the region are sponsored by governments and are financially inadequate. The entrance fees for the monuments are not able to compensate for the investment. On the other hand, no investor being it from international agencies or private sector would invest in projects which cannot guarantee the return of their investment. However, the implementation of rehabilitation projects in historic urban areas will increase the land and property values in the area which can inspire further investment in the area, and contribute to the involvement of the private commercial sector.

In order to motivate the private sector to invest in the urban rehabilitation projects, an efficient step would be revising the current regulation regarding to construction and land-use in the historic areas. These regulations are often so restrictive that even some owners decide to leave their properties until it deteriorates, or rent it for negligible rent to poor families and do not care about its maintenance anymore. It is even economically advantageous to some owners to let their historic buildings deteriorate in order to recuperate a vacant plot and rebuild. Nevertheless, certain economic policies can change this situation. Financial help and tax exemption for the owners can motivate them in rehabilitating their properties as the case of Marrakesh (Rehabimed, 2008). Appropriate adaptive re-use can be motivating for the private sector to buy or lease historic buildings and rehabilitate them for some commercially profitable functions. Incentive creation among residents and private sector through economic support will lead to

activities which not only promote building conservation and rehabilitation but also can help develop the area around the building, economically and socially.

Tourism is another incentive for urban rehabilitation in historic areas, which can economically improve the area or even the whole city.

6-2-2-4-Urban Aspects

Considering all the different aspects of urban rehabilitation that were discussed previously, the urban aspect is one which should be regarded within all the other aspects. After all it is the urban patterns and features, building typology and other specific components of a historic city that makes it special and worthy of historic preservation. The interventions in other aspects of urban rehabilitation should not threaten the authenticity and originality of these urban features. At the same time, the need to preserve the existing urban patterns should not lead the historic area to be a museum for visitors rather than a liveable area for its residents. It is essential to find an approach which will make a balance between improvement of the living conditions of the inhabitants and sustainable preservation of the heritage with regard to economic, social and environmental factors that are basic elements of sustainability. To make a balance between preservation of the urban features and creation of a liveable area for the inhabitants, the awareness of the people about the values of their historic area needs to be increased. At the same time, a sense of ownership should be developed among the residents of historic areas towards the entire urban heritage. This measure can be the first step toward gaining public participation.

6-2-2-5-Environmental Aspects

A key factor in accomplishing sustainable urban development is considering the environmental aspects. This includes protection of natural environment, minimal use of non-renewable resources, minimising polluting activities, waste management ... therefore, environmental aspects have to be considered in policy making for the urban rehabilitation schemes. As mentioned before, one of the major problems that cities in the MENA region are faced with is rapid growth of

urbanization, which will can lead to environmental impacts such as energy use pattern, air and water pollution.... although some changes are inevitable with the growth of population, their impact can be controlled through appropriate policy making in urban development projects and also changes in behavioural patterns of the citizens which need to be encouraged.

Figure 6-1 provides a summary of different aspects of urban rehabilitation.
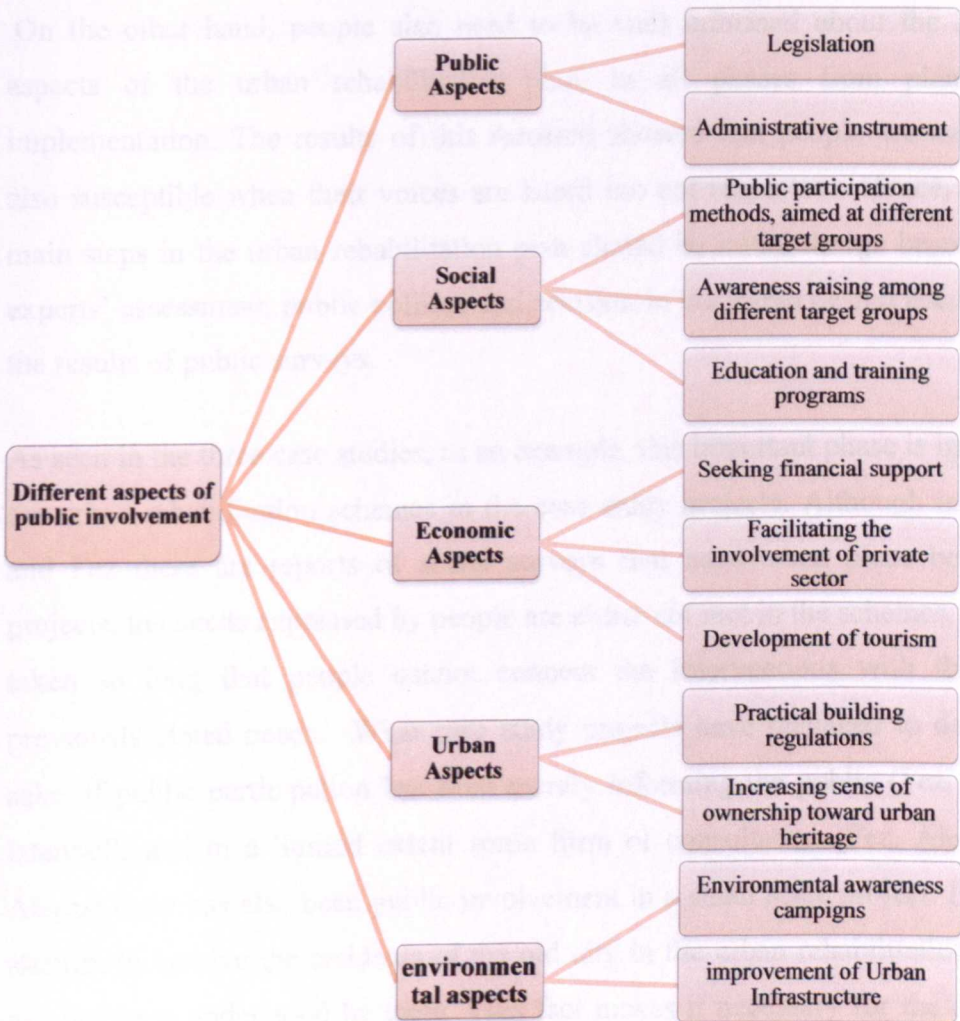
Figure 6-1- Addressing Different Aspects of Public Participation

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Involving the people in urban rehabilitation projects engages all the described aspects, in a mutual way. To ensure the active and informed involvement of people in the urban rehabilitation schemes, public opinion polling should be the first step before starting the planning of any project. Not only the project team need to be aware of the different aspects of demographic, social and cultural structure of the area, they also have to be attentive to the viewpoints and needs of the inhabitants. Apart from identifying the needs of inhabitants, these surveys can also be useful in recognizing the social structure of people, and identifying possible issues that can be applied in motivating the inhabitants to participate in urban rehabilitation projects.

On the other hand, people also need to be well informed about the different aspects of the urban rehabilitation plan, in all phases from planning to implementation. The results of this research showed that people are aware and also susceptible when their voices are heard but not respected. Hence, the first main steps in the urban rehabilitation plan should be initial design based on the experts' assessment, public polling, and revision in the initial design according to the results of public surveys.

As seen in the three case studies, as an example, this important phase is ignored in the urban rehabilitation schemes in the case study projects. Although in Aleppo and Fez there are reports of social surveys that have taken place before the projects, the needs expressed by people are either not met in the schemes, or it has taken so long that people cannot connect the interventions with their own previously stated needs. What case study projects have managed to do for the sake of public participation has been merely informing the public (Fez, Aleppo, Istanbul), and in a limited extent some form of consultation (Fez, Aleppo). In Aleppo there has also been public involvement in a small scale project. Even this attempt to involve the residents of the old city in the urban rehabilitation project has not been understood by them. This fact makes it necessary for the decision-makers to prioritize parts of the projects which have visible outcomes that correspond with peoples' needs and expectations.

Participatory activities in the case studies, however, are usually public events which are generally shaped by the project objectives and even the public "needs" are reshaped, without people recognizing it, to what the projects aim and are able to deliver. Therefore, at the end, people cannot make any connection between what they have expressed as their needs, and what has been implemented by the projects.

Apart from these factors that make public participation approaches in the region be unsuccessful, there is always the problem of financial constraints. Public participation exercises are costly and need significant time to be carried out efficiently. Although they are meant to be cost effective at the end, there is no guarantee for the success of the public participation method; in most cases there are not enough financial resources to be allocated on participatory activities. Figure 6-2 illustrates the policies that should be taken in order to facilitate participatory methods and motivate people to take part in the projects.

Policy	Objectives	Ways of Achievement
Revision in current legislation	• Preventing illegal actions due to excessive restrictions • Making current law more efficient • Preserving valuable fabrics from deterioration or demolition • Control new construction	• Use of plain language in legislation and policy documents • Introducing practical building regulations
Improve administrative tools	• To allocate appropriate resources to the process, beneficiary in accelerating and facilitating the schemes	• Developed managerial system • Enhance transparency by making reports and documentation available to public • Institution of a unique organization for intervention in urban heritage
Awareness raising	• To contribute to the understanding of people about their living environment • To improve public interest about urban heritage • To confirm mutual understanding between people and stakeholders • Establish trust and achieve consensus on urban rehabilitation issues	• Awareness campaigns targeting different groups of society • Incentive making for attendance and contribution • Regular public meetings to clarify objectives and outcomes of the schemes
Education and training	• To encourage people to gain new knowledge, helpful in improving their living environment • To help people learning new skills that will improve their employability • Establish the sense of self-reliance in the inhabitants of urban areas	• Citizens training workshops • To distribute educational material through mass media • Providing free courses for various skills suitable for different groups of community
Public participation	• To establish legitimacy and commitment toward urban projects • Minimizing conflicts and resistances • Improving sense of ownership in the community	• Involving the inhabitants form the initial stages of the schemes • Identifying various potentials of the public that can contribute to the schemes • Identifying possible motivations for participation • Convincing the public that their input into the projects is respected • Starting the schemes with programs that have quick and visible results
Economic development	• Securing the sustainability of the development scheme • Job creation	• Seeking financial support • Develop new business opportunities • Expand investment and trade opportunities • Improve mass transport system to connect the area with other parts of the city
Tourism development	• Contribute to economic development of the area • Presenting the values of the area to outside community	• Improve heritage sites • Improve accommodation facilities within the area • Market cultural tourism • Develop tourist entertainment facilities • Ensure safety
Environmental development	• Ensure sustainability of the scheme and the urban area	• Providing environmental awareness campaigns • Improve living conditions • Improve infrastructure and waste management • Minimize polluting activities

Figure 6-2- Policies Considered in Participation-Led Urban Rehabilitation Scheme

The policies and methods discussed in figure 6-2 are an inventory to the existing policies and methods of public involvement, many of which already employed by some projects in the region, like the case of urban rehabilitation scheme in Aleppo, by GTZ. Different combinations of the above-mentioned methods might be applied in different projects, depending on the scope of the schemes and their economical capacity. Aleppo was a case with fewer problems compared to Fez and Istanbul. For example, unlike to two other cities, Aleppo was not faced with rural immigration and multifamily accommodation. Moreover, the project had applied various methods in different stages of the scheme to gain public participation, and according to the project team, they also benefited from good political support. However, even if the projects are successful in providing people with enough education, and finding ways to alleviate poverty, there is still one major problem according to the survey results that impedes the projects from obtaining public participation; And this problem, which is lack of trust towards governmental action, is hardly in the scope of any urban rehabilitation project. That is why the results of this survey have led to recommending a different method of public involvement, which is a project-led and controlled gentrification.

6-2-3- Can Gentrification Be Applied As An Approach In Urban Rehabilitation Projects In Islamic Cities?

As discussed thoroughly in chapter one, gentrification is generally considered as a negative urban process which happens as consequence of economic and social changes in the central districts of the cities. It was as well discussed that, there are also researchers who approve of gentrification as a positive procedure which can lead to social and economic upgrade of the neighbourhoods. Therefore, there is a vast scope of opinions among urban sociologists about gentrification. From very

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negative views as of Betancur (John Betancur 2002, cited in Lees et al 2008) to very positive attitudes like Byrne's (Byrne, 2003), both of which are explained in chapter 1.

Clearly, the majority of the literature regards gentrification as a negative process. Many argue that the research into gentrification must be motivated by concerns to address its unjust and unequal outcomes. However, as Freeman also believes, gentrification is likely to be the future, and instead of fighting it, we need to manage it (Freeman, 2006 as cited in Lees et al, 2008).

As stated in chapter one, the explanation of gentrification has largely been associated with major cities in Europe and North America, in metropolitan cities such as London, New York, Vancouver, Mont Real...though, some writers (Smith 2002)discuss that this process is adoptable in all levels of urban hierarchy even across countries. On the other hand, the problems linked with gentrification are also explained in the context of geographical, social and political background of Western European and North American countries which is very much different from most of the cities in the MENA countries.

Positive and negative aspects of gentrification have been outlined in the works of several researchers (Atkinson and Bridge 2005, Smith 2003, Lees 2008, Zukin 1987, Byrne 2002). The positive aspects that they have mentioned can be summarized as follow:

- Stabilization of declining areas
- Increased property values
- Reduced vacancy rates
- Increased local fiscal revenues
- Encouragement and increased viability of further development
- Reduction of suburban sprawl
- Increased social mix
- Rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship

These features as previously discussed in chapter one, can generally be applicable to any rehabilitation/gentrification area. They are basically the outcomes of any urban rehabilitation project, and among their aims, if implemented successfully.

Rehabilitation of properties and stabilization of declining areas are especially important in dealing with heritage neighbourhoods and buildings, the subjects of this research. However, the focus here is on the negative aspects of gentrification to see if they have the same impact in the different economic, social, political and cultural context of Middle Eastern and North African cities.

The major negative impact of gentrification on neighbourhoods is displacement. The other negative issues also more or less are problems which will lead to displacement or caused by it. These issues are the most concerned about negative impacts of gentrification in the researches which are mainly made on North American and West European cities. The following sections argue that these so-called negative factors do not necessarily have the same impact in the context of MENA cities, according to the three case study cities.

6-2-3-1-Displacement through Rent/Price Increases

Rent/ price increase is an inevitable result of area rehabilitation, and like the positive aspects of gentrification will happen in any geographical, social or political context. Needless to mention that increased property value is, by some researchers, considered as a positive effect of gentrification. The arrival of higher income population will lead to improvement of public services, neighbourhood empowerment, and better attention to issues like cultural and social facilities, education, heritage, and improved standards of living. It also can provide employment opportunities to the low-income residents of the neighbourhood, as in the case of Fez, which may itself reduce the rate of the created displacement. Bearing in mind that in the historic areas of the cities in MENA many original residents and home owners leave the neighbourhoods and their properties, and among their reasons is dilapidation in the area and the consequent devaluation of

properties. Price increase can be assumed as an incentive for the property owners to invest in the maintenance of their properties, whether they stay in the area or leave the neighbourhood and rent out their properties. As seen in the case of Fez (chapter 5), the gentrification that has happened due to the increased number of foreigners in the medina, has actually encouraged some of the property owners who had moved to the Ville Nouvelle to return to the medina, either to reside in their houses or to rehabilitate the properties and give them new functions such as restaurants, guest houses, etc. Besides, overpopulation is a major problem of the cities in the region (discussed in chapters 2 and 4), and urban rehabilitation projects would nevertheless, seek ways to relocate some of the population.

6-2-3-2-Secondary Psychological Costs of Displacement

Forcing the poor residents of the area to leave their properties for the purpose of gentrification is not acceptable in any situation. This is the main negative aspect of gentrification mentioned in the literature on gentrification. However, talking about historic neighbourhoods in Middle Eastern countries with the rapidly changing social structures, as explained in previous chapters (chapters 2 , 4 and 5), one should consider the circumstances that make it different from European or North American cities. Although there are historic neighbourhoods like in Aleppo where the majority of the residents are the original inhabitants of the area, in most cases rural immigration in the Middle Eastern cities has lead to considerable changes in the social structure of the historic areas which are often situated in the central part of the city. During the past couple of decades, the historic centres of these cities are gradually emptied from their original residents and rural migrants have settled in (Figures 9, 51, and 77 in chapter 5). The results of the field works of this research confirm that this new residents do not show much attachment to their neighbourhood, especially in the case of Zeyrek in Istanbul. The reason they mention for their area selection, is the affordability of housing due to dilapidation of the buildings. Since the owners do not tend to repair the buildings, the rents are relatively low. In some cases even, immigrants have settled in vacant buildings which are left by their owners and although illegally, they do not have to pay any

rent. Although there is always the possibility of psychological stress in the case of displacement, one should not forget that the living conditions of many inhabitants in the historic centres, especially those who share houses is really poor and lack of hygiene and safety threatens their health; in a government-led gentrification, provision must have been made so that the revenues produced by gentrification be allocated for providing low cost housing for those who live in this state. The decision-makers need to weigh up the psychological costs of relocation, with the social, safety, and health problems, associated with living in shared housing in buildings that are structurally old and unsafe.

6-2-3-3-Community Resentment and Conflict

Community resentment against gentrification might happen in a society where a good social capital already exists, people are connected and share the same benefits or losses, and are willing to cooperate in order to improve their situation. Surveys prove that in many neighbourhoods in the region, public participation is so week and hard to achieve even with organized plans and approved methods. People are so busy dealing with poverty and their personal day to day problems that there is hardly any time left for them to gather with neighbours and discuss the general problems of neighbourhood. For the same reason, spontaneous community resentment seems very unlikely to happen spontaneously. On the other hand, community resentment might even happen against urban development projects, if the inhabitants are not convinced about the benefits of the schemes for them. This problem needs to be addressed in the very first stages of designing any urban scheme to propose efficient methods for communicating with the public, and to introduce the process and outcomes of the projects to them. This situation was noticeable in the three case study cities that people were not quiet convinced about the urban rehabilitation projects in their areas, however, although many if the interviewees refused to admit to the improvements made by the urban rehabilitation projects in their neighbourhoods, no active or organized act of resentment was observed.

At any rate, even the individually expressed dissatisfactions and resentments, being it against gentrification or against urban rehabilitation project, need to be addressed through effective communication with the residents and awareness making techniques.

6-2-3-4-Loss of Affordable Housing

With the increase in rent/price in gentrifying areas, there will always be people who will not afford to continue living in the neighbourhood. However, in state-led gentrification, this is the responsibility of the government to provide affordable housing in the same or different area for the low-income inhabitants, likewise the planned relocations in an urban rehabilitation scheme. Even without the impact of gentrification, measures must be taken by the responsible organizations to provide the low-income families and migrants with affordable housing; because the reason behind affordability in the historic areas is the structural dilapidation of the buildings which have even proposed life risk to the residents (cases of Fez, and Zeyrek in Istanbul). It is worth mentioning that, the subject of this research are the priceless material of heritage centres of MENA cities, and at any rate, the valuable neighbourhoods or buildings should not compensate for the inefficiency of the governments in providing the whole city with affordable housing.

6-2-3-5-Increased Cost and Changes to Local Services

This mentioned problem also has different process in the historic areas of MENA cities compared to the European and North American cities. Here we are talking about economically derelict areas in central parts of the cities, most of which have been the central business districts in their own time. As mentioned in chapter 5, many of the native owners in the three case study cities, would not consider returning to their neighbourhoods, because the local services in the historic areas were not comparable to what they were offered in the modern parts of the city. One principle aim of the urban rehabilitation projects in these areas is to bring this economic function back to these central neighbourhoods. Planning to improve the

economic conditions and change the local services is a desired response to this dilemma.

6-2-3-6-Under Occupancy and Population Loss to Gentrified Areas

Although population loss might happen as a result of gentrification in North American and West European countries, where original average families are replaced with couples and smaller families; in the historic centre of Middle Eastern cities one of the major problems is overpopulation. In these neighbourhoods a single house is usually shared by two or even more families (Chapter 5, Figures 8 and 22). Controlling the population in such areas is usually one of the objectives of the urban rehabilitation projects. The urban rehabilitation □□ □□□ □□ □□□□lities is feasible. In this regard, gentrification can be considered as an answer to this problem of neighbourhoods, provided that low-cost housing in other areas for the poor is considered in the scheme, as well.

6-3- Summary

In the previous chapters and based on the field surveys in three MENA cities, it was discussed that without active and informed involvement of the inhabitants of an area in urban rehabilitation projects, even the successfully accomplished aspects of the urban rehabilitation schemes might be disregarded. On the other hand, public participation in urban projects which will lead to the sense of ownership towards the projects and the urban area itself is an efficient way of moving toward sustainability. However, in the historic Islamic cities of the region, which is characterized by centralised governments, efforts to encourage public

participation in urban rehabilitation schemes seem to be unsuccessful. The results of the field surveys pointed out several reasons behind this issue:

- Poverty
- Illiteracy and inefficiency of the projects in communicating with the public
- Lack of trust towards governmental actions

The surveys also showed that the last factor is the most influential among the three. Lack of trust toward the governmental actions is such an innate feeling among the people in the investigated region that even the positive interventions of governmental organizations in the areas are received with hesitation or negative impression. On the other hand, lack of education among the population makes them less perceptive about the projects and the organization that is carrying them out. Therefore, the occasional investments of private sector or international institutions are perceived as governmental action and regarded with the same bias. In this context of ignorance and distrust, inspiring public participation proves to be very complicated, and time and capital consuming. Additionally, economical problems in the region and lack of financial resources for investment in urban heritage, makes it even more difficult for the planners to include long-term arrangements in order to educate, inform and involve the public.

Although, each Islamic city, or neighbourhood within Islamic city has its own character and problems, requiring a special approach; two scenarios are recommended generally regarding public participation in urban rehabilitation projects in the region.

The first proposed scenario is applicable in cities like Aleppo where the majority of the residents belong to their neighbourhood and have strong attachment to their residences, neighbourhoods and last but not least, the community in which they belong. Based on this proposal, the major problem to be dealt with is trust building among the public towards those in charge of the urban schemes. Although people in these areas are dealing with poverty, unemployment and lack

of education, still if they can trust the project team, and feel ownership towards both their neighbourhoods and the proposed rehabilitation scheme, it can be possible to improve their incentives for participating in the urban projects. In other words, the schemes have to be designed and organized so that public participation is a key strategy.

However, there are many historic neighbourhoods in the region which are inhabited by rural immigrants or low-income families with less attachment to the area they live in. In such neighbourhoods gaining public attention toward participation in urban projects proves to be very complicated. The problem is not only the lack of attachment to the neighbourhoods, but also, serious poverty and unemployment that prevent people from concerning anything, but tackling with their own daily problems. On the other hand, since in most countries of the region financial resources for urban rehabilitation projects are limited and insufficient, involving the private sector and even individual investors can be an effective economic policy of the urban schemes. This process will lead to gentrification which, as discussed in previous section, can have more positive than negative impacts in the neighbourhoods.

At the end, it is necessary to bear in mind that the initiative of this thesis is promoting public participation in order to rehabilitate and protect valuable historic areas in the MENA cities. People and the safety and comfort that their residences and living environments provide for them are considered very important, both for the people's sake and for the sustainability of the projects. However, this fact must not be disregarded that the physical fabric and the urban aspects of the considered areas are as important and cannot be neglected in favour of social or economic aspects of the schemes.

Derived from these observations two scenarios are proposed for public participation in urban rehabilitation projects in Islamic cities of MENA, as shown in the figure 6-3.

	Scenario 1	Scenario 2
Aim	Participation-led rehabilitation of historic urban areas	Participation-led rehabilitation of historic urban areas
Policy	Enhancing public participation by involving the residents of targeted neighbourhoods	Involving participation of more affluent groups of community /gentrification
Application	Neighbourhoods with majority of residents being native	Neighbourhoods which are being depopulated or are affected by rural immigration
Initiator	• Organisations and institutions in charge of urban schemes • Governments • NGOs • Property owners	• Individuals • Governments (supportive legislation) • Private sector • Property Owners
Outcomes	• Developing social capital • Sustainable urban rehabilitation	• Preservation of architectural and urban heritage • Economic development in the area • Sustainable urban rehabilitation

Figure 6-3- Recommended Scenarios for Participation-Led Urban Rehabilitation Schemes in the Historic Islamic Cities of MENA

Learning from other studies on public participation in urban rehabilitation projects in the MENA region, and the results of surveys made in this research, this study has concluded that given the economic shortcomings of the responsible bodies in the field of urban rehabilitation, makes it inevitable to ensure the success and sustainability of urban rehabilitation projects by empowerment of the public. On the other hand the more successful urban rehabilitation projects in the region, has mainly aimed at empowering the local public and involving them in decision-making and implementation process. The results of this research show that given the high rate of poverty and unemployment in the research areas, and also the very significant factor of distrust towards governmental actions among inhabitants of the areas, these attempts have not been successful in sustaining the involvement and participation of the local people in rehabilitation and upkeep of the neighbourhoods. Therefore, since the importance of establishing a sustainable society in rehabilitated areas is demonstrated, state/project-led gentrification is

recommended as a method of maintaining a sustainable community in the neighbourhoods.

This research has emerged in a particular context, when most of the countries in the region have increasingly become aware of the importance of sustainability in urban rehabilitation, and approved of public participation as a significant factor of sustainability. This way, urban rehabilitation projects will benefit from individual enthusiasm of people from more affluent groups of society, whose presence in the neighbourhoods will lead to generation self-reliance in the local community, resulting in improvement in different aspects of urban life.

6-4- Conclusion

The findings of the surveys in the tree cities of Fez, Aleppo, and Istanbul demonstrate that, although public participation is becoming recognized by authorities in the MENA region to have significant contribution to urban development projects, there are considerable factors that make public involvement an unfeasible aim to achieve. Two groups of factors contribute to this failure; factors which relate to the authorities, and those which are related to the inhabitants of the historic areas. Among the factors allied with the authorities are lack of enough and efficient legislation, lack of consensus among the authorities regarding approaches and level of public participation, insufficient investment. There are also factors related to the inhabitants of the areas which are even more difficult to overcome. These include poverty, lack of education, and most influencing of all, lack of trust towards governmental actions.

Based on these findings two scenarios are recommended in this chapter. The first scenario which consists of methods to improve public participation is applicable to cities where at least some of the above mentioned problems do not exist, or the authorities/project holders are able to overcome them.

The other scenario is, however, for those cities in where researches confirm that involvement of the local public is impossible or out of the financial or time scale of the schemes. For such cases, gentrification is suggested. Investigation through the literature on gentrification and its pros and cons added to the findings of this research regarding the social and economical structure of the historic centre of the cities in MENA confirm that the positive impacts of gentrification in this region will predominant its negative effects, which are discussed in detail in this chapter. What this research implies, is that gentrification is still a method of public participation; however, since the efficient involvement of the local public in urban rehabilitation projects is not always feasible, through gentrification, a more affluent group of society will be involved.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Further Research

7-1-Conclusion

Conservation of historic centres and districts is about seeking ways to ensure that the full range of qualities that give a place its particular character- its history, buildings, open spaces, traditions, culture and social life- are kept alive for the inhabitants of those communities and for future generations. Conservation is as much about people as it is about bricks and mortar (Anglin, 1997).

All throughout the MENA region, from North Africa to the Persian Gulf countries, there are many cities with historic centres threatened by rapid urbanization and rural migration. Most of these historic urban cores have lost their traditional spirit due to being abandoned by their original residents. These areas have gradually been marginalised and isolated from the modern expansions of the cities, and even in some cases, turned into urban slums.

The significance of these historic centres has been recognized by governments across the region as well as international organizations such as UNESCO, and diverse approaches and different levels of intervention has been taken in order to improve the rapidly deteriorating conditions of these urban cores as valuable national or international heritage. The measures vary from one country to another or even from one scheme to another in one city. In some countries development is equivalent for bulldozing of vast historic areas in favour of modern constructions. In some other cases the urban regeneration schemes have been mainly focused on areas with tourism potential, whereas in other cases some small scale urban preservation projects have lead to isolation of the historic neighbourhood from the life of the whole city. Many similar situations can be mentioned in which an urban development plan has not been fully accomplished, or has led to negative impacts, although there are some successful cases in the region, as well. However, there is an urgent need for urban rehabilitation schemes that can sustain the qualities of the historic cities while at the same time, provide a liveable environment to accommodate the needs of the inhabitants.

This study aimed to develop a deeper insight and better understanding of approaches to urban rehabilitation in three case study cities in the MENA region, in which public participation was employed as a means towards sustainable urban development.

A quick review to the research question and comparison with the achieved results from the analysis chapter will hep to produce a clear conclusion. In brief, the main research questions were:

- What are the approaches taken to involve people in urban rehabilitation projects in the MENA region?
- What are their outcomes and impacts in practice?
- Is there any alternative approach to address the deficiencies of these methods?

To answer the first question a field research was conducted to explore the participation methods taken in urban rehabilitation projects in three cities in the region. Based on the criteria which are defined in chapter 3, the cities of Fez in Morocco, Aleppo in Syria and Istanbul in Turkey were selected as case studies. Interviews were conducted with the people who were responsible in the urban rehabilitation projects or were involved in the implementation of them, being it in municipalities, private sector or academia. Having acquired as much as necessary information regarding the objectives and approaches of involving people in urban projects according to the people in charge of them; the second stage was to interview the inhabitants of the concerned neighbourhoods. As explained in chapter 3, these part of the field work involved face to face interviews based on structured questionnaires.

The answers of the interviewed inhabitants to the questionnaire provided the response to the second research question. The most commonly used public participation methods taken by the projects were awareness raising through posters, brochures, and public hearings, which as made clear in chapter 1, are at their best, "informing" methods which allow the people to hear and to be heard.

However, it doesn't guarantee that their views will be taken into consideration. The study analysed the results of the field survey in order to understand and compare the efficiency of different levels of public involvement in the three case study cities.

The results of data analysis revealed how the interactions (or lack of interaction) of the urban projects actors has/has not influenced the public awareness and their willingness for participating in the urban rehabilitation projects in their neighbourhoods. Three different levels of participation were applied in the three cities according to the "ladder of participation" suggested by Arnstein (Chapter 1, Figure 3). Whereas in Aleppo, the project actors have applied almost up to rung 5 of the ladder of participation which is called placation, and in Fez up to Rung 4 which is consultation; in Zeyrek neighbourhood in Istanbul hardly even the third rung (informing) is accomplished. In all the three cities neighbourhood managers have been selected among the inhabitants of the concerned areas to act as mediators between the residents and those in charge of the projects. Apparently, their role was not more than facilitating the communication between people and the project actors, and as explained in chapters 4 and 5, other factors, like lack of trust among the people towards the "governments" and their representatives, effected on the efficiency of this method.

The analysis demonstrates that there are strict limitations for the application of public participation methods in the three studied cities:

- Illiteracy rate was relatively high in the studied historic areas, and a large number of the inhabitants' level of education was not more than primary school. Awareness-raising among such population needs extra effort and extra time to first educate people about their living environment, their citizen rights and responsibilities, and the long-term benefits of the urban rehabilitation project on their lives. Obviously, spending extra time and expertise will require extra investment from the projects. However, in most of such urban rehabilitation projects in the region, no fund is allocated to public education. It is understandable that raising awareness

and encouragement towards participation among people who have hard time to comprehend the long-term objectives of the projects, especially those which might not directly affect their living conditions is a goal which can be very difficult to achieve.

- Poverty is another factor which prevents the inhabitants of historic areas from taking part in public hearings or in workshops which are designed by the projects in order to inform people and invite them to participate in upkeep of their neighbourhoods. People have to rely on their daily jobs to survive. Therefore, they refrain from any activity that might deprive them from earning a living "without having any benefits for their living condition", according to them.

- Lack of trust towards governmental action is however, the strongest factor that prevents people from participating in any project that is led by government. It is necessary to remind that, for the people in the three cities, any organization in charge of the urban rehabilitation projects is considered as "government", being it the municipality (which is part of a government), or an international organization, or private sector. The reason behind these distrusts needs a deeper investigation in socio-political issues of the region; however, the fact that people do not trust governmental action, was obvious. Part of it could be because of their being excluded from the process of decision-making for a long period of time. The current projects also were not successful in convincing them that their ideas are taken into consideration. While doing the field survey, it was also noticeable that people were exasperated by being interviewed or seeing people who are pretending to do something for them with no consequent action at the end. But the problem is certainly deeper than exasperation of the people. As discussed in chapter 5, in Aleppo, where evidences showed that at least some public participation methods taken by the project actors have been to some extent successful, still some people denied being even informed about the projects. Therefore, one of the most time consuming part of the interviews, in all the cities, was trust building

among the interviewees and reassuring them that this interview is neither part of the projects, nor for the "government".

According to the observations and analysis of the data collected during the field survey this research have proposed two scenarios to tackle with this problem.

The first scenario is based on the fact that a principle objective of any urban rehabilitation project is to improve the conditions of a historic area in a way that it provides a safe, clean, and liveable environment for its inhabitants. Therefore, a very important factor to be taken into consideration would be people's needs and requirements; and the best way of acquiring it is to consult the public themselves; and ideally involve them in the different phases of the urban projects. Different methods of public participation have been taken in different cities in the MENA region, among them Fez, Aleppo, and Istanbul, the subjects of this research. However, as the survey results showed, the impact of these methods in practice is not as clear as it is stated in the project reports. There are many obstacles in the process of public participation in the region. Nevertheless, considering public participation as a democratic method of interfering in the living environment of people, this research still urges on involving the public in rehabilitation of their neighbourhoods. However, as explained in chapter 6, awareness raising and involvement of the public should start at the very beginning of a project and the results should be considered in designing the consequent phases. Public participation methods may vary according to the political and social structure of an area; even so, whatever method is taken, it should be convincing for the people that not only their voices is heard, but also the decision-making process will be based on their opinion. Unlike what has happened in the three studied cities, the interaction of the project actors and the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods have to be a continuous process, during all phases of the schemes. It is also emphasised that the more different groups of people are consulted, the more is the chance of the public participation method to be successful.

However, as the results of the surveys proved, some of the complications that make public participation in the region hard to achieve are not basically due to

lack of efficiency of the methods taken by the project team. There is a deep-rooted distrust among people towards governmental actions which needs on one hand much more social and political research to find its cause, and on the other hand lots of time and expertise to rebuild this trust. This issue is often out of the scope of urban rehabilitation projects, and until unsolved, will remain a barrier to the success of the schemes.

On the other hand, the focus of this research is on valuable heritage urban areas which are of national pride for the communities. The rehabilitation and regeneration of these historic centres and keeping them living and in corporation with the modern expansions of the cities is as important as the living condition of its inhabitants. Moreover, there are problems in the historic areas which may not be easily solved in the normal process of the projects, whether people participate, or not; like overpopulation of the neighbourhoods and of the buildings that accelerated the deterioration of the buildings.

For the cases when public participation is unattainable, a second scenario is recommended which is project-led gentrification. Positive and negative aspects of gentrification are discussed in chapter 1, and in chapter 6 it is argued that many of the previously mentioned negative aspects of gentrification are either not relevant in regard with the cities in MENA region, or in few cases, not actually negative. Moreover, although the majority of the literature regards gentrification as a negative process, as Freeman also believes, gentrification is likely to be the future, and instead of fighting it, we need to manage it. (Freeman, 2006 as cited in Lees et al, 2008). On the other hand, the problems linked with gentrification are also explained in the context of geographical, social and political background of Western European and North American countries which is very much different from most of the cities in the MENA countries.

This research has emerged in a particular context, when most of the countries in the region have increasingly become aware of the importance of sustainability in urban rehabilitation, and approved of public participation as a significant factor of sustainability. This way, urban rehabilitation projects will benefit from individual

enthusiasm of people from more affluent groups of society, whose presence in the neighbourhoods will lead to generation self-reliance in the local community, resulting in improvement in different aspects of urban life.

The most discussed problem with gentrification as displacement of people from their residences in the gentrified areas. However, the increased property value, which is the reason for displacement, is considered as a positive impact by some researchers for attracting higher income people to the neighbourhood resulting in improvement of public services, cultural and social facilities, and even job creation. Moreover, a comprehensive urban rehabilitation scheme has to find housing solutions for the low-income families who share houses in currently deteriorating buildings in a very poor condition.

On the other hand, although there is always the possibility of psychological stress in the case of displacement, one should not forget that the living conditions of many inhabitants in the historic centres, especially those who share houses is really poor and lack of hygiene and safety threatens their health. Therefore, the decision-makers need to weigh up the psychological costs of relocation, with the social, safety, and health problems, associated with living in shared housing in buildings that are structurally old and unsafe.

At the end, it is necessary to bear in mind that the initiative of this thesis is promoting public participation in order to rehabilitate and protect valuable historic areas in the MENA cities. People and the safety and comfort that their residences and living environments provide for them are considered very important, both for the people's sake and for the sustainability of the projects. However, this fact must not be disregarded that the physical fabric and the urban aspects of the considered areas are as important and cannot be neglected in favour of social or economic aspects of the schemes.

The research recommends that if gentrification is planned and will take place through carefully designed regulations, it can bring liveability to the historic areas in a much shorter time of a rehabilitation project, plus with the mix of new

residents who come from different social groups and different parts of the city, it will help to integrate the area easier to the modern parts of the city.

7-2- Future Research

The findings of this study provides insights into the issues that policy makers in urban planning, and all organizations involved in urban rehabilitation projects in countries of MENA region should consider regarding public participation. In the historic cities of the region, where governments challenge with economic problems, investment for rehabilitation projects is usually not a priority for the governments. Fund-raising through international organizations like The World Bank is a common method if the city is nominated in the world heritage list. Using local knowledge and involving local people can be an efficient way towards sustainable development, and at the same time an effective way of economizing the projects.

A major challenge for the urban rehabilitation projects, whether they are supported by the central government, local authorities or international organizations, is moving towards a local democracy in which citizens can make more active role in decision making and in managing their own neighbourhoods. Although many urban regeneration programmes in different countries in the MENA region have considered this fact, there is still a lack of direct involvement of the communities in the process of decision-making, implementation and management of the projects in their environment.

The findings of this research indicate areas for future research in this subject. Investigating into these areas can help to have deeper understanding of the issues that impact on the success of urban rehabilitation schemes in the MENA region:

- Is the lack of trust towards governments directly related to urban issues, and are there effective ways for trust building among the people of historic areas towards the governments?
- Will there be a positive dynamic between gentrifiers and local residents of historic cities in the region which will support a sustainable urban development?

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Appendix 1: The ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites

Prepared under the Auspices of the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites Ratified by the 16th General Assembly of ICOMOS, Québec (Canada), on 4 October 2008

PREAMBLE

Since its establishment in 1965 as a worldwide organisation of heritage professionals dedicated to the study, documentation, and protection of cultural heritage sites, ICOMOS has striven to promote the conservation ethic in all its activities and to help enhance public appreciation of humanity's material heritage in all its forms and diversity.

As noted in the Charter of Venice (1964) "It is essential that the principles guiding the preservation and restoration of ancient buildings should be agreed and be laid down on an international basis, with each country being responsible for applying the plan within the framework of its own culture and traditions." Subsequent ICOMOS charters have taken up that mission, establishing professional guidelines for specific conservation challenges and encouraging effective communication about the importance of heritage conservation in every region of the world.

These earlier ICOMOS charters stress the importance of public communication as an essential part of the larger conservation process (variously describing it as "dissemination," "popularization," "presentation," and "interpretation"). They

implicitly acknowledge that every act of heritage conservation—within all the world's cultural traditions - is by its nature a communicative act.

From the vast range of surviving material remains and intangible values of past communities and civilisations, the choice of what to preserve, how to preserve it, and how it is to be presented to the public are all elements of site interpretation. They represent every generation's vision of what is significant, what is important, and why material remains from the past should be passed on to generations yet to come.

The need for a clear rationale, standardised terminology, and accepted professional principles for Interpretation and Presentation* is evident. In recent years, the dramatic expansion of interpretive activities at many cultural heritage sites and the introduction of elaborate interpretive technologies and new economic strategies for the marketing and management of cultural heritage sites have created new complexities and aroused basic questions that are central to the goals of both conservation and the public appreciation of cultural heritage sites throughout the world:

- What are the accepted and acceptable goals for the Interpretation and Presentation of cultural heritage sites?

- What principles should help determine which technical means and methods are appropriate in particular cultural and heritage contexts?

- What general ethical and professional considerations should help shape Interpretation and Presentation in light of its wide variety of specific forms and techniques?

The purpose of this Charter is therefore to define the basic principles of Interpretation and Presentation as essential components of heritage conservation efforts and as a means of enhancing public appreciation and understanding of cultural heritage sites.

DEFINITIONS

For the purposes of the present Charter, Interpretation refers to the full range of potential activities intended to heighten public awareness and enhance understanding of cultural heritage site. These can include print and electronic publications, public lectures, on-site and directly related off-site installations, educational programmes, community activities, and ongoing research, training, and evaluation of the interpretation process itself.

Presentation more specifically denotes the carefully *planned* communication of interpretive content through the arrangement of interpretive information, physical access, and interpretive infrastructure at a cultural heritage site. It can be conveyed through a variety of technical means, including, yet not requiring, such elements as informational panels, museum-type displays, formalized walking tours, lectures and guided tours, and multimedia applications and websites.

Interpretive infrastructure refers to physical installations, facilities, and areas at, or connected with a cultural heritage site that may be specifically utilised for the purposes of interpretation and presentation including those supporting interpretation via new and existing technologies.

Site interpreters refer to staff or volunteers at a cultural heritage site who are permanently or temporarily engaged in the public communication of information relating to the values and significance of the site. Cultural Heritage Site refers to a place, locality, natural landscape, settlement area, architectural complex, archaeological site, or standing structure that is recognized and often legally protected as a place of historical and cultural significance.

OBJECTIVES

In recognizing that interpretation and presentation are part of the overall process of cultural heritage conservation and management, this Charter seeks to establish seven cardinal principles, upon which Interpretation and Presentation—in whatever form or medium is deemed appropriate in specific circumstances—should be based.

Principle 1: Access and Understanding

Principle 2: Information Sources

Principle 3: Attention to Setting and Context

Principle 4: Preservation of Authenticity

Principle 5: Planning for Sustainability

Principle 6: Concern for Inclusiveness

Principle 7: Importance of Research, Training, and

Evaluation

Following from these seven principles, the objectives of this Charter are to:

1. Facilitate understanding and appreciation of cultural heritage sites and foster public awareness and engagement in the need for their protection and conservation.

2. Communicate the meaning of cultural heritage sites to a range of audiences through careful, documented recognition of significance, through accepted scientific and scholarly methods as well as from living cultural traditions.

3. Safeguard the tangible and intangible values of cultural heritage sites in their natural and cultural settings and social contexts.

4. Respect the authenticity of cultural heritage sites, by communicating the significance of their historic fabric and cultural values and protecting them from the adverse impact of intrusive interpretive infrastructure, visitor pressure, inaccurate or inappropriate interpretation.

5. Contribute to the sustainable conservation of cultural heritage sites, through promoting public understanding of, and participation in, ongoing conservation efforts, ensuring long-term maintenance of the interpretive infrastructure and regular review of its interpretive contents.

6. Encourage inclusiveness in the interpretation of cultural heritage sites, by facilitating the involvement of stakeholders and associated communities in the development and implementation of interpretive programmes.

7. Develop technical and professional guidelines for heritage interpretation and presentation, including technologies, research, and training. Such guidelines must be appropriate and sustainable in their social contexts.

PRINCIPLES

Principle 1:

Access and Understanding

Interpretation and presentation programmes should facilitate physical and intellectual access by the public to cultural heritage sites.

1. Effective interpretation and presentation should enhance personal experience, increase public respect and understanding, and communicate the importance of the conservation of cultural heritage sites.

2. Interpretation and presentation should encourage individuals and communities to reflect on their own perceptions of a site and assist them in establishing a meaningful connection to it. The aim should be to stimulate further interest, learning, experience, and exploration.

3. Interpretation and presentation programmes should identify and assess their audiences demographically and culturally. Every effort should be made to communicate the site's values and significance to its varied audiences.

4. The diversity of language among visitors and associated communities connected with a heritage site should be taken into account in the interpretive infrastructure.

5. Interpretation and presentation activities should also be physically accessible to the public, in all its variety.

6. In cases where physical access to a cultural heritage site is restricted due to conservation concerns, cultural sensitivities, adaptive re-use, or safety issues, interpretation and presentation should be provided off-site.

Principle 2:

Information Sources

Interpretation and presentation should be based on evidence gathered through accepted scientific and scholarly methods as well as from living cultural traditions.

1. Interpretation should show the range of oral and written information, material remains, traditions, and meanings attributed to a site. The sources of this information should be documented, archived, and made accessible to the public.

2. Interpretation should be based on a well researched, multidisciplinary study of the site and its surroundings. It should also acknowledge that meaningful interpretation necessarily includes reflection on alternative historical hypotheses, local traditions, and stories.

3. At cultural heritage sites where traditional storytelling or memories of historical participants provide an important source of information about the significance of the site, interpretive programmes should incorporate these oral testimonies—either indirectly, through the facilities of the interpretive infrastructure, or directly, through the active participation of members of associated communities as on-site interpreters.

4. Visual reconstructions, whether by artists, architects, or computer modellers, should be based upon detailed and systematic analysis of environmental, archaeological, architectural, and historical data, including analysis of written, oral and iconographic sources, and photography. The information sources on which such visual renderings are based should be clearly documented and alternative reconstructions based on the same evidence, when available, should be provided for comparison.

5. Interpretation and presentation programmes and activities should also be documented and archived for future reference and reflection.

Principle 3:

Context and Setting

The Interpretation and Presentation of cultural heritage sites should relate to their wider social, cultural, historical, and natural contexts and settings.

1. Interpretation should explore the significance of a site in its multi-faceted historical, political, spiritual, and artistic contexts. It should consider all aspects of the site's cultural, social, and environmental significance and values.

2. The public interpretation of a cultural heritage site should clearly distinguish and date the successive phases and influences in its evolution. The contributions of all periods to the significance of a site should be respected.

3. Interpretation should also take into account all groups that have contributed to the historical and cultural significance of the site.

4. The surrounding landscape, natural environment, and geographical setting are integral parts of a site's historical and cultural significance, and, as such, should be considered in its interpretation.

5. Intangible elements of a site's heritage such as cultural and spiritual traditions, stories, music, dance, theatre, literature, visual arts, local customs and culinary heritage should be considered in its interpretation.

6. The cross-cultural significance of heritage sites, as well as the range of perspectives about them based on scholarly research, ancient records, and living traditions, should be considered in the formulation of interpretive programmes.

Principle 4:

Authenticity

The Interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites must respect the basic tenets of authenticity in the spirit of the Nara Document (1994).

1. Authenticity is a concern relevant to human communities as well as material remains. The design of a heritage interpretation programme should respect the traditional social functions of the site and the cultural practices and dignity of local residents and associated communities.

2. Interpretation and presentation should contribute to the conservation of the authenticity of a cultural heritage site by communicating its significance without adversely impacting its cultural values or irreversibly altering its fabric.

3. All visible interpretive infrastructures (such as kiosks, walking paths, and information panels) must be sensitive to the character, setting and the cultural and natural significance of the site, while remaining easily identifiable.

4. On-site concerts, dramatic performances, and other interpretive programmes must be carefully planned to protect the significance and physical surroundings of the site and minimise disturbance to the local residents.

Principle 5:

Sustainability

The interpretation plan for a cultural heritage site must be sensitive to its natural and cultural environment, with social, financial, and environmental sustainability among its central goals.

1. The development and implementation of interpretation and presentation programmes should be an integral part of the overall planning, budgeting, and management process of cultural heritage sites.

2. The potential effect of interpretive infrastructure and visitor numbers on the cultural value, physical characteristics, integrity, and natural environment of the site must be fully considered in heritage impact assessment studies.

3. Interpretation and presentation should serve a wide range of conservation, educational and cultural objectives. The success of an interpretive programme should not be evaluated solely on the basis of visitor attendance figures or revenue.

4. Interpretation and presentation should be an integral part of the conservation process, enhancing the public's awareness of specific conservation problems encountered at the site and explaining the efforts being taken to protect the site's physical integrity and authenticity.

5. Any technical or technological elements selected to become a permanent part of a site's interpretive infrastructure should be designed and constructed in a manner that will ensure effective and regular maintenance.

6. Interpretive programmes should aim to provide equitable and sustainable economic, social, and cultural benefits to all stakeholders through education, training and employment opportunities in site interpretation programmes.

Principle 6:

Inclusiveness

The Interpretation and Presentation of cultural heritage sites must be the result of meaningful collaboration between heritage professionals, host and associated communities, and other stakeholders.

1. The multidisciplinary expertise of scholars, community members, conservation experts, governmental authorities, site managers and interpreters, tourism operators, and other professionals should be integrated in the formulation of interpretation and presentation programmes.

2. The traditional rights, responsibilities, and interests of property owners and host and associated communities should be noted and respected in the planning of site interpretation and presentation programmes.

3. Plans for expansion or revision of interpretation and presentation programmes should be open for public comment and involvement. It is the right and responsibility of all to make their opinions and perspectives known.

4. Because the question of intellectual property and traditional cultural rights is especially relevant to the interpretation process and its expression in various communication media (such as on-site multimedia presentations, digital media, and printed materials), legal ownership and right to use images, texts, and other interpretive materials should be discussed, clarified, and agreed in the planning process.

Principle 7:

Research, Training, and Evaluation

Continuing research, training, and evaluation are essential components of the interpretation of a cultural heritage site.

1. The interpretation of a cultural heritage site should not be considered to be completed with the completion of a specific interpretive infrastructure. Continuing research and consultation are important to furthering the understanding and appreciation of a site's significance. Regular review should be an integral element in every heritage interpretation programme.

2. The interpretive programme and infrastructure should be designed and constructed in a way that facilitates ongoing content revision and/or expansion.

3. Interpretation and presentation programmes and their physical impact on a site should be continuously monitored and evaluated, and periodic changes made on the basis of both scientific and scholarly analysis and public feedback. Visitors and members of associated communities as well as heritage professionals should be involved in this evaluation process.

4. Every interpretation programme should be considered as an educational resource for people of all ages. Its design should take into account its possible uses in school curricula, informal and lifelong learning programmes,

communications and information media, special activities, events, and seasonal volunteer involvement.

5. The training of qualified professionals in the specialised fields of heritage interpretation and presentation, such as content creation, management, technology, guiding, and education, is a crucial objective. In addition, basic academic conservation programmes should include a component on interpretation and presentation in their courses of study.

6. On-site training programmes and courses should be developed with the objective of updating and informing heritage and interpretation staff of all levels and associated and host communities of recent developments and innovations in the field.

7. International cooperation and sharing of experience are essential to developing and maintaining standards in *interpretation* methods and technologies. To that end, international conferences, workshops and exchanges of *professional staff as* well as national and regional meetings should be encouraged. These *will provide* an opportunity for the regular sharing of information about the diversity of interpretive approaches and experiences in various regions and cultures.

Appendix 2: Questionnaire for the Household Survey

The following questionnaire is the initial sample of the interview questionnaire which was prepared for the three case study cities. It is necessary to mention that there have been minor modifications to some questions due to differences in the condition of the three cities. These changes were made after making personal observations in the neighbourhoods by the author, and also after interviewing the stakeholders. Apart from that, as stated before, the questionnaire was asked orally in the form of an interview to the residents, and additional questions were asked in case it was necessary to make some points more clear, either to the interviewee or to the researcher.

Household Survey

Address:
Historic value:
Comments:

Interviewee and house occupants

Name:		age:	
Gender:	male		female
Education:			
Primary	Secondary	University	None
Employment:			
Type of residency: Owner			Shared owner:
Tenant	Shared tenant:		Other
Duration of stay in the unit:		Origin:	
House occupants: (number of families, ages, gender)			

Accessibility and Household

Is there any problem to access you unit? If yes, what?
Has any measurement been made to facilitate access?
What measurements can be made to facilitate access?
Do you have enough space in the property? If no, why?
Do you suffer from any disturbance?
Which spaces do you share with other families?
How do you describe the state of the house? Good   fairly good   poor   very poor Why?

Has any maintenance been done to the building? If yes, what is it and who has finances that?
Are you satisfied with the measurements made in your unit?
What improvement can be made to the current situation?
Would you (+neighbours) agree to pay for the maintenance?

Neighbourhood

What facilities do you lack in the area? (shops, school, mosque, health centre, hammam, ...)
Are there any major problems in the neighbourhood? (Physical, hygiene, security...)
Would you prefer to live in another neighbourhood? Which one and why?

Awareness and participation

Are you aware of any rehabilitation project in the neighbourhood/ area?
Have you been informed about any rehabilitation project in the neighbourhood/area? How?
Do you feel the need for any (further) improvements in the neighbourhood/area? What?
Were you willing to participate in such projects?
Were you asked to participate? If yes, how?
Were your ideas taken into consideration?
Are you satisfied with the measurements in your area?

Comments

Could you identify 2-3 things that can be done by you/other residents/stakeholders to improve the living condition in the area?

Appendix 3: Conference Proceeding Based on the Findings of This Thesis

Public Participation and Urban Development in Islamic Countries, in "Instant Cities: Emergent Trends in Architecture and Urbanism in the Arab world, the third international conference of the centre for the study of architecture in the Arab region" edited by Amer Moustafa, Jamal Al-Qawasmi, Kevin Mitchel, Amman: CSAAR2008A, 2008

Public Participation and Urban Development in Islamic Countries

Abstract

Though urban rehabilitation has a long history in Islamic cities, involving the public is only recently taken into consideration. The political system of Islamic countries is characterized by large public sectors, centralised governments, and limited public participation. In this kind of centralized system, the governments act like sponsors for people and decide on behalf of them. In such a system, there can be no mutual cooperation. In recent decades, the failure of centralized planning has been acknowledged, and the capacities of local communities to manage their own affairs have been recognized. There is also a growing concern that the inhabitants of historic areas of Islamic cities have developed an increasing feeling of alienation towards governmental decision-making and a profound distrust of the entire system is developed. With citizens being increasingly sceptical and distrustful of governments some certain types of participation might even inflict more damage on the relationship.

Based on case studies in Aleppo, Cairo and Fez this paper analyses how and why certain participation methods may contribute to the creation of distrust between the community and government. Furthermore, the paper highlights the type of mechanisms that might be applied to strengthen participation and deepen the public involvement.

Keywords: urban rehabilitation, public participation, awareness, Islamic historic cities

Introduction

In today's rapidly transforming world, involving the community efficiently and substantially in decision-making process is a key starting point to guaranty the security and success of any urban project. Therefore it is essential to make a clear understanding of the nature of participation and how it can contribute to accomplishments of urban projects, through increase of trust, social justice and democracy. There is a variety of public participation methods that aim to consult and involve the public in different levels, ranging from the public hearing to the consensus conferences or focus groups.

The more people feel like they can make a difference in solving problems, the more likely they are to be involved in community activities and issues. People who believe they can make a great deal of difference solving problems are three times more likely to be involved in community issues and activities than people who do not believe they can make any difference and are much more likely to desire increased community involvement .(Dobson, 2006)

Though urban rehabilitation has a long history in Islamic cities, involving the public is only recently taken into consideration. Generally speaking, the political system of Islamic countries is characterized by large public sectors, centralised governments, and limited public participation. In this kind of centralized system, the governments act like sponsors for people and decide on behalf of them. In such a system, there can be no mutual cooperation. The government is the decision-maker, the executor, and the judge and assessor. In recent decades, the failure of centralized planning has been acknowledged, and the capacities of local communities to manage their own affairs and make efficient use of the resources at their disposal have been recognized.

Currently, there is a growing concern that the inhabitants of historic areas of Islamic cities or at least some of them have developed an increasing feeling of alienation towards governmental decision-making. There are no channels of communication for the transmission of information or the expression of views, and even where these exist; the public may not be well informed about them. In some instances a profound distrust of the entire system is developed. With citizens being increasingly sceptical and distrustful of governments some certain types of participation might even inflict more damage on the relationship.

Providing the necessity of consulting public opinion in decision-making along with encouraging them in actively taking effective part in the urban projects, the question is how effective are the public participation methods which are designed and applied within the developed societies? In the other hand, considering the social characteristics of the residents of historic areas in Islamic cities, what kind of dialogue should be designed to provide meaningful communication between communities and their stakeholders?

Based on case studies in Aleppo, Cairo and Fez this paper analyses how and why certain participation methods have contributed to the creation of distrust and misunderstanding between the community and government. Furthermore, the paper highlights the type of mechanisms that might be applied to re- establish mutual trust and acceptance between the two parties and the methods that can be used to strengthen participation and deepen the public involvement. Enhanced public participation is believed to result in a more sustainable urban conservation and rehabilitation by reducing governmental costs and responsibilities and enhancing self reliance among the community.

Public participation: concept and role in urban rehabilitation

Public participation encompasses a group of procedures designed to consult, involve and inform the public to allow those affected by a decision to have an input into that decision.(Row and Frewer, 2000) Participation may be achieved in different ways: at the lowest level, the public may be targeted with enhanced information. At higher levels, public views may be actively solicited through mechanisms such as consultation exercises, focus groups, and questionnaires. At still higher levels, members of the public may be selected to take part in exercises that provide them with a degree of decision-making authority.(Row and Frewer, 2000)

The 1992 UN conference on environment and development laid out directions for sustainable urban development in chapters 7 and 28 of agenda 21 by stipulating that "by 1996, most local authorities in each country should have undertaken a consultative process with their population and achieved a consensus on a local agenda 21 for their communities."(Alberini et al., 2006)

There are several reasons to enhance citizen's participation. If citizens who are most affected by the decisions, have sufficient and equal opportunity to express their preferences decisions will be more legitimate, because people have been involved in making them. Another reason is the creation of trust and confidence in the community, and preventing social resistance. It can prove the community members that they have the ability to improve the living conditions for themselves and their neighbourhoods.

Power structure in societies has been changing rapidly in recent decades. The concept of planning for the people has changed to become planning with the people or even planning by the people. This has to do with ongoing democratization and the decentralization of power to the lowest possible level. (Keiner, 2005) however, the unequal relations between governments and public, between different social levels, man and women, educated and uneducated...should be first addressed. Public participation can not be achieved unless citizens are convinced that their voices are heard equally and are taken into consideration, regardless of their social or economic situation and only based on the degree they are affected by a particular decision.

In the literature review made by Hicks, comprising the basis for the CPP [centre for public participation], she notes that public participation is a constitutional matter, going beyond granting the right to vote. Interviews and a policy discussion session with local government policy-makers reveal that several mechanisms have been put in place to facilitate community based involvement in municipality decision-making. Interviewees felt that joint decision-making ensures the community buy-in in policy-making creates a sense of ownership of the finished product and builds accountability and relationships of trust. Further than this, the quality of public engagement influences the quality of the product itself, with public participation resulting in more effective policy-making, which is directly linked to addressing people's needs. This creates opportunities for more creative problem-solving, which then leads to better, more sustainable implementation. As a positive spin-off, engaging citizens in policy-making contributes towards the empowerment of communities, with people learning more about governance and policy process by getting involved in these. It was noted that public participation is expensive and time-consuming, but that so are the consequences of failing to engage communities.(Hicks)

Although collective decision-making can be difficult, complicated, time-consuming, and sometimes unattainable, when consensus-based decisions are made, the results are often more legitimate and widely accepted than decisions made by elected officials acting independently.(Sisk et al., 2001) When people become involved in decision-making concerning their living environment they can become effectively active in dealing with their local problems. Through co-ordinated planning, research and action, they can accomplish what individuals working alone could not. When people are convinced that they are part of the decision-making for solving their own problems, local problems start getting solved. When they actually begin to work with other individuals, associations, NGOs, and governmental sector, their indifference or resistance toward

governmental decision-making will change its place with the feeling that the achievements belong to themselves. Including citizens in decision-making can be the most effective way toward sustainable development, through sustainable communities.

Public participation in Islamic countries: methods applied so far

Despite the numerous differences between historic cities throughout the Middle East, common processes can be identified which have shaped and continue to shape their nature. The Middle East region is characterised by large public sectors, centralised governments, and limited political participation. Force for change remains modest, and the force comes principally from the governments themselves. This factor impacts most of the Middle Eastern cities(2002). In this kind of centralized system, the governments act like sponsors for people and decide on behalf of them. In such a system, there can be no mutual cooperation. The government is the decision-maker, the executor, and the judge and assessor. In the other hand, poverty and inequality leads citizens to become sceptical and distrustful of governments and show less interest in participatory measures.

Participation methods such as referenda or public hearings often seem to be employed simply in recognition of a need to involve the public in some way, assuming that involvement is an end in itself rather than a means to an end. Therefore, participation approaches are just carried out more like a formal procedure rather than a real process in which the opinion of public is considered and implemented in the plans. Moreover, citizen participation in these countries is often concentrated in participation by influential social groups, NGOs, or other interest groups with access to resources.

In recent years, there has been a growing concern that the inhabitants of historic areas or at least some of them have developed an increasing feeling of alienation towards governmental decision-making. There are no channels of communication for the transmission of information or the expression of views, and even where these exist, the public may not be aware of them. In some instances a profound distrust of the entire system has developed.

In the next section, specific case studies are discussed in order to study the effects of different methods of public participation in rehabilitation projects in some Islamic cities. These case studies include Aleppo in Syria, Cairo in Egypt, and Fez in morocco where public participation has been considered in some urban rehabilitation projects.

Evaluation of previous experiences in Islamic countries

The author conducted face to face interviews with residents living in the old cities of Fez and Aleppo and relied on a project report in the case of Cairo(1998) .study consisted of evaluating residents' perception of urban regeneration projects where public participation was supposed to be part of the project.

In each case study, the administrative system in place regarding urban heritage, the objectives and outcomes of the urban rehabilitation projects are presented based on existing project reports and

other references. Furthermore results of face to face interviews and field work carried out in the two cases of Fez and Aleppo are presented and discussed.

The field surveys are based on social data gathering through face to face interviews with the inhabitants of the historic areas regarding their conception about living conditions, their awareness of the projects being implemented in their areas, their willingness to participate in such projects. This data is analysed later to see how factors like origin of the interviewees, their level of education, gender, economic level will affect their answers to these questions.

Aleppo: The Historic City

In the early 70's, as the urban growth in Syria was registering its highest rates, Syria enforced a new Local Administration system. Cities elected City Councils to supervise their administration. Each Council has a small Executive Bureau to steer its work and this Bureau is headed by a Mayor. The Governorate level is administered by a similar system and has an elected Governorate Council. The Governor is appointed centrally and supervises the work of all government agencies in the governorate. The Ministry of Local Administration is in charge of coordinating and administering operations of the Local Administration Law. However, technical decisions related to urban planning, infrastructure and housing are coordinated with the Ministry of Housing. Between the city administration and the residents of the city, we find neighbourhood committees and district clerks. The dialogue developed in these committees allows for an informal participation process to take place. However, the true formal representation of residents is materialized in City Council elections, held every four years.

The historic city of Aleppo in northern Syria with almost 400 hectares of historic area was designated as a world heritage city in 1986. In 1992, the German Government (GTZ- Gesellschaft für Technische zusammenarbeit) joined the Syrian Arab Republic (City of Aleppo) to initiate the Project for the Rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo. The main aim of this project, according to the project manager [interview, February 2007], is to preserve Aleppo as a living city, and maintain the basic requirements of the people who live in the area. According to this objective, the people who live and work in the old city are the main target group and the key actors in the process of rehabilitation. If they are already included in the decision-making process, effective measures can be developed together and conflicts can be avoided. The project objectives are therefore made clear to the residents of the old city, through establishing the communication channels between the project and the public. These channels include public meetings, posters and brochures, individual discussions and meetings with target groups, and media. Plans are explained and solutions sought together in workshops and public hearings.

Public participation has been organized in Aleppo at different levels. A permanent exhibition in one of the restored historic buildings informs citizens and visitors to the city about the status of the redevelopment measures and about current projects. This exhibition is often visited by the school classes in Aleppo. School children have been also involved by painting competitions in different subjects about life in the old city. Individuals are invited to participate by providing interest free micro-credits which help inhabitants with the upkeep of their traditional backyard houses. There are neighbourhood projects which encourage residents to make their courtyards greener, or help them become aware of their own responsibility for a cleaner and more pleasant environment. The people of the old city are asserting their city's interests and are making proposals for improvements themselves. Signs of increasing private investment bear out the approach taken.(2006)

The project team believe that they have been successful in keeping people informed about the process and outcomes of the project. The person responsible for the social studies of the project indicates[interview, February 2007] that the awareness of the residents is so increased that they even comment on the activities, and criticise them even without having been asked. They are now aware of all their citizen rights and expect the stakeholders to provide them with their legal

requirements. This fact will certainly inspire the rehabilitation team in implementing the plan. However, according to the field work carried out in Aleppo in June 2007, this fact was not evident from the comments of those interviewed. A sample 51 residents, mainly in two neighbourhoods (Bab AL Qennesrin and AL Aajam) were interviewed by the author in June 2007

The interviewees of Bab Al Qennesrin, (where most of the rehabilitation project did take place) didn't mention having been informed about the urban rehabilitation projects when asked directly. However, the effect of the aforementioned activities could be observed through their positive perception of their neighbourhoods and their clear expectations for improvement in the area. The impact of increasing public awareness becomes more obvious by comparing the comments of inhabitants in two neighbourhoods; in the first neighbourhood –Bab Al Qennesrin- several public hearings has been organised (according to GTZ reports) and in the other one- Al Aajam- no direct contact has been made with the public. While people in Bab Al Qennesrin area express their needs more clearly and expect them to be met (such more structural maintenance in their neighbourhood and houses or more regular garbage collection), the inhabitants of Al Aajam hardly mention any special needs, though their neighbourhood is in very poor condition compared to other areas of the old city.

The fact that all the stakeholders in Aleppo- including Aleppo directorate, Aleppo municipality, GTZ and Aga Khan – are strongly aware of the necessity of public participation in urban rehabilitation and include this issue in their schemes is undeniable. This is one of the main objectives of all rehabilitation schemes in the old city. Several common methods of participation are implemented in Aleppo; however, it seems that there is still a need for more regular and constant measures to inform people and get them involved, or applying different methods of participation according to the social structure of the area, in a way that people can feel their actual role in up keeping their areas. The table and chart below (number 1) shows that while people in Bab Qennesrin area are mostly happy with their own neighbourhood, and would not prefer to leave it except for the modern parts of the city, the citizens in Al-aajam, being unhappy with the condition of their neighbourhood, would like to move generally to another neighbourhood in the old city, which is better taken care of.

Table 1- Respondents' intention of moving from their neighborhood in Aleppo

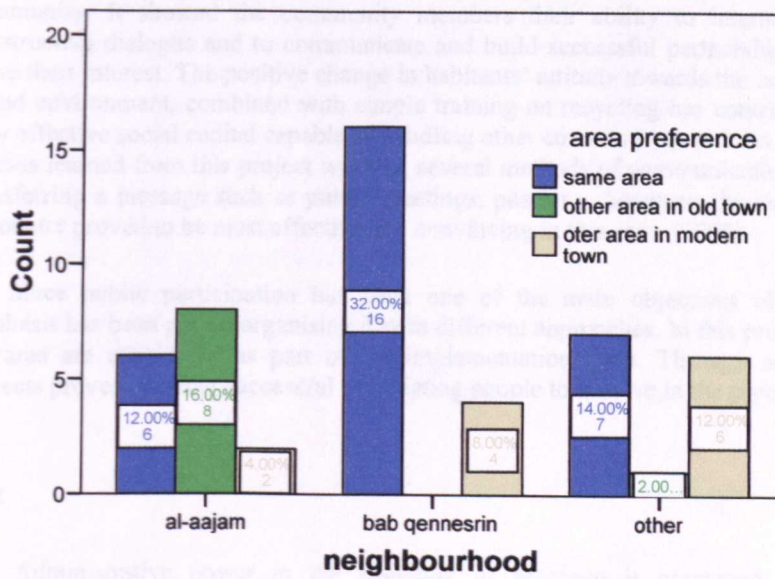|			area preference			
			same area	other area in old town	other area in modern town	Total
al-aajam	% within neighbourhood		37.5%	50.0%	12.5%	100.0%
bab qennesrin	% within neighbourhood		80.0%	.0%	20.0%	100.0%
other	% within neighbourhood		50.0%	7.1%	42.9%	100.0%
Total	% within neighbourhood		58.0%	18.0%	24.0%	100.0%

Figure 1 – bar chart for Respondents' intention of moving from their neighborhood in Aleppo

Cairo

The political model in Egypt is a state-centred one. Grindle and Thomas describe this model as one in which the state defines the social problems, and solves them. The political system of modern Egypt is a highly bureaucratised one that dominates the whole country economically, socially and politically. Within the current centralised authoritarian political model, it is the state that dominates and determines planning and upgrading strategies and their implementation. Individual's interests are not prioritized in such a state-centred political mechanism and strategies. Thus the interests of the government are prioritised and its agenda and efforts are directed towards money generation, predominantly through development of tourism. Meanwhile, the international organisations, acting as consultant, are more or less ineffective.(Sedki, 2005) The existing set up of the supreme council of Antiquities which is the main public institution concerned with conservation in Egypt, is completely dismissive of NGOs and unaccepting of the importance of public participation in the conservation process.(Awad, 2002)

One example in Cairo is a case study in El-Dayora Shiakha neighbourhood in old Cairo, where a project of local initiative facility for urban development was implemented by the Arab Office for Youth and Environment. Solid waste management was earmarked by concerned parties as the priority need and the practical approach or starting point of upgrading the environment quality of the area. In this case study on urban development of El-Dayora Shiakha, one of the major tools in problem identification was direct interaction and dialogues with local community members either on an individual basis or expanded workshops or public meetings. One of the main objectives of the project was upgrading the urban environment through effective and sustainable partnership between the local community and other relevant actors. For this purpose, "urban leaders" were trained (activist women selected on voluntary basis) to be qualified to fulfil the assigned mission of marketing the project concept to the local community. Expanded public meetings also played a major role in marketing the project concept to the local community. Having implemented the scheme, the most important achievement and positive impact of the project – according to the project evaluation report- is that it built self-confident and self-reliance in the

community. It showed the community members their ability to interact positively within a constructive dialogue and to communicate and build successful partnership with other parties to serve their interest. The positive change in habitants' attitude towards the issues of cleanliness and sound environment, combined with simple training on recycling has contributed in building up a very effective social capital capable of handling other community problems and needs. One of the lessons learned from this project was that several methods of communication can be successful in transferring a message such as public meetings, posters… however, the simple person to person encounter proved to be most effective and convincing in this case. (1998)

Since public participation has been one of the main objectives of the scheme, enough emphasis has been put on organising it with different approaches. In this project, the inhabitants of the area are considered as part of the implementation team. Through accomplishment of the projects proves its being successful in initiating people to involve in the process.

Fez

The Administrative power in the Kingdom of Morocco is organized on two layers: local communities and local assemblies. The assemblies have the competence to determine modes and mechanisms for the collection of duties and taxes destined for the prefecture or the province Regional development programs, industrial decentralization projects, rules of establishment for provincial and protectoral public services, and the classification, maintenance and extension of roads.

The historic medina of Fez is listed as a world heritage site. It is one of the 6 historic centres selected for a pilot initiative UNESCO and the World Bank for collaboration and coordination of efforts amongst organisations involved in conservation and revitalization.

Two major urban rehabilitation projects has been accomplished in fez, Master plan which started in 1972 , and rehabilitation plan which started in 1995, and is still in progress by the ADER-Fez team. Involving the residents in the project was considered in both plans. Those who were responsible for the rehabilitation plan didn't see the city as only a destination for the tourists, but they considered it as a living city, and found the resolution of the existing problems in the city itself. Among the objectives of this scheme were conservation and rehabilitation of the medina through the empowering of its population and institutions, and by raising the national and international awareness of its cultural value; by expanding and accelerating ongoing conservation efforts, consolidating the partnership between the public and private sectors, and using the rehabilitation process to create employment and alleviate poverty. It was also considered to introduce the plan to the community and taking the feedback into consideration

Among the approaches of the master plan also, has been trying to encourage initiative, corporation, and a sense of responsibility among owners and residents and putting them in a situation that they assume the responsibility of improving their habitat themselves. Rehabilitation of a city in the scale of Fez, in a country with economic deficiencies, could only have been conceivable with the motivation of private sector or private owners to maintain and restore their own houses. Apparently, to motivate people and the private sector, Moroccan government must have first proven it's determination to sustain the old medina by improving public services such as infrastructures, environmental conditions and accessibility. However, a prerequisite of such a partnership is that the various governmental services and administrations, at central and local level, pursue common policies. Although this important factor is considered by ADER-Fes, and measures have been made to gain -as a minimum- public awareness, it is obvious that much more attempt is required to educate people about this, and draw their trust. According to the field investigation, people are either unaware of the activities of ADER-Fes, or are misinformed about the financial resources and the circumstances of available grants; and this has lead to a state of distrust toward the decision makers. Still, the project is a pioneering example of the use of social assessment and participation techniques to measure community preferences in regard to the rehabilitation of the historic environment; and has informed project conservation priorities.

However, despite several gatherings planned by ADER-Fez for the inhabitants of the medina to be familiar with the projects, still a large number of people, even in the central neighbourhoods are not aware of them. There are also neighbourhood managers who are selected among the community members and act as mediators between the stakeholders and people. Neighbourhood managers have small offices in each neighbourhood in which people can visit them and state their problems regarding their historic houses, or area, or even social problems, to be carried to the stake holders. They have regular visits with all the stakeholders in different levels such as municipality, ADER-Fez... They are also active in educating people about improving their living environment, by publishing posters or brochures, or occasional training sessions for school children or women, and other activities which are different in different neighbourhoods. This approach seems to be the most effective one in informing citizens about and involving them in the urban projects. [Field study, November 2006]

Table 2- Respondents' intention of moving from their neighborhood in Fez

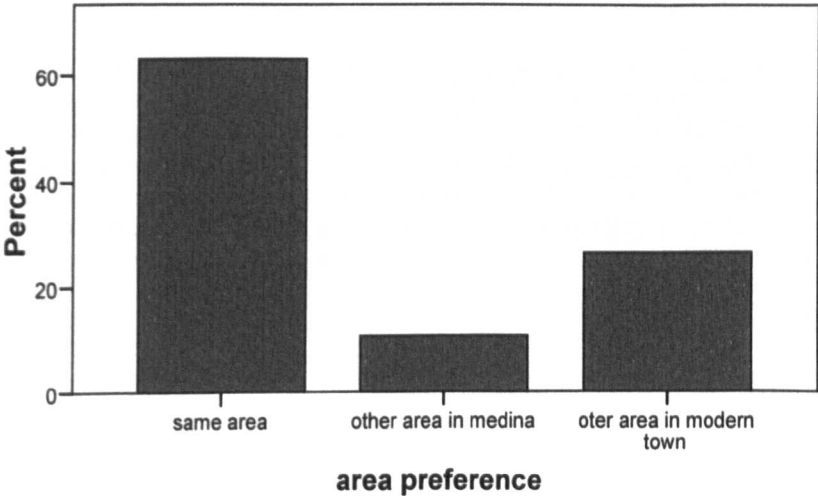|		Frequency	Percent
Valid	same area	12	60.0
	other area in medina	2	10.0
	other area in modern town	5	25.0
	Total	19	95.0
Missing	System	1	5.0
Total		20	100.0

Figure2 – bar chart for Respondents' intention of moving from their neighborhood in Fez

Table and chart number 2 demonstrate that despite the poor condition of the residential units in the area, lack of accessibility and many public facilities such as health centres, still large number of the inhabitants (60%) prefer to live in the medina. Although most people have this preference just because they are used to keep their traditional style of living, measures of ADER-Fes in improving the infrastructure in the area has certainly had some effect in making the area liveable for the citizens. However, based on field work made in November 2006, 70% of interviewees appeared to be unaware of the large scale urban project in their median, let alone having been involved in it. Moreover, none of the interviewees who were aware of the scheme, mentioned about any public hearing, or other participation methods which are used by ADER-Fez to inform people.

Table 3-Awareness about urban projects in Fez

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	no	14	70.0
	yes, ADER-Fes	4	20.0
	yes, unknown	1	5.0
Missing	System	1	5.0
Total		20	100.0

Comparison

Although most of the people interviewed, claimed not to be informed about urban rehabilitation projects in their neighbourhoods, the effect of participation methods used by the responsible institutes can be observed in their attitude toward their area, their understanding of current developments and the way they express the shortcomings and their expectations for the future. Certainly, different approaches have different consequences. Table 4 shows the different methods used in these three cities in informing the public and involving them in the schemes, and how different methods have influenced inhabitants of the old cities.

Table1 4-Public participation approaches in three Islamic cities

	Public awareness methods	Public participation methods	effect on the area
Aleppo	1-Public hearings 2-Posters and brochures 3-media 4-awareness campaigns 5-workshops	1- organising groups of local participants in different social and environmental activities 2-providing people with micro-credits and technical advise to repair their houses	1- informed, active, engaged citizens 2-promoted communication between stakeholders and residents of the area 3-stimulated the inhabitants to stay in the area and invest there
Cairo	1-Public meetings 2-workshops 3-door to door communication and interviews 4-awareness campaigns	1-training urban leaders among local female participants 2- involving youth and women in environmental activities	1-Tangible changes in patterns of behaviour 2-building self-reliance and self-confidence in the community 3-building up a very effective social capital
Fez	1- Public meetings 2- Neighbourhood managers	1- providing people with micro-credits and technical advise to repair their houses 2-inflicting regulations for structural interventions in area	1- attracting foreign investors in area 2- return of native Fassies who had left the medina years ago, to invest in the area 3- tourist attraction

Mechanisms to re-establish trust and enhance public participation

Previous researches have been made on evaluation of public participation methods, but they are insufficient in the fact that they do not consider the socio-cultural factor which interact with the characteristics of the methods. For example, previous experiences in Islamic countries demonstrate that if the residents of a historic city or neighbourhood aren't convinced about the short and long term benefits of a plan in their living condition, they will either resist against the changes, or in the best circumstances they will be totally indifferent and unresponsive.

If a participation procedure is effectively constituted but perceived by the public to be in some sense unfair or undemocratic, then the procedure may fail in alleviating public concerns. On the other hand, if a procedure and its recommendations are accepted by the public but the ultimate decision is attained in an ineffective manner, then its implementation could prove objectively damaging for sponsors and public.(Rowe and Frewer, 2000)

If the public are supposed to be effectively involved in urban projects, what is the process and how should it be initiated? The most appropriate method of public involvement will depend on the specifics of any particular situation and that more knowledge-based decisions will require lower levels of involvement than more value-based decisions.(Rowe and Frewer, 2000) in the other hand making decisions which may affect the daily living of inhabitants of a particular area requires to be understood and accepted by the affected people, and should be based on their real needs and shortcomings.

Improve residents' awareness of the project, as well as the approach adopted and the outcome expected

Participation mechanisms that are established to channel citizen input are not accessible to the majority population in societies characterized by inequality, particularly marginalized communities and sectors, and typically do not automatically benefit poor people and groups that have long faced social exclusion.(Manor, 2004) This can be observed especially in historic areas of Islamic cities where the population consists of people who usually are migrants from rural areas, suffering from unemployment, poverty, lack of education, social exclusion and inability to adjust themselves to urban life. (Field studies 2006-7) In such communities it is very important to learn how to effectively communicate the complex urban development ideas to laypersons and how to develop public understanding about the objectives of the schemes and the process of implementation. Public misunderstandings and objections might be overcome by expressing the views of experts in any effective way, to as much people as possible. It is important in first place to expand the number of people who are aware of the process, and can transfer their knowledge to others. Any possible method should be taken to be noticed from working with the media, to consulting active NGOs in the area or even door to door encounter with people. In this case making social surveys is a good way to stay in touch with inhabitants of an area, as well as analysing their needs and expectations.

The result of several field works made in historic Islamic cities, concerning public awareness about urban development projects, confirms the above mentioned fact that some public participation measures have been more an official process of the schemes rather than practically consulting public opinion in decision making. Although participation is mentioned as one of the objectives of these projects, and is claimed to be accomplished, the field surveys demonstrate that large number of people in the area –as in Aleppo and Fez- are unaware of the features of the schemes or claim to be informed not by the stakeholders, but by simply observing parts of the projects, or hearing from others. Some mention that they have been interviewed by people from government (by government they mean any stakeholder, either from municipality, or a private

institute, NGO ...). This verifies how attempts to involve and inform people have been insufficient and ineffective. If the aim of a social survey is to get people informed, as well as inquiring some social data, it is essential that the whole idea of the survey, what organization is responsible for it, where the results would appear, how it will benefit or effect the public...must be made clear for the people involved. It is also important that all groups of people be treated the same way, and have the same opportunity to express their ideas. It is very important to convince different groups of people like minorities, lower-income residents, elderly...that their voice is heard as much as others and they are not excluded.

Reassure people that their opinion is taken into consideration

If we are to explore the strengthening participatory mechanisms to deepen community-based involvement, then the notion of participation must itself be examined, as this has various interpretations and application. Sisk et al state that participation is intrinsic to the core meaning of democracy; yet it seems sometimes governments view it as important only where it reduces the government's costs and responsibilities, when government can offload service delivery to NGOs and community groups or convince local residents to devote volunteer labour or materials.(Hicks)

One of the main complaints about participation methods are that they often have been perceived as ineffectual, simply being used to give an appearance of consultation without there being any intent of acting on recommendations. This results in public scepticism and distrust concerning the motives of sponsors.(Rowe and Frewer, 2000)

Efforts should be made to involve members of all different groups of people in decision-making process, especially those community representatives whose interests are directly affected by the issue at hand. Participants must be able to understand the process and methods and also allowed to ask and speak freely. The sessions with participants should be concluded in a way that all the community members are completely clear about the discussions and results after they leave the session.

It is also very important to give some authority to the participants in decision-making process, so that they are convinced that they have an input to the project. It helps people feel ownership to the decision they have made and can help especially during the implementation. Another significant measure, should be keeping in touch during and after the implementation of the project to provide evidences to public about the ways their ideas have been taken into consideration.

Still, some small scale urban projects in cities like Shiraz, Iran or Istanbul, Turkey show that in the cases where inhabitants of the area are for the most part immigrants from rural areas, public participation is very hard to achieve, and the stakeholders are usually left with the alternative of gentrification. Applicability of this issue needs further research.

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