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Key Factors Impacting on the Rehabilitation Process in the Old City of Aleppo

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Summary

There is an increasing attention to the rehabilitation of historic residential areas and historic city centres rather than the conservation of individual historic monument in the developing countries. This attention raises the importance of community participation. The changing the structure of community (economic and social) through time affects this participation. It entails the necessity to measure the community contribution within the limited resources. The perception of the value and meaning of heritage for historic neighborhood residents, building life cycle and the urban form of Islamic cities also affect the ability and willingness of those residents to invest in their houses and participate to the rehabilitation process. Community participation, neighborhood revitalization and heritage are the main components in this research. Their interaction in a specific area determines the ability and willingness of residents to invest and therefore the obstacles that hinder the sustainability of the rehabilitation process in this area. Old City of Aleppo has been chosen as case study in this research and Bab Qinnasreen was its unit of analysis.

This research defined the economic, social and physical factors of the Old City of Aleppo and its residents. It defined also these factors for the proposed unit of analysis, explored and analyzed the ability and willingness of residents to participate in the rehabilitation process generally and focused the analysis on the economic factors. These factors were tenure, income level, employment and work location. As a result there were three classification criteria in Bab Qinnasreen Quarter. These criteria are based on residents' willingness to stay, ability to invest, heritage perception and level of participation in community work. The first group consisted of single ownership, middle class income and government employees. This group has the best opportunities and advantages to contribute and invest. The second classification included shared ownership, self employed, and the cases who work in Aleppo or in the Old City. This group represented the moderate intervention and participation. The third classification introduced the lowest level of intervention, which includes rental tenure, low income, unemployed and cases who work in the quarter.

Strategic planning and decisions and priority setting for housing strategy were recommended. The first priority was both facilitating administrative difficulties and improving living condition. The second was dealing with dilapidation. The third was fighting poverty and the forth was to secure tenure.

This research highlighted the urgent needs for further studies and researches regarding comprehensive surveys, building code and some checking on accepted beliefs such as the inadequacy of traditional houses for modern life and the popular beliefs that young people prefer to move out of the Old City because of social control. Finally, it was recommended that any investment in public spaces should be dealt with carefully, so as to avoid possible externalities.

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1. Introduction and Methodology

This chapter starts with a background to the case study and the problem statement. Research objectives and specific research questions are discussed in the following section. The methodology of this research is elaborated under section 1.4.

1.1 Background

In the 19th century Aleppo, new districts were built according to western planning models, which began to take shape outside of the historical areas. This building activity continued into the next century, encouraged by the belief that courtyard houses and the neighbourhood structure of the Old City were not adaptable to the living and planning demands of the 20th century. Consequently, middle and upper income families were attracted to these new areas, while the old districts became occupied by lower income households, sometimes coming from the rural areas. Part of the buildings gained an economic function in turning into workshops or warehouses.

Two generations of planning were imposed on the Old City; however, they failed to take into account its specific character. New roads were implemented inside the historic fabric, which caused considerable damage. Apart from the destruction and abandonment of historical buildings, whole neighbourhoods were isolated as multi-storey buildings sprang up alongside the new roads. Pollution and land speculation followed. The integrity and privacy of the affected areas within the organic fabric were adversely affected.

Eventually, the central government issued a series of strict consecutive decisions. On the one hand these decisions protected the Old City from further destruction, but in the other hand they caused rigidity and stagnation. Urban services deteriorated and no more planning was done due to lack of available funds. This situation further increased the tendency of residents moving out of the Old City altogether, therefore, the existence of its organic fabric and life style is in danger¹.

These measures to conserve the Old City helped to stop destruction caused by public and private development, but they were not enough to reverse the process of dilapidation. However, the dramatically different terms of reference of the 20th century brought this once apparently automatic process to a screeching halt, and it became clear that new guidelines were necessary. Therefore, a comprehensive overall strategy for the rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo was prepared in cooperation with the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ), and the project was born. According to the Development Plan the overall objectives of the rehabilitation are: (i) preserving the valuable and unique fabric of the Old City; and (ii) slowing down the

¹ The Syrian Ministry of Culture has registered the historic fabric of the Old City of Aleppo as a National Monument. UNESCO listed Aleppo as a World Heritage Site in 1986.

deterioration of its residential zones by promoting its economic and social development, and by improving the housing and living conditions.

1.2 Problem Definition

The changes in the population and its socio-economic structure – evidenced in a tendency for the high and middle income groups to move out of the historical core of Aleppo and lower income families to move in – present a main problem for the sustainability and future development prospects of the area. It threatens the rehabilitation and preservation of the urban and building heritage since this task requires commitment and participation of the local community, both in terms of resources (ability) but also in terms of their willingness to pay the property tax and other forms of contribution to meet government finance, and rehabilitation and restoration standards. The main factor that can adversely affect the future of the area is the possible encroachment of poverty resulting from this pattern of in and out migration. Changes in the population structure were not considered a problem in the Development Plan (see figure 1.1). Therefore, addressing this issue was not one of the elements in the building and planning housing strategy (see figure 1.2).

The continuity of the old city in its historic form has traditionally relied on the ability and willingness of its residents to maintain and revitalize their homes and neighbourhood. Therefore, the people who live in the Old City are more important in the rehabilitation and restoration process and more able to protect the historic fabric than the government. Considering that public finances are insufficient given the large residential area of the Old City (16,000 plots), there is a need for a shift in the role of the government from direct provider to facilitator of the rehabilitation project. Government's role in increasing the ability and willingness of people to contribute to the rehabilitation process is urgent and essential. Hence, the need arises for a better understanding of the population dynamics and structure within the Old City and how this impacts the effective implementation of the rehabilitation project.

1.3 Objectives and research questions

a. Research objectives:

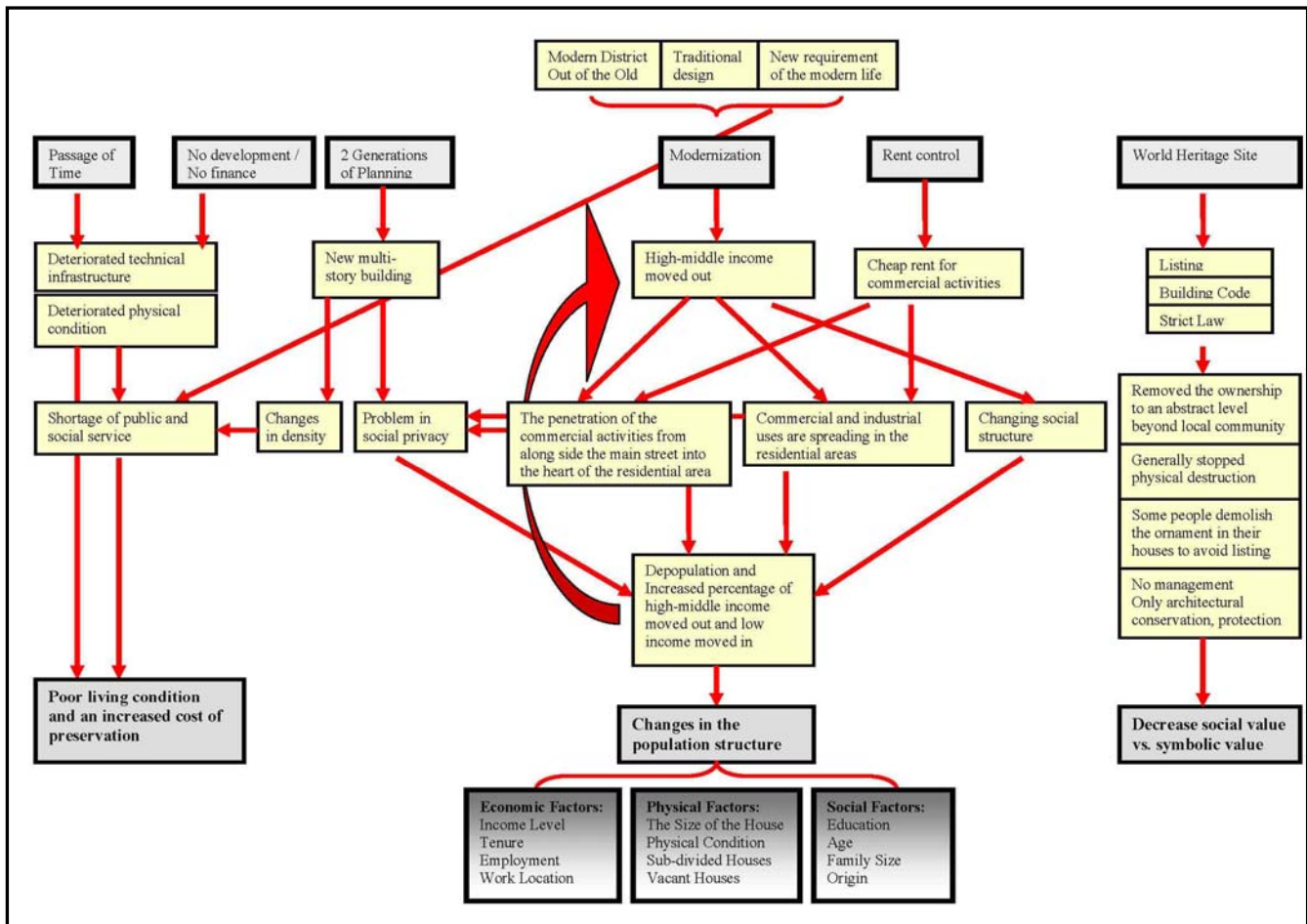
Based on the problem definition, the objectives of this research are:

Objective 1: Understanding the social, economic and physical characteristics of the Old City.

Objective 2: Assessing potential impacts of these characteristics on the rehabilitation process and ultimate preservation of the area.

Objective 3: Coming up with recommendations that address the problem discussed above.

Figure 1.1 Problem Tree



b. Research questions

Research question no.1: What are the social, economic and physical characteristics of the Old City?

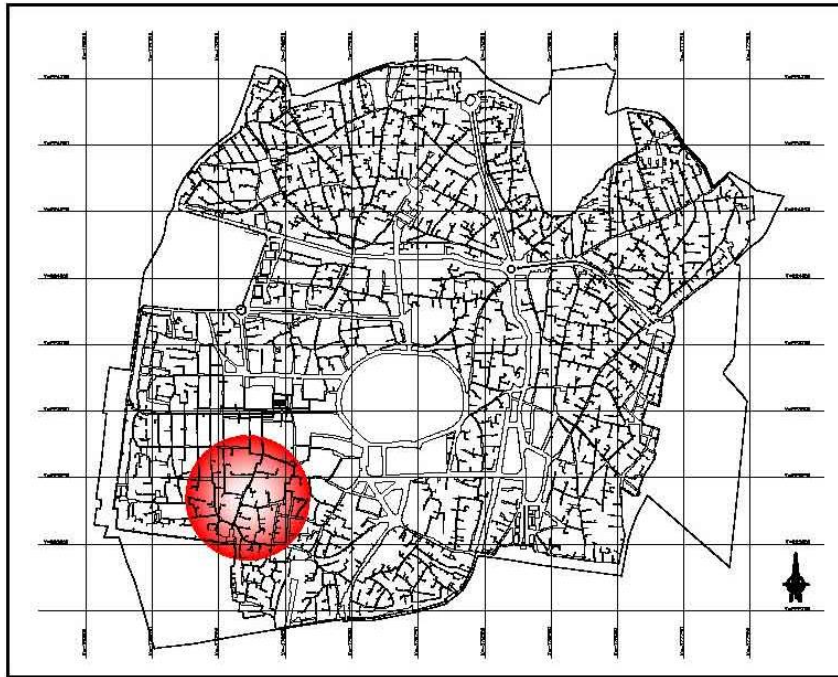
Research question no.2: What are the potential impacts of the factors and motivation on the rehabilitation process?

1.4 Methodology

a. Description of the research area

This research is based on a case study approach in the Old City of Aleppo, and the unit of analysis is one of the quarters of the Old City. This quarter is the first Action Area (Pilot Project) where Directorate of the Old City of Aleppo (DOC) ran the first development and rehabilitation project. This is considered by DOC a typical residential area in the Old City. The research will assess the area in two time periods, before and after the rehabilitation project is taking place.

Figure 1.2 Case Study



b. Population and sampling

The population of this research is the whole population of the Old City of Aleppo. Due to time constraints, the study was based on a sample of the population. Quota sampling among systematic strata was used for choosing interviewees. Two strata were defined; the first consists of two categories, those who invested for the restoration of their house and those who did not. The second strata concerns the income level, defined in three categories as low, middle, and high.

c. Operationalisation of research variables

In the first question, the variable is the characteristic of the Old City. This is measured by indicators like (i) recent social structure of the community of the Old City in terms of educational levels, age groups, family size and origin; (ii) recent economic structure of the community of the Old City in terms of income levels, tenure and employment situation, and work location; and (iii) recent physical conditions of the houses in terms of divided houses, vacant houses and physical condition and the size of the houses.

The second question looks at two different variables: (i) the intention of people to invest in rehabilitating and restoring their houses; (ii) their ability to do so.

d. Research instruments

Interviews and observations are the research techniques used in this study. An opened interview was formulated for the in-depth interviews with the experts; and a

semi-structured interview was designed for the residents in the selected area². In-depth interviews were conducted with international and local experts and the staff of DOC, as well as experts from related fields, like the cadastral office, inheritance constitution expert, Awqaf expert, etc.

Observations were used as complementary to data obtained from interviews, and are mainly applicable in answering the second question regarding the impact on the rehabilitation process. The following checklist was used to guide observation³:

1. Presence of divided houses (not all divisions or sub-divided houses are legally approved, so field assessments are necessary).
2. Investment made to the house (major, minor or no investment) and the quality of restoration work in order to measure the intention of people to invest and their ability to do so.
3. Building condition (poor, middle or good living and physical conditions in terms of the building itself or the quarter).

The author has had prior access to and work experience in the Old City, which facilitated the design of research instruments and contacts in the field. Validity was ensured by designing questions and indicators that address directly the research questions (see interview guidelines in annex 1).

e. Data collection and analysis

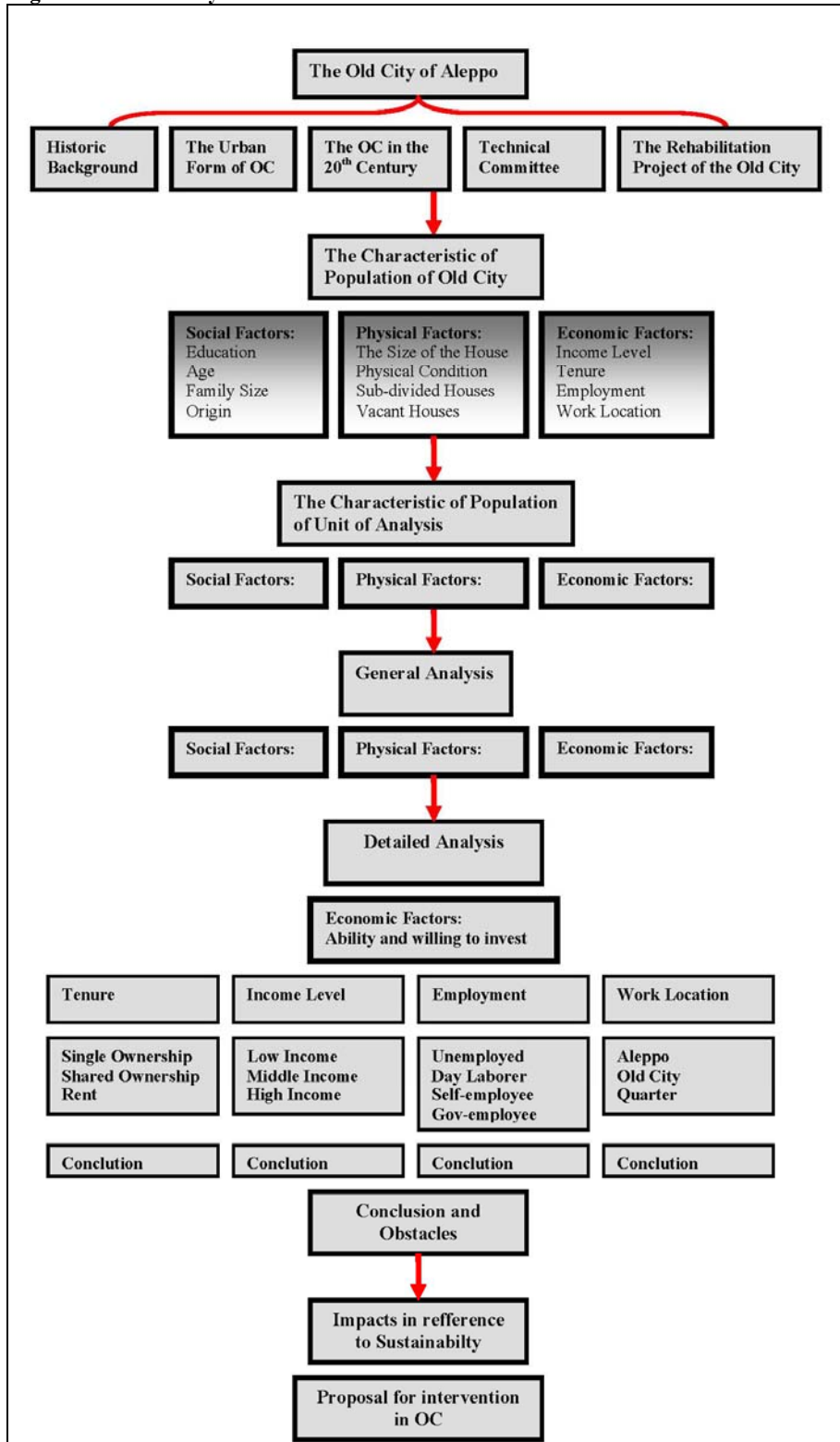
Both secondary and primary data are used in this research. Collection of secondary data started in May, while primary data collection took place in July for a four-week period. Secondary data sources consist of reports and surveys conducted in the framework of the DOC in various time spans, and GTZ reports. Interviews with all stakeholders were conducted by the author. Sixteen in-depth interviews were carried out, eight with families that had invested in the rehabilitation of their house, and eight others with families that had not invested. Nine low income, six middle income and one high income families were interviewed.

AutoCAD and Excel were used for the analysis of some of the secondary and primary data, producing various maps, tables and figures. Narratives from interviews are sometimes presented in boxes throughout the text. Whenever appropriate, statements from interviews are cited. Data obtained from interviews with families were tabulated (see Annex 2).

² See Annex 1 for a copy of the interview sheets.

³ See Annex 1 for a copy of the full checklist.

Figure 1.3 Data Analysis Model



1.4 Limitations of this research

Due to time constraints, the research could not tackle all three factors influencing the rehabilitation process (social, economic and physical), and focused on the economic factors. Nevertheless, reference is made to the other factors whenever appropriate.

1.5 Thesis structure

Chapter two consists of the literature review, and defining the conceptual framework of this research.

Chapter three presents the analysis of the context, in terms of the historic background of the Old City, the urban form and the new interventions.

Chapter four presents the main findings of this research and answers the research questions posed in chapter one.

Chapter five summarizes the main findings of the study and presents the proposal for intervention and recommendations.

Chapter 2 Literature review / Theory

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the conceptual base of urban revitalization approach with special focus on neighborhood revitalization considering that the residential function is the core of this thesis and that this concept determines the structure and element of sustainable rehabilitation process.

It is presents as well the concept of urban heritage: the definition of heritage and its values deeming that these values influence the perception and the ability of the residents of historic inner cities to invest in their houses, in addition it zooms in the Islamic city taking into account its special characteristics.

The Third concept, **discussed in this chapter**, is the community participation as an important element in any revitalization project.

Lastly, the conclusion discusses the cross interrelationship of these concepts and forms the framework model of this research.

2.2 Urban Revitalization Concept:

2.2.1 Trends in Urban Revitalization:

Urban Revitalization, as a definition, is a structured and systematic set of policies and actions that aim to preserve and revitalize cultural values, strengthening economic base and to improve the quality of life for population (Zuziak 1993).

The concept of urban revitalization has passed through several generations characterized by its way of intervention, the actors and the main concern. According to Carmon (1999) there are three main generations:

- **The first generation**

This generation was characterized by slum clearance projects, high-rise buildings, strong emphasis upon urban design & aesthetic values, lack of social and economic concern (Couch 1990) and sector vision. The main actors are the public sector with few interventions from the private sector into the reconstruction project (especially in USA) (Carmon 1999).

- **The second generation:**

The notion of urban revitalization concept has changed, the driven factors for this change was the growing concern of the importance of cultural heritage, academic and professional studies prove the feasibility and economic benefit of renovation, the clearance program was disappointing in terms of quality and the way local

government dealt with the inhabitants (high-handed) and the feeling that clearance areas has special features that worth to preserve (Couch 1990).

The characteristics of this generation respond to the previous factors it stressed on community discourse, project coordination, neighborhood vision and housing policies (Acioly 2006). This generation examined growing role of private sector and the start of decentralization in local government (Roberts 2000).

- **The third generation:**

This generation characterized by the emphasis on an integrated approach, social inclusion, Institutional and organizational frameworks and strategic discourse. The main characteristics are the forms of the government as a facilitator rather than provider, and the emergence of partnership approach (Roberts 2000).

There are several terms that indicate urban revitalization in the literature but they carry slightly different features such as renewal, redevelopment, conservation, renovation, rehabilitation, regeneration and others. However, there are three dominant terms varied according to their level of intervention and the changes they occur to the urban form (Acioly 1999):

- **Conservation:**

The objective is to meet the social and economic needs without significant alteration in the urban fabric.

- **Rehabilitation:**

This approach represents the middle position within two extremes. It introduces some changes in the new urban environment as part of a conservation effort.

- **Redevelopment:**

This approach constitute the extreme position of conservation, it encourage demolition, introduces new uses and functions to meet the new social & economic needs.

2.2.2 Urban Revitalization and Its Implications in Developing Countries:

Although the concept of revitalization has seen increasing support in most of industrialized countries, a very different situation exists in the developing countries. The concept is still new and unfamiliar in most places. During the last fifty years the desire of 'Modernization' by governments of developing countries and top decision-makers often led them to believe that only 'Modern' housing is worthwhile. Due to this, less attention has been given to historical city centers, and continued to decline with their physical, social and economic functions, and their overall urban contribution (Steinberg, 1996:463). Moreover, the attention has been given to protect the individual buildings and monuments. This understanding often excludes the historic residential areas and historic city centres.

As a result of the existence of international cultural organizations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property and the International Commission on Monuments and Sites and other interested non-governmental organization groups contributed in protecting some monuments and register many areas which have had historical value as protected areas. From these various experiences have emerged the idea of rehabilitation of inner city. That did not mean the protection and preserving the individual buildings but the creative use and re-use of the older quarters of the city, taken as a whole (Steinberg 1996:466).

In fact, the revitalization process in the developing countries has different implications. Political and social implications are quite important to support the revitalization process. Political commitment should be prerequisite for any substantial program and the attainment of the goals of any revitalization scheme. Without government support, no meaningful success can be achieved. However, the experiences show that the majority of cities are not encouraging in this respect. For example, cities like Cairo and Sana'a, the National authority's commitment took many years of efforts by the side of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and Aga Khan Foundation of Architecture to get them take up a World Bank loan (Steinberg 1996: 468). On the other hand, the residential areas in most those cities have been defined as conservation areas, the lack of local agencies' skills in terms of designing and implementation conservation scheme, made the intervention rather difficult. Besides that, social implication is quite important in terms of establishing an effective participation mechanism in the rehabilitation process for the affected citizens and particularly the low-income groups who generally represent the inner city residents. However, the situation of poor residents of the inner city and absentee landlords who earn very little pay and occupy the old housing, have strongly contributed to the decay of those centres. As a result the low-income groups have been forced to leave the central places.

2.2.3 Neighbourhood Revitalization:

According to Acioly (1999), the decay of inner city and central neighborhood has several features: inefficient services & utilities deteriorated social conditions, dilapidated building stock, depressing economic conditions and weak management. These features resulted by the decrease of urban vitality which as a consequence creates changes in land occupation and land use coupled with a gradual devaluation of real estate properties and the impoverishment of the population

"At times, the change in character and function of a determined neighborhood as well as the gradual shift in the profile of the inhabitants-caused by social mobility-highlight the phenomenon of ghettos and the appearance of dilapidated sites."

The inner city of the developing countries has a significant residential function and area, therefore, high percentage of low-income population resides in the inner city neighborhood. The new changes of the resident's characteristics produced:

Firstly, two new types of houses

a) Sub-divided houses to local poor people "*Which were originally intended for high income households or non residential purposes*" (United Nations Centre for Settlement Habitat 1991).

b) Vacant houses.

Secondly, changes in land use and building use.

Thirdly, changes in land and household tenure (United Nations Centre for Settlement Habitat 1984).

Finally, large variety of economic activities including formal & inform on the one hand and home-based and non home-based on the other (Baken et al 1991).

Insufficient financial resources and lack of the capacity of local government are the main factors that contribute to the loss of inner city vitality.

The previous situation of neighborhood urban decay required a quick and immediate intervention.

Clay (1979) in his book "Neighborhood Renewal" differentiated between downtown and residential neighborhood areas and investments in the central city. In addition he distinguished between two types of neighborhood revitalization activities "gentrification and upgrading". The first one in his definition deals with population change more than physical change, albeit the improvement of the latter one still important. While upgrading considers that physical improvements reflect greater confidence on the part of owner-investors without significant change on the population's structure.

From the world's experience two key experiences highlighted the main trends of the latest neighborhood revitalization approaches:

In the UK, neighborhood revitalization is widely known as neighborhood regeneration. It aims to reduce unemployment and crime level, and increase levels of health, skills, housing and physical environment on the one hand and to minimize the difference between the poorest neighborhood and the rest of the country on other hand.

Neighborhood revitalization in the USA proved to be a successful strategy in the 1990s. There is diversity of circumstances which produced a range of strategies. These strategies are categorized by four approaches:

1. The Redevelopment model
2. The Market-Regeneration model
3. The Community-Building model
4. The "Stock Preservation" model (GHK, 2005)

Bill Edgar and John Taylor (2000) summaries the phases of neighborhood revitalization according to its deriving concern: housing shortage (1960s), dwelling conditions (1970s), neighborhood regeneration (1980s), and tenure diversification and community regeneration (1990s). The latest shift emphasizes the role of administrative mechanism area-based focus and partnership approach. They assert

that in applying partnership approach the investment will involve large and increasing level of private finance in addition to public investments.

They argued that social and market factors that influence the deterioration of housing stock hasn't underpinned by sufficient studies and researches as the physical factors.

"Much less attention has been given to social factors and to housing market factors such as tenure shift and residential or neighborhood restructuring".

They stress on the need for integrated approach to the economic, social and physical revitalization of residential areas and linking housing investment and local economic development (McConnachie et al 1995), which imply increased neighborhood income, triggering off both investments in housing, infrastructure and economic activities as well as increased spending in the neighborhood economy (Baken et al 1991).

2.2.4 Enabling strategy:

Market mechanism the supply and demand side influence the strategy of housing as much as the development of institutional framework for managing the housing sector.

The demand side consists of 3 elements:

1. Property right: This includes land registration, regularization tenure, and land rights.
2. Finance: mortgage, lending & credits, regulations to collateral and titling, investment & savings
3. Subsidies: rationalization, dismantling barriers, targeted subsidies and transparency

The supply side consists of 3 elements:

1. Infrastructure: This includes open new opportunity for housing, servicing land according to technical, economical, environmental sustainability and balance between cost and benefit of land.
2. Development regulation: housing development, facilitating the poor and environmentally sound alternatives competition.
3. Building Industry: organization, non-monopolies, coordination
It is important to create mechanism of monitoring housing sector, participation of private sector, NGOs, etc.

2.3 Urban Heritage Concept:

2.3.1 The concept of heritage:

Heritage is a widely discussed but rarely defined concept, however its definition by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is:

"A thing (tangible and non-tangible) based on history (directly or indirectly) that can be chosen, accepted, or created, whose existence is considered as relevant (directly or indirectly) to reality today" (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 2000, pp 118)

Our concern is the past in relation to present

"Heritage is about the political and economic structures of the present using the past as a resource, but as that present becomes markedly more divers and heterogeneous"

In this sense heritage becomes more complex in relation to its conflicting meanings. (Graham et al 2000).

Logan (2004) defined Urban Heritage as *"features in the built environment that deemed worthy of protection"*. Heritage as a notion has ganged overtime and accordingly the concept of urban heritage:

- The earliest initiatives of heritage protection were the archaeological, architectural and monumental concern. *Athens Charter 1933* introduce the first observation on the protection and rehabilitation of historic centre, followed with *Venice Charter 1964* which declared the ultimate principals of restoration and conservation of architectural monuments.
- The first indication of a shift from monumental to urban conservation was in *The Norms of Quito 1967* which stressed on the importance of enrichment and protection of the monument and its sit.
- Between 1970s-80s there was an evident shift towards urban preservation represented by the *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's 1972 World Heritage Convention* and the following charters. One of the most important charters in this era is *The Declaration of Amsterdam 1975*, which deepened the significance of social dimension in urban revitalization of historic cities and insinuated the gentrification aspect as results of some rehabilitation projects. (Young 2000)
- By 1980s-90s: Two main concepts has developed during this period, the first in *The Burra Charter 1979* which gave heritage significance due to the social value of the community or local group (Logan 2004). The second concept is living settlement and the importance of participation and community involvement introduced by *Washington Charter drafted by International Council on Monuments and Sites 1987*. Other charters have been developed within the next few years carried out local or sectoral issues.
- From 1990s onwards, the shift has been from the tangible to the intangible ended by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

General Conference of a New International Convention designed to protect rare and endangered forms of intangible heritage (Logan 2004).

2.3.2 The Meaning and Values of Heritage:

2.3.2.1 The Economic Value of Heritage:

It is very difficult to measure the economic value of a monument or historic building as a product because it has priceless value that exceeds its paid price due to the fact that it is unique and there is no chance to reproduce it. However, several methods attempted to calculate this value but they failed to estimate the characteristic of the city (location, uses and user). Sinclair and Stabler (1997) developed new techniques to measure non-price and priced benefits and costs. This technique includes three different factors:

- **User value**

This can be direct or indirect measures:

The direct value derived from the usage of historic or listed buildings. Listing or the designation of historic buildings may increase or decrease the financial value of a building. It may increase because of prestige, buyer's appreciation and gentrification process and decreases because of the cost of repair and the diminishing of potential change of land use and development.

The indirect cost and benefit depends on specific location of the resident's houses and their attitude towards heritage activities and its related perception

- **Option Value:**

The option value is the willingness of the users to pay for the preservation of the building and the development of the area

- **Intrinsic Value:**

This value is the value of heritage even if the people have no intention to use it; it is the symbolic value for the society (Ennen 1999).

2.3.2.2 Social and Psychological meaning:

The social psychological meaning of urban heritage is very difficult to measure. There are three categories of heritage users according to their lifestyle and their perception in addition to the intensity of using heritage. These categories are the connoisseurs, rejecters and take it-or-leave it. Those users experience both advantage (attractiveness, historic atmosphere etc) and disadvantage (noise, streams of tourist etc) of heritage. The contribution of heritage to the above user's well-being is through three aspects, which are the aesthetic experience, sense of place and cultural identity (Ennen 1999).

2.3.2.3 Political meaning:

The political meaning is about different groups (generally residents and local authority) who experience culture and express their lifestyle struggle for legitimacy against the dominant culture (Ennen 1999).

2.3.3 Valuation / devaluation life-cycle of heritage building

In a traditional model of a building life cycle, an owner would invest in rehabilitating a property only if the return on investment was promising i.e. receive more profit than cost. Subsequent work will attempt to bring the value of the exchange price to a level where resale would be more profitable than continued use. Investment would take place only to levels accepted by social values (neither too high nor too low). However, as the property becomes old, continued rehabilitation becomes more costly and less effective. The property would gradually be devalued and investment would only take place to keep up with social obligation or for lack of other alternatives. The devaluation will continue until the property retain no social value (in addition to having lost its use and exchange value). At this stage the property would be ripe for re-building and redevelopment to start a new cycle (Hallaj 2002)

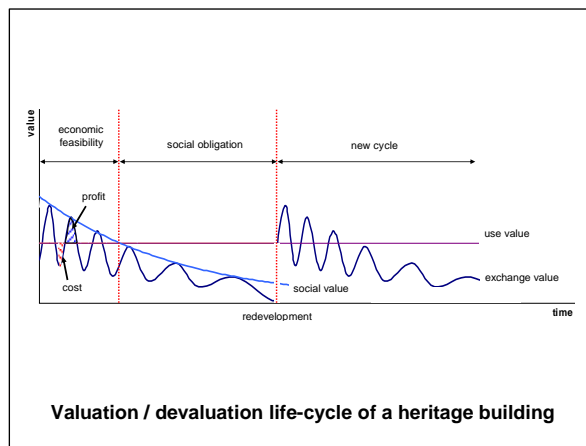


Figure 2.1: Valuation/ devaluation life-cycle of heritage building

Source: Hallaj 2002

2.3.4 The Urban Form of the Islamic City:

The clusters of houses are the most important component that determines the urban form of the Islamic city and this is not only because of their quantitative dominance but also because of the attitude of Islam towards formal civic institutions and their low emphasis on public buildings. However, there are some places that they have different typologies such as Anatolia, Yemen and some parts of Saudi Arabia Peninsula. The spirit of the Islamic city still remains in these typologies and the covered hall replace the missing courtyard.

The courtyard house is the main element in the urban form of the Islamic city. Its shape and typology (open to inside) responds to the Islamic social order in addition to the environmental and climatic needs.



Source: The Splendour Art of Islam Cairo by David Roberts (around) 1840

The urban system of Islamic city is distinguished with its arterial structure starting with the main public street with some commercial activities on both sides and end up with dead end semi-private narrow ally. The physical coherent chain of polarity is based on outside-inside concept on the one hand and on private–public on the other hand. The courtyard within the house unit is considered outside with regards to the rooms around it while it is inside with regards to the house.

"The subtlety lies in the fact that each polarity was overcome by the integration into a large unit on the next hierarchic plane. Eventually this resulted in the successful merging of individual parts into a large whole, without any component losing its individual identity" (Bianca 2000).

The importance of historic cities embodied of its ability to record the old human's life thinking and activities within their interlocked organic fabric.

"The whole is much greater than the sum of the parts" (Bianca 2000).

This doesn't advise to conserve the historic cities in any cost or to reject any evolutionary and modernity trends, what it does mean that we need to adopt and revive certain principals for the benefit and advantage of the recent residents.

2.4 Participation Concept:

2.4.1 The Concept of Community Participation:

To fully understand what community participation is we need to identify what community term means as well as participation.

"The community is the families who identify themselves as belonging to a specific area characterized by shared interests to get something done, whatever their differences. There is both a spatial and social dimension" (Hamdi, 1999, 67).

Participation is the act of taking part in or sharing in something. (MW Dictionary)

"Participation takes many forms. It is a slippery concept easy neither to define nor to execute and, like "democracy" it conjures up socially desirable connotations which can all too easily be countermanded in practice" (O'Riordan, 1977:159).

The best processes of community participation ensure that everyone has his/her share from the outcomes and all partners share the responsibilities, risk and benefits. Participation therefore is a necessity and not a luxury. The worst types of processes are tokenism. Tokenism are plans prepared by a dominant group legislated to seek the opinion of others, who consult these others on issues that are preselected and may little or no relevance to those invited to comment (Hamdi 1991). Between these two ends there are several degrees of community participation as represented by Sherry Arnstein's "ladder of citizen participation" (1969), such as cooperation, manipulation, therapy, informing, consulting and placation. The figure on right demonstrates how the levels in which community participate are modified. Moreover, it shows a set of levels starting with 'information' as the lowest degree of

participation and the ‘empowerment’ as the highest, in between it includes ‘consultation’, ‘participation in decision making’ and ‘having the right to vote’ (Davidson 2005).

Hamdi and Goethert (1999) established their own matrix representing the required level of community participation ⁽³⁾ in particular stage of the program from the initiation to the maintenance.

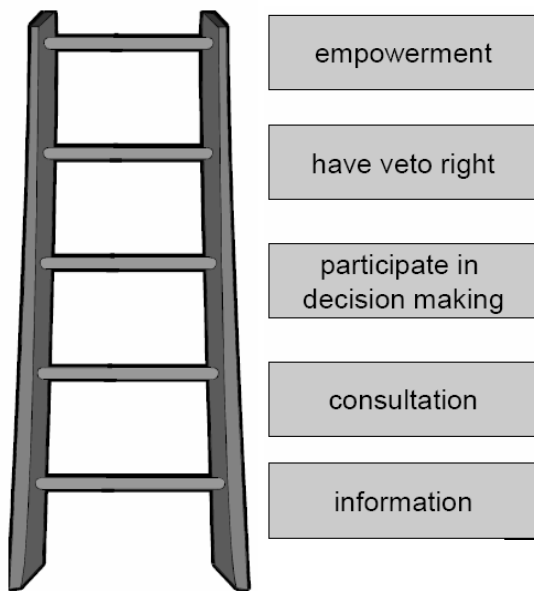


Figure 2.2: ladder of citizen participation
Source: Davidson 2005

There are three motivations for community participation: good governance, good management and expediency (satisfying another organizations policy in order to get funds). The three motivations may combine in different combinations in one project (Davidson 2005).

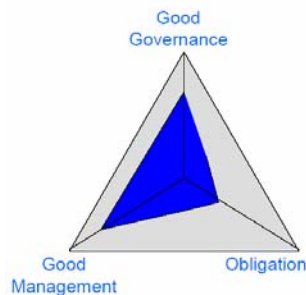


Figure 2.3: The motivation for community participation
Source: Davidson 2005

Community participation always has advantages and disadvantages. Overall, the advantages must outweigh the disadvantages for participative approaches to be successful and sustainable.

The Advantages are:

- Ensures community priorities are respected.
- Creates ownership of plans and actions
- Increases chance of support for actions

- Increases potential resources
- Potentially can help develop more suitable programmes and projects
- Acts as a safeguard against autocratic action
- Allows stronger input from special groups, e.g. women or ethnic minorities
- Can strengthen community cohesion
- Sometimes is the only possible way to work (EC Urban Guideline 2000).

The Disadvantages are:

- Difficult to do well
- Requires skill and motivation
- Takes increased time and effort
- May conflict with existing social structures
- Can be open to manipulation
- Requires maintenance of supportive community organization
- Too little support is normally given to facilitation of community participation (EC Urban Guideline 2000).

2.4.2 The Role of Community in Inner City Revitalization:

There are three actors in the inner cities: public sector, private sector and inhabitants. Since the residential areas are the dominant function in historic inner cities (Bianca 2000), this indicates the important role of the community in any revitalization or upgrading program.

There are five factors that affect the stability of residential inner city population:

- Government policy and commitment related to land development and housing the poor.
- Nature and scale of inner city rehabilitation programs.
- The ability to influence and participate in the decision-making process.
- Nature and scale of private sector intervention.
- Legal / regulatory framework affecting land tenure and housing situation.

Therefore, the community participation fundamentally affects the sustainability of any revitalization program (United Nations Centre for Settlement Habitat 1991). Noha Nasser (2003) outlined four factors affect in the sustainable conservation and regeneration of historic centers in the Islamic world; an understanding of the meaning of place, institutional support, sustainable funding mechanism and community involvement. She asserted on the need to internalize the control and decision making of community as facilitated by conservators, architects and developers.

2.5 Conclusion:

- The concept rehabilitation means: *"restoring or bringing back the statue of an urban area to a certain level of urban efficiency"* (Atman 2003). Though the definition included the aim to put the area back into function and conserve or restore the urban fabric. It aims at conservation without turning the urban area into museums and the development without demolishing the historic fabric.
- Political and social will is very important to achieve the goals of any rehabilitation or revitalization programme. However, the commitment of the government in the developing countries took long time to adopt the previous concept. Moreover developing countries lack the capacity to implement the programme of revitalization. Low income residents occupy inner cities in developing countries, thus, this introduces ineffective participation programs.
- Inner cities in developing countries consist of commercial centre in addition to residential neighborhoods.
- Two main approaches have been emerged in the last decades for neighborhood renewal, which are upgrading and gentrification. There is no typical programme that presents each of them; realistic programme of revitalization is mixed of both of them to a certain degrees.
- It is important for the revitalization strategy to understand the relationship government / market, and to shift its role from providing to enabling provision.
- Enabling strategy is depending on both the demand side and the supply side, in addition developing the institutional framework for managing the housing sector (Acioly. 2006)
- In developing countries the valuation of urban heritage comes as national symbols, which unfortunately doesn't match the capacity of the government to preserve them. Besides, quite often protection and conservation of national symbols came into direct conflict with national priorities mainly progress and modernization.
- Historic inner cities in developing countries still experience remarkable use value; however, the buildings go through cycles of valuation and devaluation according to specific various social values for each user category. The intervention of national or local government at this stage means a delay of the nil point of deterioration in the building life cycle graph and the start of a new one, this point represent the moment in which this building starts the conversion into more profitable use. *" This came also at a critical moment when alternative uses for traditional buildings promised great economic rewards as "modern" construction and planning ordinances enabled a greater return on investments than traditional modes"* (Hallaj 2002).

- There are 5 stages of community participation, these stages are: information at the bottom of the ladder of participation, consultation, participates in decision making, have vote right and finally empowerment which become the top of the participation ladder.
- Four factors are affecting neighborhood revitalization in Islamic cities: heritage perception, sustainable funding mechanism, institutional support and the most important factor community involvement.

This Chapter concludes with determinant concepts of the conceptual framework of this research. This research is the sum of interrelationships between neighborhood revitalization as a process affected by the changes of the inhabitants of the Old City and is influenced of their participation and involvement within the context of historic Islamic city that determines a special urban form and specific values.

Figure 2.4 The relationship between different concepts

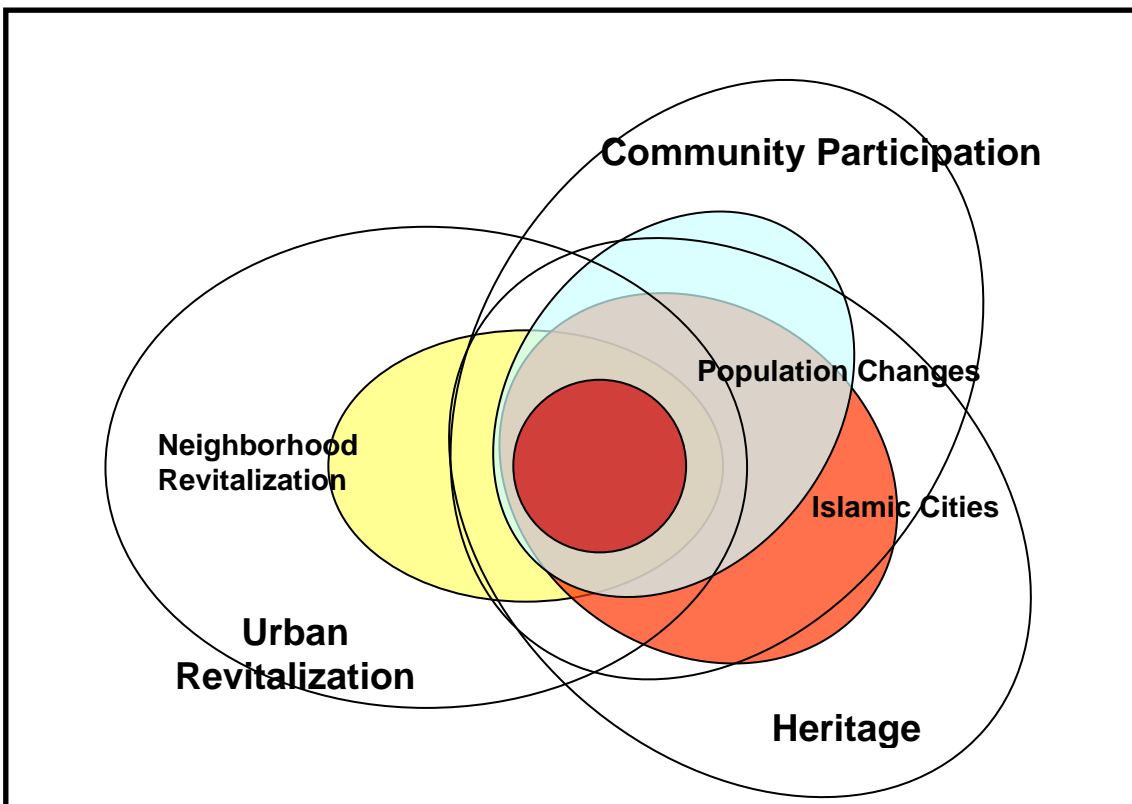
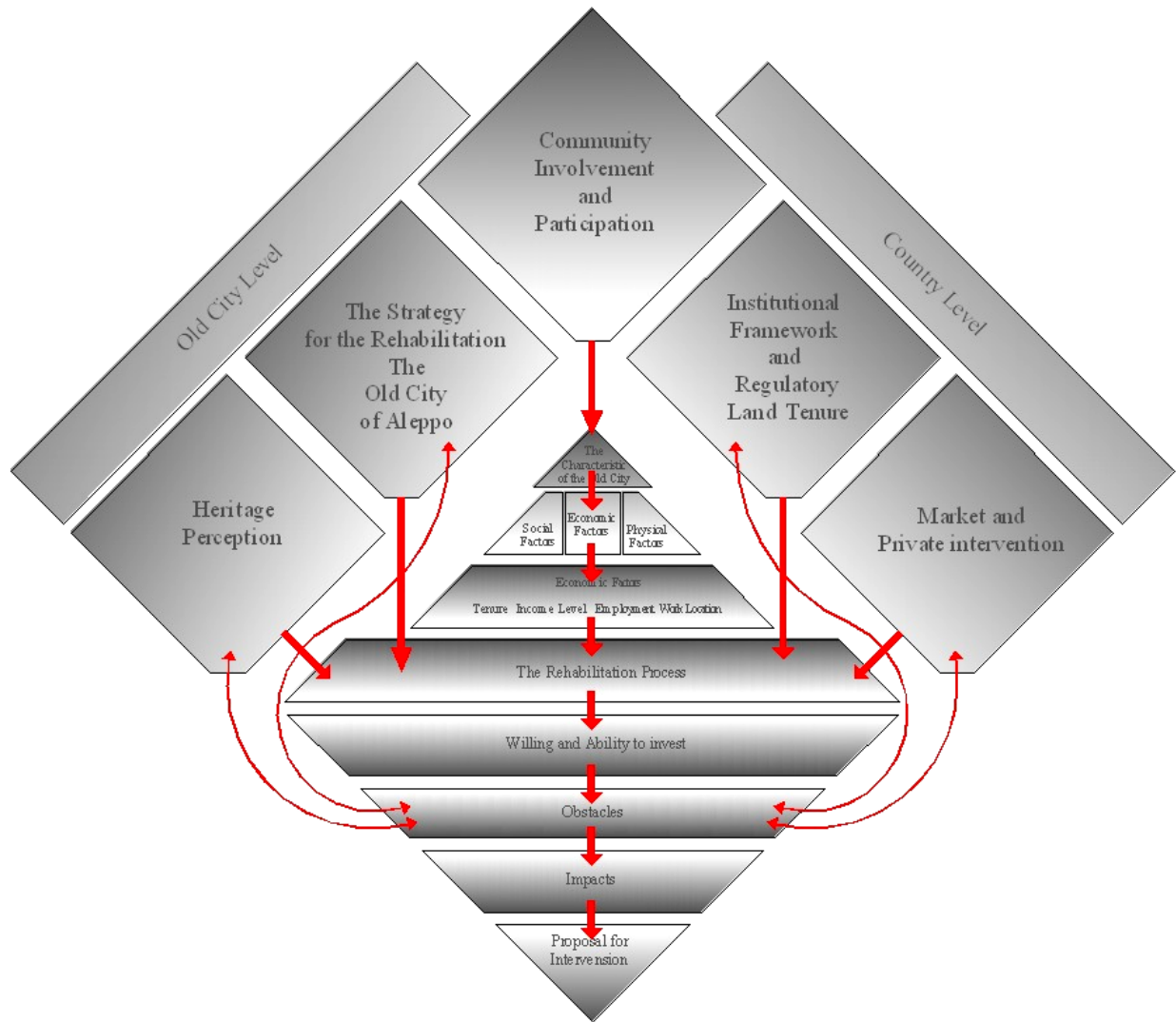


Figure 2.5 Conceptual framework



Chapter 3 Analysis of the Context

3.1 The Old City of Aleppo

3.1.1 Historic Background

The population of Aleppo is 2.5 million; it is the second largest city and the industrial centre of Syria.

The Old City of Aleppo is considered one of the oldest cities continuously inhabited in the world. It is believed that human settlement existed in this city since very early time; a 3rd millennium inscription contains the name "Armanu" which is supposed to be referring to Aleppo. It was mentioned in the tablets of Mari and Ebla in an Aramaic temple newly discovered by the German-Syrian excavations in the citadel.

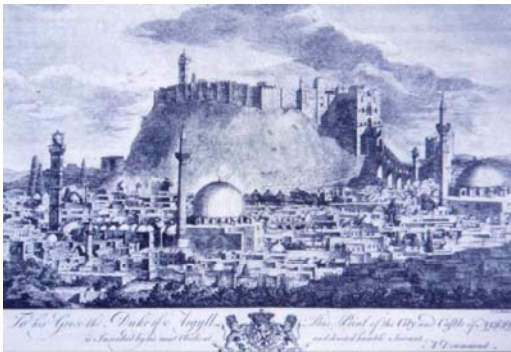


Figure 3.1 Old Painting of the Old City of Aleppo by Drummond (around) 1770

**Source: Inscriptions et Monuments D'Alep
Ernest Herzfeld 1954**

The Old city beneath the citadel has kept many traces of the Hellenistic and Byzantine period, most evident in the grid layout of the streets. This was gradually transformed into network alleys in the Islamic period. The beginning of the Islamic period witnessed a remarkable urban expansion and active monumental constructions. While more attention was paid for fortification and defence measures in the Ayubid period, the Mamluk period was marked by the encouragement of artistic and ornamental decorations and the new expansions of extramural neighborhoods.

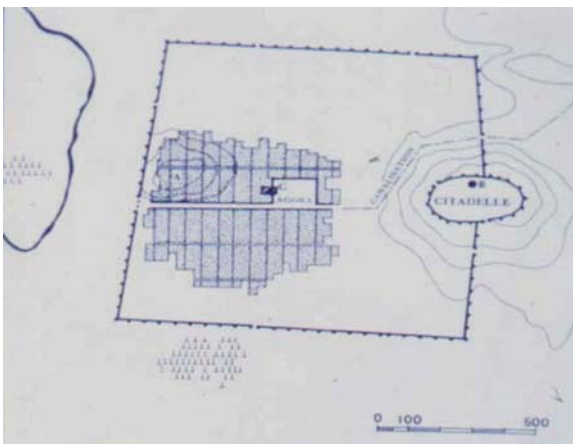


Figure 3.2 The city during the Hellenistic and Byzantine period.

Source: J. Sauvaget 1941

Aleppo witnessed its peak at the beginning of the Ottoman period in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when it became an important node between west and east on the silk route. It started its largest extramural expansions as a result of prosperity and growth. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 ended Aleppo's international importance. This event coupled with the earlier destruction caused by the devastating earthquake of 1822 dealt a heavy blow to the city's economy and destroyed a great proportion of its physical urban mass. However the city continued to survive and function against all odds. The recent urban fabric belongs mostly to the Ottoman period; however most buildings have evidences or traces of the former periods. Up to the 1940s the old fabric was still almost intact and the majority of Aleppian still lived within its confines.



Figure 3.3 Aerial photo of the Old City at the end of Ottoman period

Source: J. Sauvaget 1941

3.1.2 The Urban Form of the Old City of Aleppo:

The Old City of Aleppo covers about 355 hectares which house over 110,000 people and has 12 km of the traditional covered market. This market forms the core of the public space. The public area is connected to residential areas via branches from the main market to form the market service street at the end of it which lies in the core of the residential area. The residential network alleys are based on a sophisticated hierarchical system, gradually leading from the more public to the more private areas. These alleys would pass from the main market street to the primary and then to the secondary street and from there often to a blind alley which reach the very heart of the residential quarter (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 1980). The alleys are usually shaped by massive walls with infrequent opening. The houses are all open to inside.

Aleppo is famous for its stony structures and appearance, as all houses are built by stones and have either wooden or vaulted ceilings. It has typical courtyard houses where the courtyard is surrounded by rooms from two, three or four sides. Typical houses are usually one level and some times two levels and the rooms are large in order to serve several purposes. The house has also special features like Qua'a, Iwan, fountain, and plenty of stone or wooden decoration which differ in shape and splendour from house to another according to the income and social level of the owner and according to its historical period. In addition to the previous features a

waterwheel, stable and/or garden might have been added depending on the importance of the house and the owner.

Box 3. 1 The Qua'a

"The Qua'a is the substantiation of the courtyard concept surrounded by Iwans with a fountain in the middle and opened towards the sky, which is represented by high dome" (Guidelines 1998). In general, the Qua'a has upside down T shape, a square in the middle surrounded by 3 slightly higher square wings. The centred square covered by dome which is hold by 3 big arches. Usually the outside façade of the Qua'a is decorated by stone ornamentals and inside facades is decorated by wooden ornamental

Box 3-2 The Iwan in the Old City of Aleppo

"The Iwan is one of the most important elements in the courtyard houses; it is located in the south of the structure and is opened with an arch towards the north, about 40-50 cm higher than the courtyard level and exceeding 5 meters in height, it is considered as an ideal summer living space" (Guidelines 1998)

Figure 3.4 The Iwan

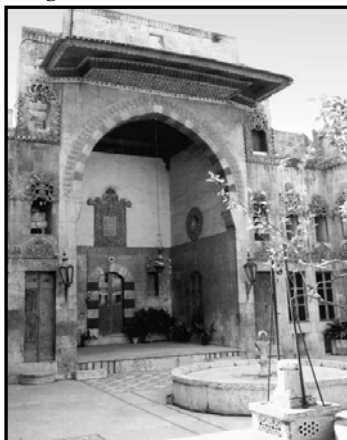


Figure 3.5 Plan of Courtyard Houses

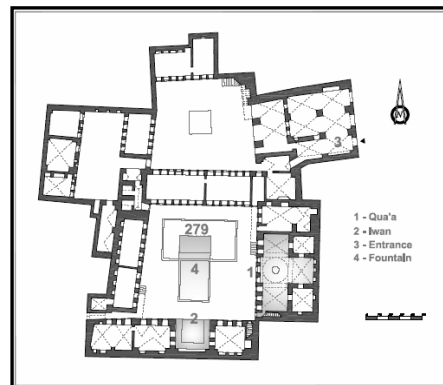
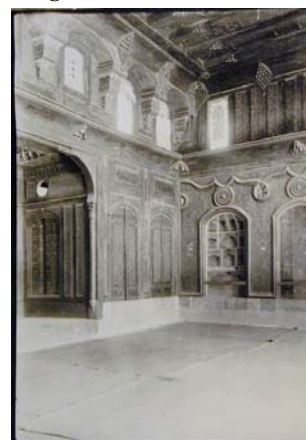


Figure 3.6 The Qua'a



3.1.3 The Old City of Aleppo in 20th century:

"Up to the mid-nineteenth century, Aleppo fully maintained its traditional features. This is due to the fact that growth stopped with the decline of the commercial activities" (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 1980).

At the end of the nineteenth century, western trends in architecture and urbanism influence the new expansion which is separated from the old city. New wide streets ready for private cars and public transport, chessboard plans and multi-stories building in addition to villa with a garden around it. This implies low density and considerable increase in private green area with lack of commercial facilities. Therefore, *"this seems to correspond to a demand for "prestige" rather than actual living habits"*. High and middle income families gradually started to move out the Old

City to occupy these pleasant neighborhoods. Large wealthy houses were rented to the directorate of education in order to fill the needs of increased education tendency.



Figure 3.7 The Economic Analysis for the Master Plan 1935
Source: T. Danger

In 1954, Gutton submitted a proposal for a Master plan to regulate the growth of the Old City up to 1975. This plan conceived with little consideration for the special character of the organic fabric of the historic quarters. The plan imposed two west east channels through the old fabric. The scheme was dramatically labelled "From the Sea to the Desert". A ring road around the old quarters and another around the traditional market were also planned. In addition a major axis from the grand mosque northward outside the city walls would start. A partial implementation of Gutton plan led to the destruction of one tenth of the intramural Old City, while in the extramural whole neighborhood were demolished, including several important historical monuments. New multi-stories buildings were erected on both sides of the new wide roads and divided the organic fabric into isolated islands (Sturzbecher et al 1999).

Despite the careful attention to the preservation of the traditional links between the traditional market and the city gates, the following Master Plan (1972-1974) led to the full or partial demolition of several important buildings in the intramural region (Sturzbecher et al 1999).

The physical and social damage to the Old Fabric caused by the execution of parts of the master plans arouse strong opposition which stimulated the General Directorate of the Antiquities to register the whole Old City intramural as a historic fabric. This move effectively stopped the demolition on the one hand, but on the other hand it imposed strict regulation and rules for any restoration and development.

An Old City committee was formed to direct the conservation efforts and implement the protection decree. Demolition was totally prohibited and restoration permits had to be approved by the committee. By 1985 all extramural neighborhoods were included in the protection zones and treated like the Old City's intramural region.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization listed the Old City of Aleppo as a world heritage site in 1986.

3.1.4 Technical Committee:

The Old City High Committee consists of all the stakeholders: Governorate, Municipality, Antiquities Directorate, Engineering Syndicate, Tourism Directorate, Awqaf Directorate and Heritage Institute from the University of Aleppo. A new technical committee emerged from the latter committee, its objectives are to offer advice, consultation and approve restoration, renovation, reconstruction and reuse permits. There are 4 different types of permits up to 2005:

1. Health and industrial permits
2. Simple restoration assignments permits
3. Reconstruction permits
4. Reuse permits (Da'abul 1996).

3.1.5 The Rehabilitation Project of the Old City of Aleppo⁴:

The Project in Aleppo started through an agreement between the German and Syrian Governments in 1993. It follows an umbrella agreement between the two countries that provide the frame work of Technical cooperation signed in 1976.

The Main objectives of the overall strategy are:

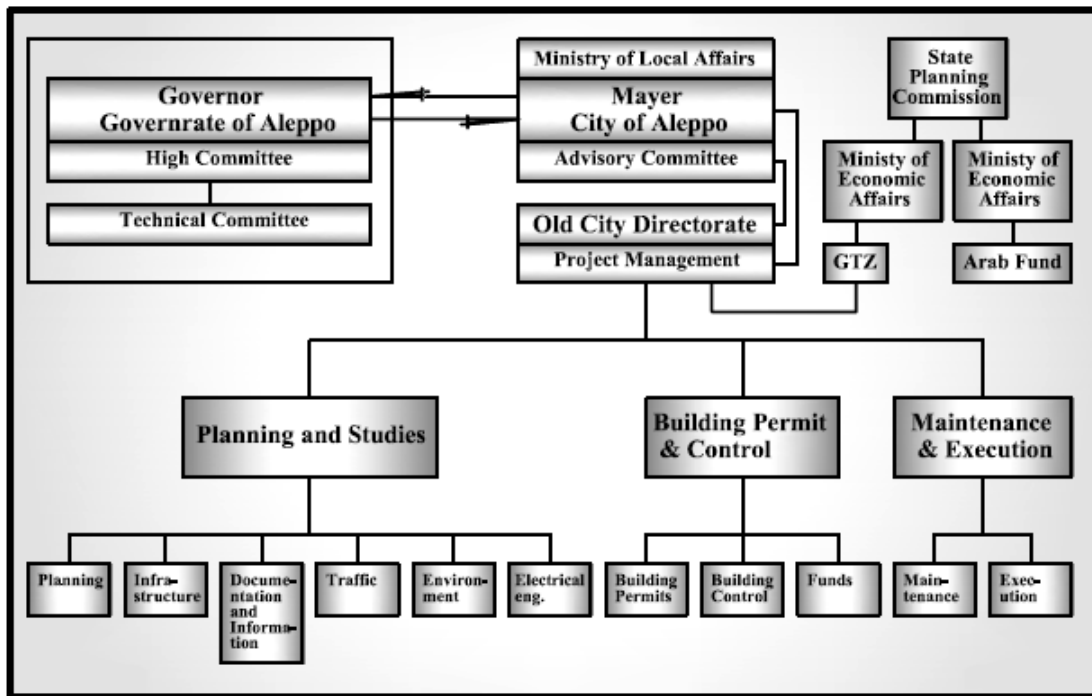
1. Preserve the valuable and unique fabric of the Old City.
2. Slow down the deterioration of its residential zones by:
 - Promoting its economic and social development, and
 - Improving the housing and living condition.
 -

The Key planning instruments are:

- Development plan including land-use plan
- (Sectoral) subject plans e.g. infrastructure, traffic
- Action Area plans at local levels
- Old City Information System
- Annual Old City Development Report

⁴ All data and information regarding the Rehabilitation Strategy of Old City of Aleppo are from the Development Plan.

Figure 3.8 Recent Actual Project Organizations 2006



In 2000 the Rehabilitation Project became the Directorate of the Old City of Aleppo an independent body with a special budget. This step is very important as it integrated all offices responsible for the Old City in the municipality into one body with the allocated budget. On the other hand the directorate placed the project at the bottom of the bureaucratic hierarchical system for reporting and approval to the municipality instead of its linear system.

The strategy for the rehabilitation of the Old City is composition of many strategies; each strategy has different levels of intervention and detailed standards and procedures.

1. Spatial Development Strategy:
2. Housing and Social Development Strategy:
3. Economic Development Strategy
4. Environmental Development Strategy
5. Traffic and Transportation Development Strategy
6. Technical Infrastructure Development Strategy
7. Social Development Strategies
8. Historical Building Preservation Strategy
9. Participation Strategy.

3.1.6 Housing Strategy:

1. The problems in the housing sector as defined in the DP are:

- The Inadequacy of the Traditional Residence for the demands of Modern Life
- The deterioration of housing Stock due to the passage of time
- The changes and additions to the traditional houses.
- Increasing population densities
- The shortage of public and social service
- Insufficient Water Supply and Sewage System.
- Traffic Problems
- The Intrusion of Inappropriate Functions into residential areas
- Inability of the City Master Plans to Deal with the Particularity of the Old City

2. The strategy to handle these problems as defined in the DP is:

a. Improvement of residence:

- The amendment of the Old City Building Code.
- Widen the financial support for the Emergency and Rehabilitation Funds.
- The provision of technical support for the residents.
- The encouragement of trade union housing cooperatives.

b. Improvement of Residential Neighbourhood:

- Periodic maintenance
- The provision of public services.
- The safeguarding of residential fabric from the intrusion of harmful commercial and industrial activities
- Action Areas.

3. The key instruments to implement this strategy are technical Infrastructure project, action areas and loans in addition to other complementary instrument like GIS, tourism, urban economy and other strategies:

a. Technical Infrastructure project:

The technical infrastructure covers five areas: Water Supply, Sewerage, Electricity, Solid Waste management (SWM) and Transportation & Traffic. The Directorate of the Old City considers the situation of the sewerage networks and its environmental and hygienic implications as so urgent, that financial efforts have to be made to improve the situation (Refai 2004).

Achievements⁵:

- The public transport service for Old City has been improved: link the Old City to the University
- An approved traffic strategy for the entire Old City
- Analysis of parking demand and the determination of possible parking facilities has been carried out.
- Substantial parts of new technical infrastructure have been implemented in various parts of Old City.

⁵ These achievements are up to March 2003

- Sanitary condition, roof drainage and house connections were surveyed on house-by-house basis prior to the design.
- New concepts were developed and systematic procedures for tendering, implementation and monitoring.
- Financing Agreement No.7 and the Arab Funds have provided funds for the procurement of some equipment and machinery.
- Maintenance procedures are widely established and implemented, however it still geographically limited.

b. Action Areas:

The Old City is divided into many action areas; the size of each of them doesn't exceed 15 hectares. In the action area, all resources and investments should concentrate and focus on one area. The idea is to solve the problems of each area in the local level within the framework of the DP. However, it deals in greater details with the topic. In addition, action area offer interlinked among sector institutions towards more effective results.

Two action areas were fully implemented (Action Area 1 and Action Area 3) and other two are ongoing (Action Area 2 and Citadel perimeter) (Sturzbecher et al 1999). Furthermore, several upgrading public space project were implemented or ongoing⁶

c. Loans:

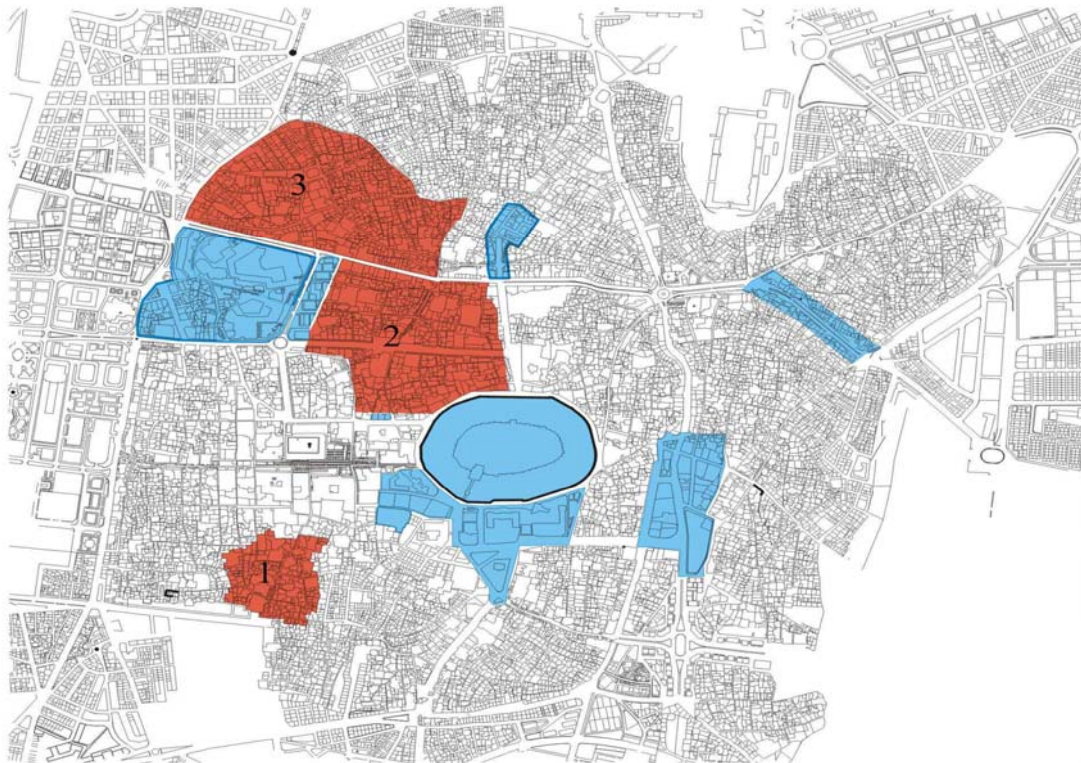
Up to 2003, there were two small housing funds:

- Emergency Fund: It was established in 1993. In the meantime the fund has revolved more than 3 times and benefited 400 households which considered as 3% of the old city's household. The loan is up to around \$800 dedicated for structural emergency cases only.
- Rehabilitation Fund: It started in 1999 in parallel to Emergency Fund. The loan is up to around \$3000, 25% of the loan may offer as gift to restore special architectural features like the kiosk. Directorate of the Old City offers these loans without any interest and offers as well the technical and architectural studies. In addition it offers application for official materials (cement). Both funds are exempted from municipal building permit.
- By the year 2004 both funds were merged in on fund called Housing Fund which equal in amount to the Rehabilitation Fund.
- Furthermore, at the beginning of 2005 one stop-shop has been established to deal with all permits and fund as an effort to facilitate the administrative procedures.
- As a summery Directorate of the Old City offers several types of permits:

⁶ These projects are: Upgrading and reorganizing Almaji area, Pedestrian crossing in Al-Mutanabi Street, Upgrading the market area around the Grand Mosque, Development around the western city wall, Planning for public spaces in Talet Al-Soda, Upgrading the facades in Al-Zarb market.

- Simple restoration permits for non-structural repair (pavement, painting, etc).
- Restoration permits for structural repair (ceilings, walls, etc).
- Dismantling and rebuild permits for part of the house.
- Reuse permits (sometimes in conjunction with the previous permit). And Housing Fund permits.

Figure 3.9 Action Areas



Source: Development Plan, Directorate of the Old City, 1999

Chapter 4 Analysis of the Finding

4.1 The Characteristics of the Population in Old City:

A general survey was conducted in 1993. This survey included no questionnaire. It contained only information concerning the qualitative and quantitative land use and the differentiation of traditional and modern structures. The outlook of the survey was mostly descriptive, pointing out potentials and the problems. A new survey has been conducted in 2005, however as of yet only a draft copy has been made available with a error of 15%.

4.1.1 General overview:

In 1922 Aleppo had 110,975 inhabitants of which 85% (94,819) lived in the Old City. The Old City reached its peak in 1970 with some 172,000 inhabitants. Later on, it decreased to about 140,000 in 1981 and to about 106,000 in 1998.

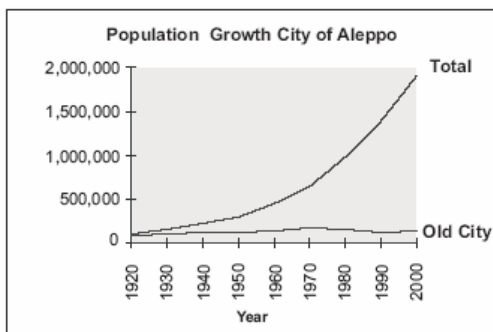


Figure 4-1 Population Growth City of Aleppo
Source: Directorate of the Old City, 1999

The residential density differs immensely within the neighbourhoods in the Old City. The western areas and those adjacent to new commercial roads have a low residential density because of the intrusion of commercial and industrial activities throughout the residential areas. The eastern neighbourhoods, however, has a high residential density because they are not under the new development's pressure. By comparing the figures for the last 15 year the dramatic change becomes clear. The western neighborhoods lost more than 30% of their inhabitants, the loss was between 20-30% along the commercial axes and reached 60% in some areas, while the eastern part has stable figures during the same period. Changes in density don't always indicates the density in the traditional urban fabric, due to the fact that some neighborhoods examine out-migration from their traditional houses and increased number of population in the new multi-story buildings along side the new roads (intramural north-western neighborhoods). In general the net residential density is approximately 300 person/hectares after deducing the non-residential function. This density does not include the daily population (Sturzbecher et al 1999).

4.1.2 Social Factors:

1. Family Size:

a. Families that occupy more the 2 generations are relatively higher (60%) than the ones that occupy 2 generations or less (40%).

b. In addition, the number of households with more than 5 people is extraordinary.

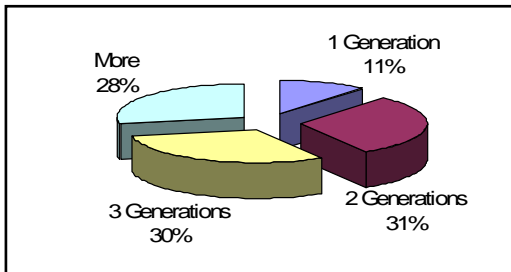


Figure 4-2 Number of Generation

2. Origin:

a. Duration of living: It was important to realize that half of the residents moved to their houses during the last 20 years. However, this doesn't indicate any migration into the Old City but rather continuous appreciation of residents in the Old City.

b. More than 80% of the population are originally from the Old City and very few proportions from the countryside (2.2%). The concept of origin is rather ambiguous; there is no definition in the Directorate of the Old City regarding number of years of origin.

Figure 4-3 Duration of Living in the House

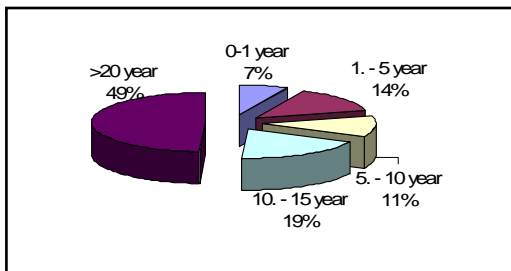
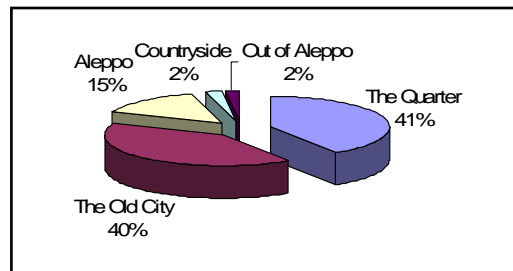


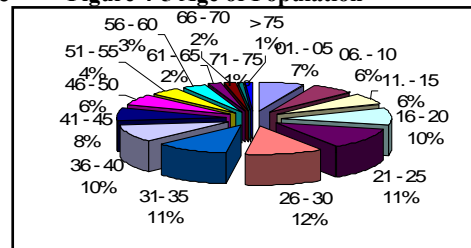
Figure 4-4 Origin



3. Age:

Almost one fifth of population in the Old City are children between 0 -15 years old. This is quite a high percentage and mainly related to the social status of families living in the Old City. The highest percentage is for people between 16 – 30 years old (33%). Similar to the latter category is one between 31- 45 (28.2%) and the rest of the population are less than 20%.

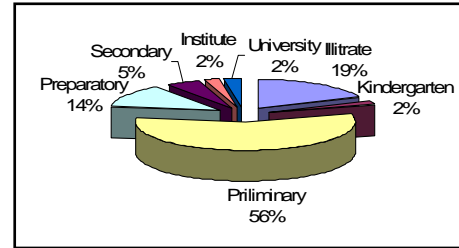
Figure 4-5 Age of Population



4. Education:

The education level of the inhabitants of the Old City differs from the education level of the inhabitants of the rest of Aleppo. This fact is one of the reasons why its inhabitants have a lower average income as compared to that of the rest of Aleppo. Around on fifth of the population are illiterate and the majority (56%) studied the preliminary school only.

Figure 4-6 Education of Population



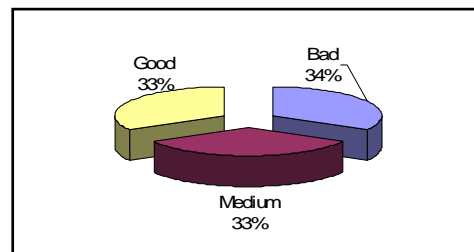
4.1.3 Physical Factors:

Unfortunately there are no data on the sizes of the houses in Old City or its distribution.

1. Physical Condition:

The survey in 1994 considered that one third of the houses are in bad physical condition, and the same fraction is for good and medium conditions. However, the survey in 2005 considered that 60% of the houses are in medium physical condition, the rest are 23.8% good and only 16.1% for bad condition. Considering that the employees that conducted the first survey in 1994 are professional architects and engineers and the employees that conducted the survey in 2005 are officers from the Statistical Directorate, I'll favour the results of the first survey despite the fact that it is older. The fact that the restoration work and the offering of the funds via Directorate of the Old City may affect this assumption is rather limited due to the fact that the percentage of funds' cases are not more than 5% so far, and the lack of maintenance for medium and good physical condition houses undermines this condition through time.

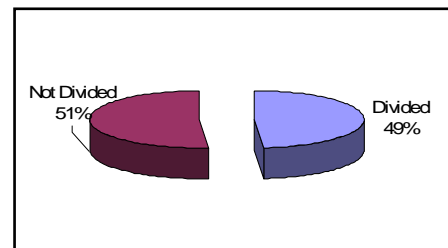
Figure 4-7 Building Condition



2. Sub-divided Houses:

Out of 12,540 houses in the Old City, 6,094 are divided. The sum up of the divisions is 38,653, which means that the divisions are more than 6 times the original. Figure 4.10 illustrate the distribution of the subdivided houses in the old city. Generally, the northern and western areas contain the smallest percentage of sub-divided houses. In the eastern and north eastern areas the ratio is average, while in the eastern extramural areas the ratio is high.

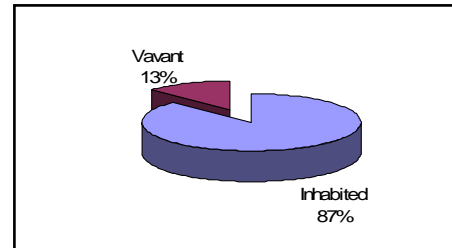
Figure 4-8 Sub-divided Houses



3. Vacant Houses:

During the comprehensive survey in 1993, a total of 141 estates are in a state of complete or partial ruin; out of these, 50 are in the intramural and 91 are located in the extramural part of the Old City. In addition to these estates which are in ruins, there are 212 vacant lots kept empty for a variety of reasons (e.g. administrative, structural, or social). In 2005 survey there are 1,619 vacant houses out of 12,540 houses; this is considered a dramatic negative change of the number of vacant houses.

Figure 4-9 Vacant Houses



4.1.4 Economic Factors:

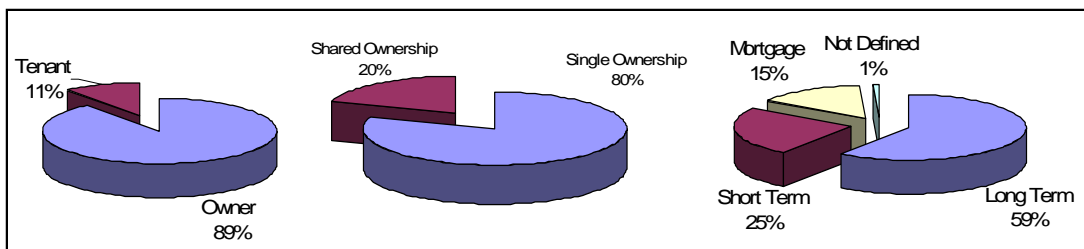
1. Income Level:

In fact comprehensive and detailed data on the income level and income distribution is not available with regards to the residents of Old City. The available data from the 2005 survey indicates a per capita income of 23,000 SL (354 €)⁷ per year. However, there is no data on the income distribution.

2. Tenure:

Owner occupancy is high in general, especially in the north-eastern and the eastern part of the extramural Old City. On the other hand the percentage of tenants and owners are almost equal in the north-western part of the city (Figure 4.11). There are two different type of ownership, single ownership and shared ownership, number of shared in shared ownership houses may reach 15, 30 and sometimes 50 shares or even higher.

Figure 4-10 Tenure



⁷ Considering that 1€ = 65 SL in the recent exchange rate

3. Employment:

There is a great difference in the employment situation between male and female. The unemployment rate is considered the main difference; while this ratio is more than 90% among woman, it is 33% among men; however, it is still high even for men.

Figure 4-11 Employment for men

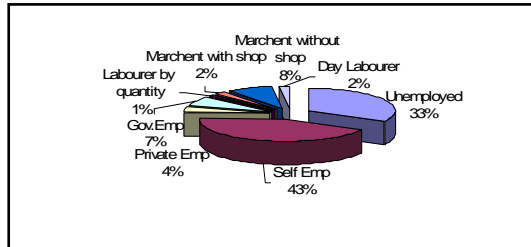
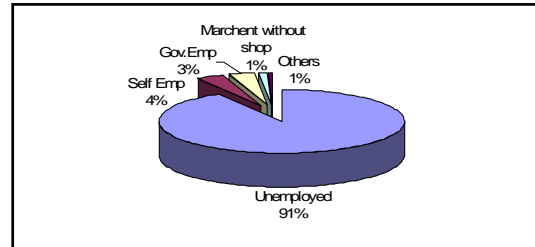


Figure 4-12 Employment for women



Work Location:

Almost 3 quarter of the inhabitants of Old City work in Old City, one quarter is working in the same quarter and very few are working in Aleppo City, This result is applied for both gender with slight differences.

Figure 4-13 Work Location for men

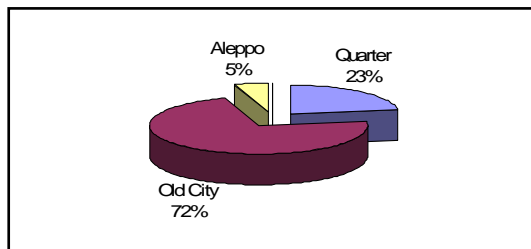


Figure 4-14 Work location for women

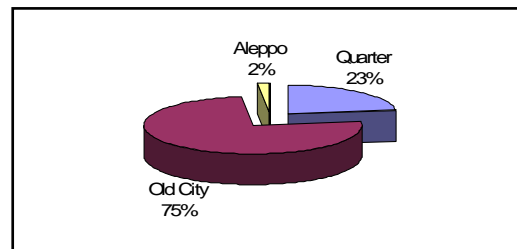


Figure 4-15 Density Distribution

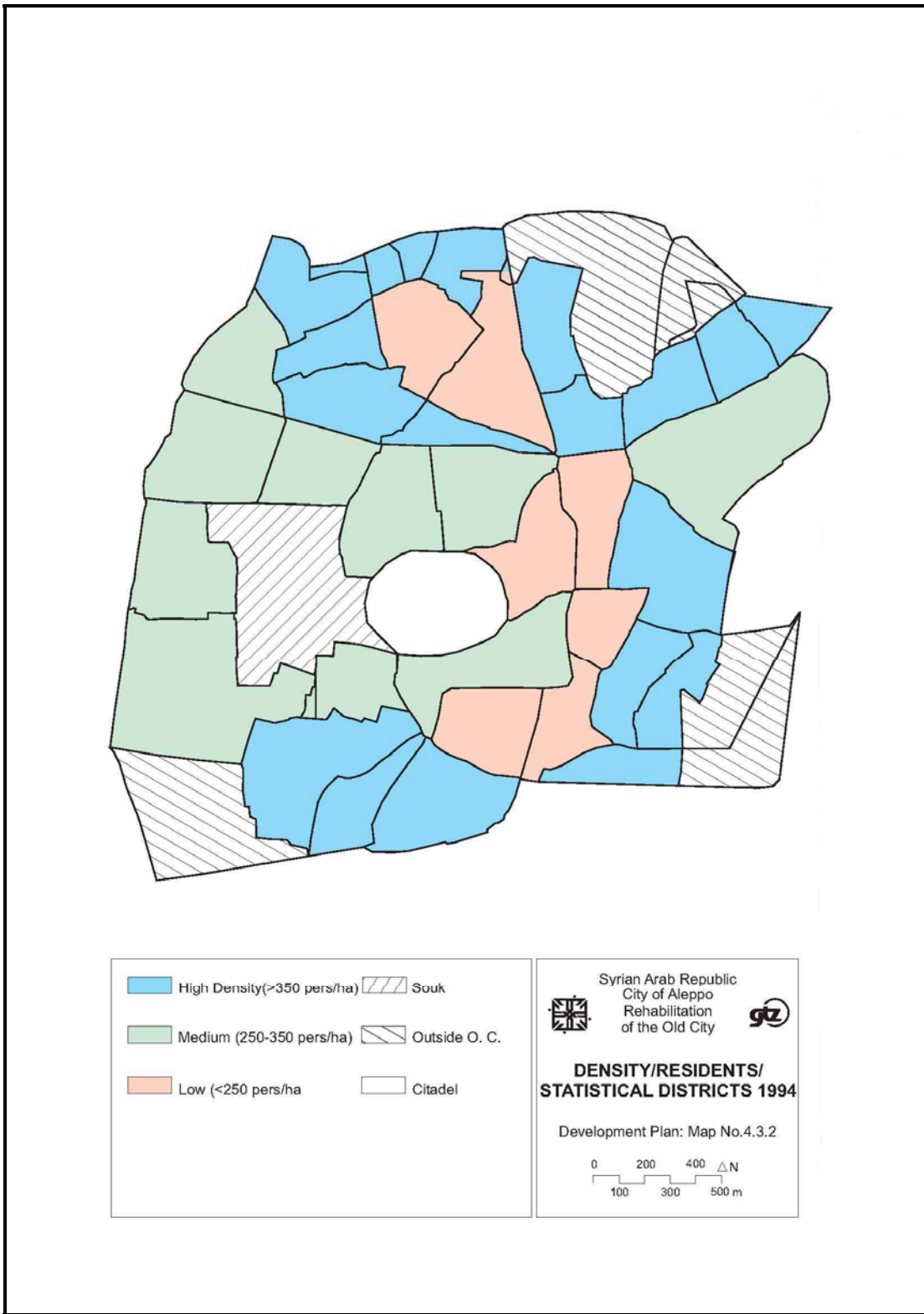


Figure 4-16 Ownership Distribution

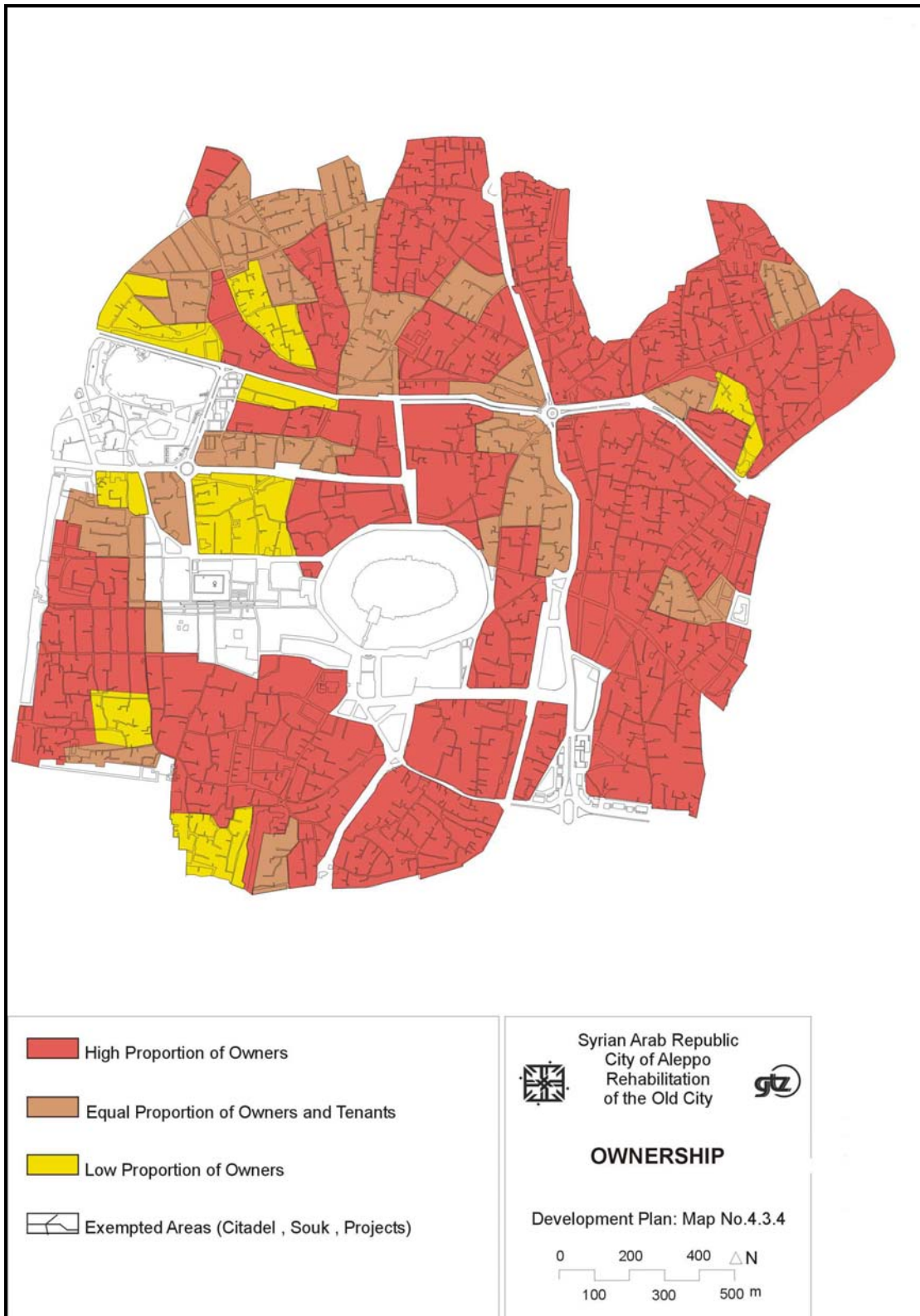
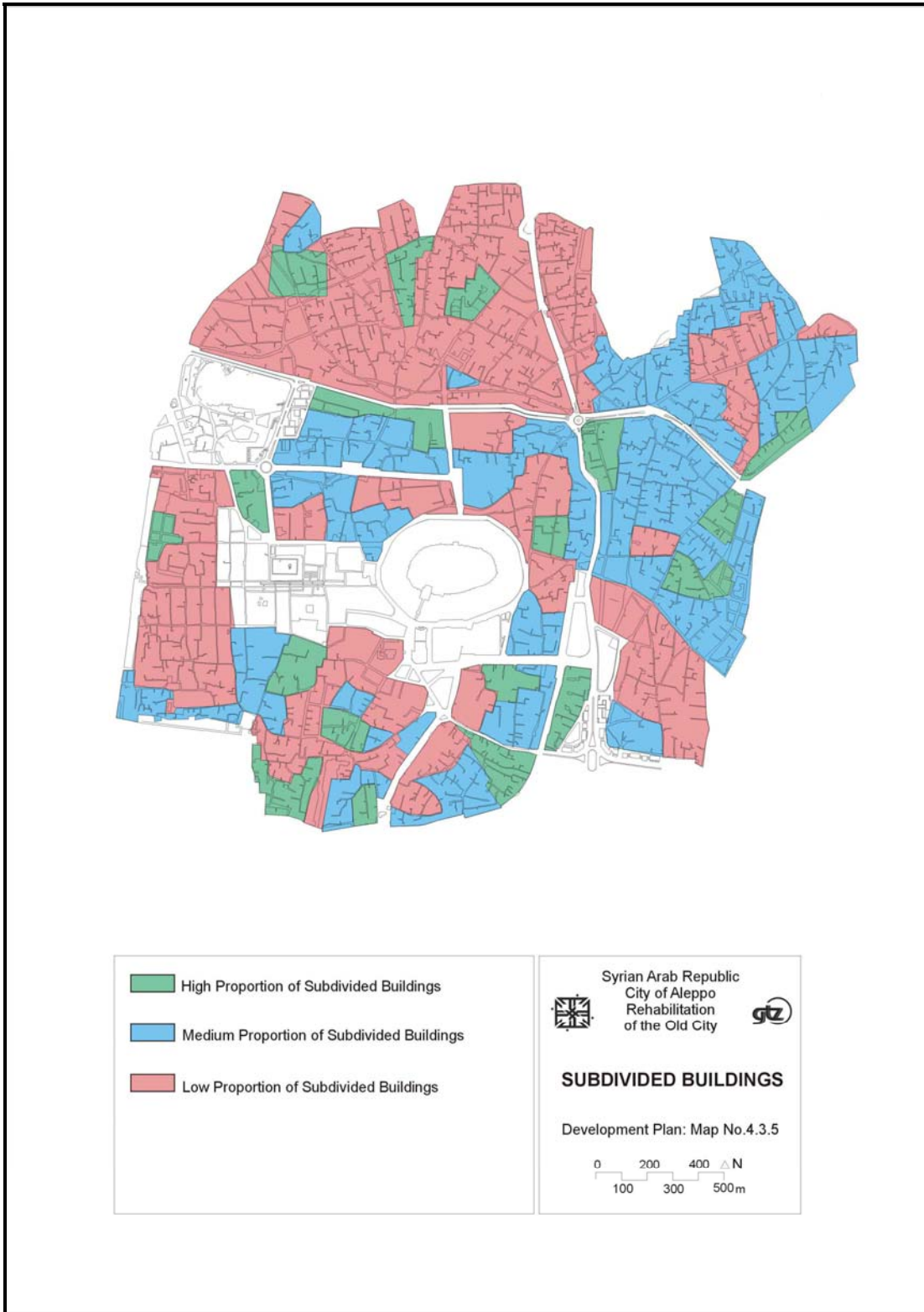


Figure 4.17 Sub-divided Buildings Distribution



4.2 The Impact on the Rehabilitation Process:

4.2.1 The Characteristic of the Unit of Analysis:

The main source of the following data is the detailed social survey which was conducted in 1994 for two quarters of the Old City. The survey was done with the aim of choosing an example of one of Aleppo's Old City quarters and the problems that it faces. This survey covered Bab Qinnasreen and Al-Baiadha Quarters. In addition, I also used the report of the Action Area 1 plan in 1997 as yet another source.

4.2.1.1 General Overview:

The unit of analysis is the same as the Action Area 1 or pilot project area, which called Bab Qinnasreen Quarter. This quarter is one of the oldest neighborhoods in the Old City; it was the residence of high income families especially in 16th and 17th century.



Box 4.1: Historic Houses in Bab Qinnasreen

According to some of the historic books such as the Tabbakh series and other literature, none of the famous families who lived in this neighborhood in the 18th and 19th century remained. This is especially so in the larger houses. For more details on this topic, a historic survey has been conducted in the Directorate of the Old City for manorial residential houses in the Bab Qinnasreen quarter (A. Mollenhauer and Z Karazoun 2001).

Bab Qinnasreen is located in the south west of the Old City. It has a typical traditional urban form; the main street starts from Bab Qinnasreen Gate⁸ and end up with the main market street. The main street ramifies into secondary, primary and dead-end alleys. The residential courtyard houses form the urban fabric of this area. With the exception of some new buildings, they date back to the end of the Mamluk era and the beginning of the Ottoman one. This quarter as most the residential areas examined all changes of the last century; high income families moving out, the intrusion of undesirable commercial and industrial activities, new buildings⁹, deterioration, lack of maintenance and lack of adequate planning and development.

The area of Bab Qinnasreen quarter forms 2% of the area of the Old City. The number of inhabitants has decreased between 1981 and 1998. The density was estimated around 200 people / hectare and it may reach 450 people / hectare in the net residential areas.

⁸ Qinnasreen Gate: one of 9 gates in the Old City of Aleppo, but it is the most intact and important one. It is dated back to the beginning of the Mamluk era (13th century).

⁹ The percentage of the modern building in Bab Qinnasreen quarter is 5.6% and the traditional courtyard houses is 94.4%.

4.2.1.2 Social Factors:

1. Family Size:

59% of the residents have 2 generations in their household, 29% have 3 generations and the rest have either 1 generation or 4 generations.

The ratio of families living in one house is 1.54, 70.7% is 1 family per house, and the rest are 2, 3, 4 and 7 families per house.

2. Origin:

More than 64% of the families lived in their houses for duration more than 20 years and 38% lived for more than a generation and they consider themselves original residents. 36% of the residents moved to their houses within the last 20 years, more than 21% of the residents who live in their houses for 20 or less years came from the same quarter or from the adjacent neighborhoods, this mean that the self-recruitment of the residing population is rather high.

3. Age:

45% of the families have 6 – 10 people, 35% have 3-5 people and the rest are either very small or very big families.

4. Education:

The social survey in 1994 provided data on the illiteracy condition only. The illiteracy rate in the Old City is 21%. The illiterate was taken as the one who is over 10 and cannot read nor write. The percentage of illiterate women is 62%.

4.2.1.3 Physical Factors:

1. The Size of the Houses:

The percentage of families living in one or two-room houses is almost a quarter; while the percentage of families living in middle-sized houses (3 - 4 rooms) is 48%. The big houses which have 5 – 6 – 7 or more rooms constitute another quarter.

2. Physical Condition:

The physical condition was studied in the survey 1994 regarding the frequency of problems appears in the houses and the complaint of the residents.

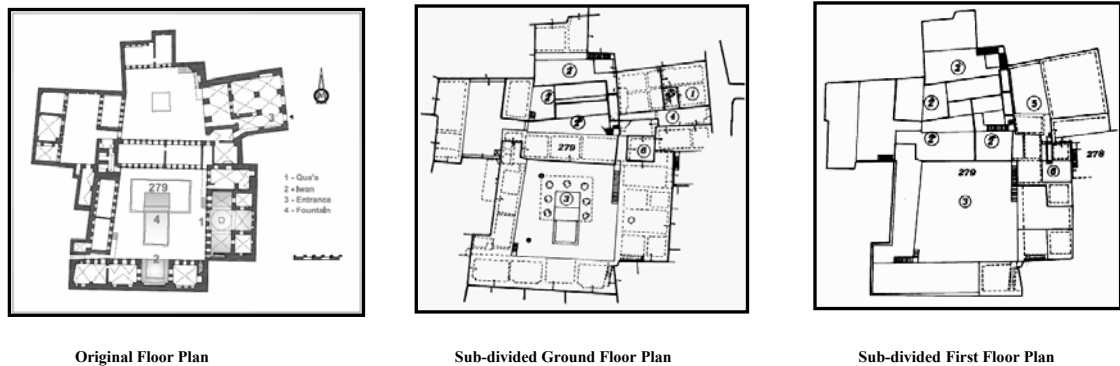
Table 4.1 Physical Condition in Bab Qinneseen

The Problems	No of Complaint	%
Damage of ceilings / roofs	62	47%
Water seeping through roofs	47	63%
Cracks in walls	71	54%
Moisture in walls	67	51%
Cracks and deformation of floors	17	13%
Problems with sinks / sewage	18	14%
Water pressure low	14	11%
Doors / Windows / Kiosk seriously damaged	16	12%

3. Sub-divided Houses:

Sub-divided houses constitute almost one third of the residential houses, which is one of the major problems that face the rehabilitation in the Old City. It is the frequent way of inhabitants to adapt the old house to their needs, as long as they lack the money to buy additional house for newly married family member to buy other co-heirs out. The inhabitants of sub-divided houses are often poorer than the surrounding neighborhood.

Figure 4.18 An Example of Sub-divided Houses



Original Floor Plan

Sub-divided Ground Floor Plan

Sub-divided First Floor Plan

4. Vacant Houses:

3.4% of the houses in Bab Qinnasreen quarter are vacant and 4.2% of the houses turned into commercial, warehouses and other uses. Recently, there are indicators of the increased number of vacant houses or the one turned into commercial or touristic activities. A new statistical survey is recommended to understand the actual change.

4.2.1.4 Economic Factors:

1. Income level:

On third of the residents live under the minimum daily food need, 20% of the residents had income enough to buy food and nothing else and the rest are low and middle income families.

2. Tenure:

Owner occupancy constitutes high percentage of the tenure conditions in this Quarter, single ownership is 33% and shared ownership is 45%. Thus the rent is 14%, the mortgage is 7%, and there are very few who took the house from their relatives. Most of the tenant are under rent control condition, therefore, the owner couldn't evacuate them or even increase the rent.

There are no specific data on the employment of the residents and their work location for this quarter.

4.2.2 General Analysis:

4.2.2.1 Social Factors:

1. Family Size:

In this section of the report I will be considering a family unit to be a mother, father and their children. I will not, however, consider the grandmother and grandfather with their sons and daughters to be a family unity. Amongst the 16 cases, there are 9 cases with 2 generations and one family unit living in the same house, 6 cases with 3 generations and 2 family units that live in the same house and only one case with 4 generation and 2 family units that live in the same house. All the 3 and 4 generations categories lived in their houses for more than 20 years except one case who lived in Aleppo city for a while and returned back to their family house about 14 years ago (see annex table A1).

2. Age:

Table 4.2 Age groups

Age	person	%
1-15 ys	43	37.7
16-25	27	23.9
26-40	18	15.9
41-65	17	14.6
>65	9	7.9
Total	114	100

Within the 16 cases, children were around 37.7% of the total families' members. A quarter of the inhabitants were of the age in the range of 16 to 25. The inhabitants aged within the range of 26-65 are around a third and there are very few over 65 (see table 4.2 and annex A2).

3. Education:

Table 4.3 Education levels

Education	person	%
Illiterate	14	13.6
primary school	49	47.6
Intermediate .school	20	19.4
secondary school	7	6.8
University	13	12.6
Total	103	100

47% of the inhabitants completed their primary schooling whilst 19.4% finished their intermediate level and 6.8% finished their secondary. 12.6% completed their schooling and 13.6% are illiterate.

All illiterate head households are either unemployed or day laborers except for one who is self-employed. Most head households who graduated from the university are government employees, only one is self employed who initially was a government employee before he retired. All of them are middle income families and have medium building condition (see table 4.3 and annex A3).

4. Origin:

Most the cases are originally from the quarter. Out of 11 cases; 4 is from the Old City and 1 is from a town outside of Aleppo. There are 12 cases that lived in their houses for more than 20 years and 3 cases from 10-20 who are originally from the quarter and only one case from 5 to 10 years who was living in his family house in the same quarter and moved to this house after marriage (see annex table A4, A5).

4.2.2.2 Physical Factors:

1. The Size of the House:

Most of the small-sized houses are resided by low income families; many of them applied for restoration permits and currently live in medium building conditions. Middle-sized houses are mostly owned by middle and high income families where most of these are shared ownerships. A large-sized house is in a bad condition and is of shared ownership with a residence of a poor branch of the family. Vacant rooms are more likely to be found in middle-sized houses (see annex table A6).

2. Physical Building Condition:

All the houses that have bad physical conditions are owned by low income families. They are all of shared ownerships or rented. Medium building condition cases are mostly single ownership, all shared ownership cases are within the same family which they are capable to make one decision. There is only one case which has good building condition, it is a small house newly restored and resided by middle income and single ownership family (see annex table A7).

3. Sub-divided Houses:

There are 7 sub-divided cases amongst 16 total cases but there is no apparent relationship with other factors. Sub-divided houses could be for low and middle income families, they could be small, medium or big size houses, single, shared or rented ownership or any other factor or category (see annex table A8).

4. Vacant Houses:

All cases that have vacant parts of the house are shared ownership within the extended family and surprisingly none of them asked for restoration permit or funds. The houses that have vacant rooms are generally shared ownership. Except for 2 single ownership cases, (one of which is under restoration and the other is for a very poor family) none of the single ownership and tenants has any vacant rooms (see annex table A9).

4.2.3 Detailed Analysis:

4.2.3.1 Tenure:

1. Single ownership:

Most of the single ownership cases have medium size families and small houses. All the cases restored their houses except one who is now applying for Housing Fund. All the houses are in a good or medium physical condition except the ongoing restoration case¹⁰.

Willing to stay and invest:

All cases have chosen to live in their respective house and pay for it themselves. Two of these cases were shared ownership; the owners bought the shares of the co-heirs, the first was living in Aleppo City in a modern flat apartment and the second stayed in his family house and the rest of the heirs left. Most of the cases moved out of their previous residents for social reasons¹¹. They have chosen this house specifically because it is either close to their families or is inherited. Taking into account that all of the families have the freedom of choice and that all of them want to stay in their respective houses and none of them are planning to move out any time in the future. In addition, 5 out of 7 of the cases expect their eldest son to live with them for various reasons¹². They listed advantages of the house and the neighborhood (48) more than the disadvantages (38), but the disadvantages of the neighborhood are more than its advantages.

Box 4.2 Single Ownership

Um Bassam refused to give any disadvantage of the house and said:

"I can't see any disadvantage of the house. It is full of incorporeal intangible meanings in addition to its tangible advantage. I've never been sick in this house; we never had bad days or serious problems".

Although the bulk of food and services¹³ constituted the first priority in most cases and the least to cut if there is any decrease of their income, but home repairs and renewals become the first option with any increase in the income of three cases. All the cases expressed their willingness to invest in their houses and keep its residential function (except one low income family, wherein they want to partially change the

¹⁰ The house is in a bad building condition, it has deteriorated wooden ceilings for two rooms + vaulted ceiling of the kitchen in addition to other unstructured repairs (plaster, wood work, pavement and etc). This house now is under restoration.

¹¹ Usually the reason is marriage and desire for independency.

¹² These reasons may vary from social reason (tradition), enough and good place to live in or they are old and need him to take care of them.

¹³ The Services are: water supply, electricity and telephone.

function into commercial activity). However, all of them are facing the same problem of transportation difficulties and 5 out of 7 suggest the same solution (open the road through Bab Qinnasreen Gate again after the Directorate of the Old City has closed it for conservation concern).

Ability to Invest:

Despite the fact that most of them restored their houses previously, they still need structural repair which they can do but cannot afford. Just one case can afford the cost as it is a high income family but however it still cannot carry out the repairs legally either due to loans or permission (they have asked for legal permission but the Directorate of the Old City refused and will only accept if the owner demolishes an informal construction in the house that has been built for over 40 years. The owner thus decided to restore his house illegally. 5 out of 7 household will restore their houses from their own savings, and two from unpaid help (mostly from their relatives) and only three cases mentioned the Directorate of the Old City as a second option in addition to their first sources.

Heritage perception:

All cases love to live in a historic house and in a historic neighborhood. The reasons slightly vary however most of them love antiquities; others like the special artistic historic features and all of them mentioned the intimacy and incorporeal elements. Only 2 cases welcomed the new touristic reuse of some of the houses in the neighborhood and the rest didn't for social reasons.

Participation:

2 out of 7 only know the roles of the community leader (Community Leader) and the quarter's committee; however they did express their ineffectiveness. 5 out 7 had conflicts with the Directorate of the Old City during the implementation phase regarding the quality of work or the connection to their houses. Some of them received support and help and others didn't. All the cases have heard about the cultural activities in Shibani School, but only 2 of them attended these activities and supported it.

2. Shared Ownership:

All families that occupy shared ownership houses are living for more than 20 years and most of them are originally from the quarter. Half of the houses with shared ownership are in a very bad physical condition; all of them house two families except one case and all of them have vacant rooms or a vacant part of the house. Finally the work location of most of the owners is outside of the Old City.

Willing to Stay and Invest:

There are 3 types of shared ownership:

- Within the same family, usually in this type one of the heirs buy the house.

- Within the extended family; usually in this type of ownership conflicts starts and the situation starts to become reluctant especially with the absence of some inheritors.

- Within the extended family where the house has been inherited from several generations. Usually in this type, it is very difficult to know how many heirs would inherit the house as sometimes there may be more than a 100 heirs!

In our study, we have 3 cases from the same family (between 3 – 7 heirs) and 2 cases from the extended family (16, 30 heirs) and one case with uncountable heirs.

Box 4.3 Shared ownership



This family has a low income level and the house is one part of three divisions where one of these divisions is vacant. Their division is no more than a 60 m² area which is considerably small. It has a vacant locked room because of the collapsed ceiling; the equipment of the kitchen is distributed partially in the entrance and the courtyard. 2 families consist of 10 persons and 3 generation live in 3 rooms and very small courtyard with high dividing walls.

The mother said:

"I can't see anything positive in this house, all kinds of insects and scorpions come to our house from the adjacent vacant division. The width of each crack in the house is not less than 3 cm and even when we repair it new cracks emerge in other places. You will never finish the restoration of this house; we live all together in three rooms and our kitchen equipments gets very wet due to the rain in winter. There is also a big room with a collapsed ceiling that we cannot afford to repair. Furthermore the Directorate of the Old City refused to give us a loan because we don't own enough shares in the house".



She then angrily said: *"And it is not even a grant, it is just a loan! This means that we have to pay it back we couldn't have access to the fund. We don't know exactly how many heirs there are for this house, the cost to prepare the restriction documents (in order to count the living inheritors and calculate their share) after several generations of dead inheritors and the transformation of their ownership to their children is equal to the house's price!"*

Only one case out of 6 restored part of the house. All the cases live in there houses for more than one generation, half of the cases have the choice to stay or leave and the same half are willing to stay. While the other half hasn't any choice to stay or leave but only a few of them want to leave. Although families in shared ownership houses suffer to a certain degree from their houses but they listed more advantages of the house (23) and neighborhood (11) than the disadvantages (15 and 13 respectively), however, one of the cases couldn't list any advantage of the house.

4 out of 6 cases want to move out of their houses, and 5 out of six said they want their eldest son to live with them in the same house or at least to be close to them. From the expenditure priorities only one case put the housing option before the food considering that the situation has become quite hazardous.

All the cases express their desire to invest and repair their house except one case because of bureaucratic procedures and all of them want to keep the residential function of their houses except one, who wants to make it partially commercial.

Ability to Invest:

Although, all the houses need structural repairs and most of them are willing to do so only 3 cases out of 6 can do it because it is ExF and ExFG share, and consequently either the co-heirs don't agree with the repairs process or the owner doesn't own enough shares to apply to the funds or permission. However, all of them can't afford the costs.

Heritage perception:

Most the cases like to live in the historic house and neighbourhood except one case doesn't really care about history, rather it is the traditional style which makes the difference for them. Also one case doesn't like to live in a historic neighborhood. 4 out of 6 like the new touristic activities in the historic house, claiming that they vitalized and increased the price of the houses and this is part of the rehabilitation and development of the area.

Participation:

Although all cases need structural repair and all of them heard about the Housing Fund, but only half of them try to get this fund, the rest have problems with their co-heirs. None of the cases, who have applied for funds, have got approval of their applications. This is because either they don't have enough shares or because of bureaucratic and administrative procedures. In this category, there are only 2 cases that recognized the role of the Community Leader and quarter committee. Only one case didn't have conflict or request during the implementation phase of the infrastructure project, and only two cases expressed their gratitude of the Directorate of the Old City's help and support. None of the cases that know about the cultural activities in Shibani School attended any of these activities.

3. Rent:

All tenants are low income families. There are three different types of tenant cases:

- Short term rent
- Long term rent
- Borrow from relatives

In our study, we have 2 long term rent cases and one borrows from relative case.

Willing to Stay and Invest:

Two of the cases moved to their houses because of social reasons and one moved from the countryside for more than 40 years because he believed that the Old City was the best place to live at that time. They had the choice in the past but only one wants to stay today. They listed (11) advantages of the house and neighborhood against (13) disadvantages, which expressed their dissatisfaction with their situation. None of them has any planning to move or any expectation for the next 10 years. Housing is considered as the last priority, because of poverty and it is not their property. Any structural repairs will not take place unless it is urgent. However, none of them want to change the function of the house neither partially nor completely¹⁴.

Ability to Invest:

Although all of them have structural repairs but only one case restored its house previously, with the support of their relatives in financing and implementing the work. All the cases can't repair their houses because they need the agreement of the owner and none of them can afford the cost

Heritage Perception:

Restoration and transportation difficulties prevented most tenants from seeing the advantage that other inhabitants could see. Although the existence of new touristic activities has no direct impact on their life, but it provoked the fear of unknown homeless future. The owners of their houses are likely to sell the houses in order to make more profit and get ride of the tenancy in the same time.

Participation:

There is no common answer of this topic, some know about the community leader & quarter committee others don't. Some welcomed the cultural activities in Shibani School others don't.

¹⁴ This is not allowed by the low rent tenants and may cause evacuation for the tenant.

Box 4.4 Rent

This house was the resident of Al-Attar Family which was one of the most important families in this quarter; its size is more than 200m². Its stone carving and wooden cladding witnessed its prosperous days a few hundred years ago.



This house now is occupied by low income tenant family; the father is a street vender and the son who is not more than 15 years old work from 4 am till 6 pm as private employee in order to support the family's income. They resided in this house for more than 46 years.

Rent control law protects them from evacuation or any increase in their rent through years. Although the rent is very low, they put it in top priority of their expenditure ladder even before the food and services.



The house is in a very bad condition, regardless the dilapidation of two rooms' ceilings urgently needs the plaster to be replaced because it homes all kinds of insects and scorpions. The wood work, the pavement and other complementary areas of the structure also requires work. One ceiling has collapsed a few years ago, therefore, they were obliged to restore it and have taken permission for that purpose. They received financial and technical help from their relatives and the mother sold her two golden bracelets (a gift from her father for her wedding). Now they need to repair the rest of the house, but they couldn't apply for funds because the owner doesn't want to give his agreement which is one of the required documents to gain permission.



"What can we do, the owner didn't agree and the Directorate of the Old City doesn't give anything without the owner's agreement and we don't have enough money to do it illegally. My father who supported us last time became older and has to support my brother in his marriage".



The mother said. Throughout the interview she showed me the deterioration and collapse of the house and every 20-30 minute the young child brought a question from his grandfather and the mother tried to ignore him at first however after a while she finally asked me to reply to him and so I went to the grandfather's room. He asked me if I intend to buy the house and Despite the fact that I informed them about my task they remained cautious of me ever since I made the appointment and they didn't relax until I showed them samples of my notes and books.

Conclusion:

It is clear that the single ownership category is the one that has the strongest willingness to stay in the Old City. Initially, all the cases were free to choose their current residences. Moreover, they are the most capable to invest since 4 out of 7 planned to restore their houses from their own savings. They are very much attached to the Old City with many social, family heritage ties and they are eager to participate in all its work or activities.

The case, however, is not the same with shared ownership and rented houses. Shared ownership residents have different attitudes according to the type of share. The more the shares are countable and within the same family they can express more willing to stay, and more capability to solve the problem of co-heirs and make the decision to restore the house. Even though only half of them are middle income families, a third can pay from their savings. In some cases they want to stay in the house but in the same time they are planning to move out according to their co-heirs desire to sell the house, they told very impressive stories that expressed their strong ties to their inherited houses and most of them are willing to participate to different activities in their quarter.

Rent ownership residents are the least willing to stay on the one hand but on the other hand none of them are planning to move out because all of them are poor and their current residence is considered the cheapest especially that they are protected by the law. Therefore all of them want to upgrade their houses, this not only because this house is their lifelong house but also because the restoration becomes urgent rather than normal upgrading and maintenance. Basically they would only repair what has become a serious health and safety hazard. Due to their sufferance they see little advantages in the house and the neighbourhood.

4.2.3.2 Income Level:

1. Low Income Level:

Low income households are mostly unemployed or day-labourers and many of them are illiterate and more than half of the houses are small and in a bad physical condition. In addition many of them are originally from the quarter.

Willing to Stay and Invest:

More than half of the cases were free to choose their residence and the same cases are willing to stay, they don't have any plans to move out and even they expect their eldest son to live with them in the future. Only one case of them is planning to move because other co-heirs want to sell the house. The number of advantages and disadvantages of living in their houses and neighborhood is similar with slight favour of the advantages. This indicates their dissatisfaction of their live in their houses or neighborhood. Their expenditure priorities are food and services first, however, depending on the circumstances, medicine and rent could climb up the ladder. Housing is the last option whenever it was mentioned and many times it wasn't. Only 2 cases among 9 prefer to spend on housing with any increase of their income, this is due to the fact that they have emergency cases and dangerous situations the rest may prefer to support their work, savings for future emergencies.

Ability to Invest:

Although all of them want to upgrade their house, only 4 of them can do it (for different reasons) and none of them can afford the cost.

Heritage Perception:

All cases like to live in historic houses and neighbourhoods for many reasons such as: it has better property, intimacy, their house for generations, like antiques, etc. they tried to prove this fact in many ways but the most impressive one is the grand mother when she described the ceiling of her house's Iwan and its cornice in details and when she expressed her sorrow after the collapse of this ceiling.

Participation:

Only 2 cases out of 9 know the roles of the community leader and quarter committee. Just 4 cases have conflict with Directorate of the Old City during the implementation of infrastructure project but none of them received any help. Half of the cases heard about the cultural activities in Shibani School but none of them have participated.

Box 4.5 Low income



The grandmother and her family live in her small part, which consists of two rooms and a cellar along with a courtyard. An ordinary brick wall separates this courtyard from the rest of the house, which is occupied by the rest of the heirs who most of them immigrated leaving the house to the blowing winds in summer and winter.

This tragic situation, which the abandoned part of the house suffers from, has never kept the grandmother from recalling those past days. She describes the ornamented wooden canopy, the Iwan's ceiling, its cornice below, and the painting wooden cladding in the rooms exactly as they were. She describes the Iwan's cornice by saying:

"A bunch of grapes spread along the cornice and the green grapevine leaves surrounded it binding with golden-silver plates full of different kinds of fruits, all in harmonic colors and artistic drawings. From these pictures, a number of cups stick out in wooden carving as if ready for someone to drink, a picture which utters the sound of Allah's grace upon man".



Following up with her description of the botanical ornamented wooden cladding in the rooms, the grandmother continues:

"That was the yellow room. The background of the wooden panels between the windows and the closets are all colored in yellow and adorned by wavy royal blue vessels, almond shaped, and tapering edges. These vessels contain different kinds of roses and colored basilis with their soft leaves scattering to fill the place with happiness and delight and transferring the room into a lush garden".



The grandmother's voice was lovingly longing to her bygone moments. She was impressive as to how she could bring those beautiful and warm moments back to life, all with their delicate and artistic compassion. This was due to all the several artistic handiworks she used to do in her days of youth. Meanwhile, she carried on speaking in a tone of sorrow and austerity at the same time:

"The Iwan's wooden ceiling fell down, and recently the wooden cornice features are fading away day by day due to the constant effect of the natural environment is subjected to. While the wooden canopy was gradually deteriorating until it collapsed at once in a dark, gloomy and oppressive night, having nothing in hand to help the situation".

2. Middle and High Income Level:

All middle and high income head household are either government employee or self employee. They have houses in a medium, good condition or under restoration, despite the fact that they have middle size houses. None of the head household is working in the quarter.

Willing to Stay and Invest:

Most cases moved to their houses because of social reasons and they have chosen the house themselves, thus, they are willing to stay and reside their eldest son either with them or close to them in the Old City. This category is the second one which is favouring the living in the Old City after single ownership category; they listed 41 advantages against 34 disadvantages. Housing priority is always their last option, weather there is an increase or decrease of their expenditures and this is due to the fact that they don't have urgent need for restoration, they maintain their houses periodically with the left expenditure from each month. All the cases want to upgrade their houses except one case because of administrative difficulties, and 2 want to change its function into first partially commercial and second touristic.

Ability to Invest:

Although most of them want to repair their houses, only of them can't because of shared ownership and administrative requirements (pursuing former illegal constructions). Nevertheless most of them can't afford the cost.

Heritage perception:

All of the cases like to live in a historic house but only 5 out of 7 prefer to live in a historic neighbourhood. More than half of the cases are welcoming the new touristic activities, considering that they are vitalizing the Old City.

Participation:

Half of the samples know about the role of Al-Community Leader and the quarter committee and one of them is previous member committee. All of them participate to the infrastructure project and have request, 4 out of 6 got support, help and their problem was solved. All the cases know about the cultural activities in Shibani School and only 2 cases don't want to attend these activities.

Conclusion:

In this factor there is only one high income case due to the difficulty in finding many cases taking into account the low proportion of high income residents living in the Old City. This case is considered to be high middle income or low high income in comparison to the population in great Aleppo. Thus this case will be added to middle income category for better research reliability.

Both low and middle income categories have very similar modest intention of staying in the Old City and highly willing to upgrading their houses. The main difference is their ability to finance the cost of restoration, two third of the middle income cases can pay from their savings in addition to other resources. While only one case believes that it can sponsor the work from its own savings, this case hasn't any need for structural repairs to their house and only needs non-structural repairs such as painting, pavement, wood work, etc. which they can do slowly by their own.

Both middle and low income cases have strong ties to historic houses and neighborhoods, however the middle income expresses less interest in historic

neighborhoods because of transportation difficulties (most of them are working in Aleppo, while low income most of them either unemployed or working in their own quarter). Although middle income inhabitants have medium interest in community issues but low income inhabitants are less passionate in these issues.

4.2.3.3 Employment:

1. Unemployed:

We considered day-labourer cases in this category because they do not have constant and permanent employment. All the cases are low income families and have small houses. Most of the head households are illiterate and have moved to their houses from more than 20 years and are originally from the quarter.

Willing to Stay and Invest:

Most of the cases, given the choice, would remain in their current homes within the Old City. They all generally listed the same number of advantages and disadvantages. Only one case is planning to move from his house to another house in the Old City, thus, their expectations for the next 10 years are to stay in the same house and to host their eldest son in the same house and this is not only due to of tradition but also poverty. Nobody wants to change the function of the house except one family that wants to reuse one of the rooms for commercial activities.

Ability to Invest:

And all of them want to upgrade their houses except the shared ownership case. 3 out of 6 couldn't restore their houses because of old rent houses or shared ownership and none can afford the cost. Most of the cases expect unpaid help from relatives or charity societies to support them in addition to the Directorate of the Old City and its funds.

Heritage Perception:

All cases prefer to live in a historic house, as well as historic neighborhoods and none of the families welcome the new touristic activities in the area.

Participation:

None of the cases recognize the role of Community Leader and the quarter committee and half of them expressed negative response of the support of the infrastructure project professional of the Directorate of the Old City. Half of the families only knew about the cultural activities in Al-Shibani School and nobody participate to this activities because of social constraints and different interests.

Box 4.6 Unemployed

Abu-Abaih family moved from its previous residence in the Old City to a new district called Al-Jaberieh, and then it moved again to the Old City in this quarter. The family enjoy living in a historic traditional courtyard house in a historic neighborhood more than new flat apartment in a modern district. Green, pleasing, privacy, architectural features in addition to intimacy and good neighbours are all reasons for its preference and the law of the Antiquities which protects the urban heritage and historic houses from any additions or extension. However, this family faced some obstacles in implementing the restoration work under the supervision of the Emergency Fund's professionals of Directorate of the Old City (such as the technique of the cornice rebuilding and the wooden materials as a compulsory material for doors and windows).

The conflict aroused from different perspectives between the professional and the head family, and nobody explained to him the logic for following the standards and the measures.

2. Self- employee:

Self employee ranged from street vender, contractor, industrial, merchant with shop and merchant without shop.

This category is the most diverse one; it has all income levels, tenure types, building conditions, house's sizes, Family sizes, origins, work location and education level. The most important feature is that most of them have restored their houses previously or are currently in the process of doing so.

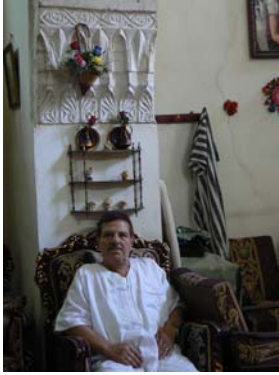
All the cases have chosen the house themselves and most of them want to stay, the rest don't want to because of service difficulties or shared ownership, even though not all families who don't want to stay are planning to move out because of poverty. However, families that are planning to move have chosen the Old City or the same quarter as the future area. These families and many others have planed to reside their eldest son with them or very close in the same quarter. All cases didn't want to change the residential function and only one case wanted to add commercial activities to its residential one. All of them wanted to upgrade their houses except the rent case, but some of them can't because of shared ownership or rent or administrative difficulties and all of them can't afford the cost except the high income case.

Most of the cases like to live in a historic house and neighborhood due to the fact that they have special features like Iwan, Qua'a, intimacy etc, and 5 out of 7 are welcoming the new touristic reuse of historic houses.

5 cases have conflict with professionals in the Directorate of the Old City during the renovation of the infrastructure project and only 2 received support and help. All

families knew about the cultural activities in Al-Shibani School but only one case attended these activities.

Box 4.7 self employee



Mr. Sabbagh is a building construction contractor; he had lived in a modern flat apartment in one of the new district in Aleppo (Al-Hamdanieh). 14 years ago he decided to return back to his original family house after the death of his father. He inherited the house with the rest of his brothers and sisters and then he started to buy the rest of the shares. When he applied for Emergency Fund he still had two shares, co-heirs agreed on the repair under two conditions, first not to pay anything, second, selling the house (or share) afterward has to be by its recent price without deducting any amount or taking the new improvement into account.



The restoration work wasn't a difficult assignment for him especially that this is part of his work. However understanding the standards and the logic behind them was the most difficult part. His appreciation to heritage and the meaning of belonging was strong that he agreed to host professional from the Directorate of the Old City to do detailed documentation of his house as typical standard. Thus, he cleaned and painted the decorative stone in the Qua'a by himself.

" I can't handle this sensitive work to any worker from Bab Antakieh¹⁵, it needs careful attention"

3. Government employee:

In this study there are 3 government employee cases. They have graduated from the university, middle income families, originally from the quarter and have houses with medium physical conditions.

Willing to Stay and invest:

All cases stayed in their family houses, one of them didn't have any choice in choosing this house but he doesn't want to leave it and wants to keep his eldest son close to him in the same quarter. The rest wants to leave and one of them is planning to move out of the Old City. Housing option kept its position as the last option among the family expenditure alike other categories, this didn't change with the proposed increase of the income unless there is an emergency. One of the cases wants to reuse his house for touristic activity, and one of them doesn't want to upgrade his house because of bureaucratic system and administrative difficulties.

¹⁵ Bab Antakieh is one of the most important city Gates, but it is also a place where you can find building construction labourer (the daily or by quantity in specific).

Ability to Invest:

Although all the houses are in medium physical condition, they still need structural repairs in one place or another. One of the cases doesn't want to repair (as mentioned above), another one can't because the house is in shared ownership and only one wants and can afford the cost and will pay from his own savings.

Box 4.8 Government Employee

"When first we tried to apply for loan from Directorate of the Old City, we were full of hope and enthusiasm, but slowly all our energies were spent in preparing the required documents. Even the seize tick¹⁶ on our property we have to do ourselves. The difficulties are not only the required documents, but also continue to the implementation phase where the Directorate of the Old City asks for very high standards as if we are restoring the citadel! Moreover they interfere in every tiny detail of work, materials, and work techniques like how to cut the stone and how to build the wall. In summary I felt as if this is not my house, this is their house, my job is only to do the work and I don't have any choices".

***Heritage Perception:***

All of them like to live in a historic house and historic neighbourhood because it has better properties. Only one case doesn't like to live in a historic neighbourhood because of the transportation difficulties and Only one case appreciates the existence of new historic activities in the quarter.

Box 4.9 Heritage perception of government employee case

One of the cases proved that they love the meaning of past and not only the properties of the house by the fact that the family would go to the citadel every year.

Participation:

All cases recognize the role of Al-Community Leader and the quarter committee, and two of them appreciate the efforts put in solving their problem in the infrastructure project. All cases know about the cultural activities held in Al-Shibani school but only one participated the rest don't know the schedule.

Conclusion:

Considering that day-laborers are partially unemployed, thus both its conclusion and the conclusion of unemployed category are same.

The unemployed and the day-laborer categories are the most willing to stay in their houses than the self-employed or government employee categories. They are the least category planning to move out of their houses and yet the unemployed are least likely to do restoration following the self employee and then the government employee.

¹⁶ Directorate of the Old City put seize tick on the house of approved application for fund in order to ensure pay off the loan.

None of the unemployed and day laborer cases can afford the cost of restoration because all of them are low income families; while there is one case that can afford the cost at the rest of each category. The main difference in this factor is the way the plan to manage to finance the restoration work. 4 out of 7 from self employee category can pay from their own savings, while this percentage is very low for the rest. Almost all categories are the same on their heritage preferences. The increased prices of houses is one reason in addition to social constraints that make new touristic activities not preferable for two categories unemployed and government employee. Both unemployed and self-employee categories have low participation percentage to different activities in the quarter.

In general self-employment provides better income for possible investment while government employment imposes better education and as a consequence better understanding for law and regulation and more participation in governmental projects.

4.2.3.4 Work Location:

Although many people work out of the Old City, they work in the adjacent neighbourhoods around the Old City and go to their work walking.

1. Aleppo City:

The largest category (9 cases), this group works mainly in Aleppo City. The different cases have nothing else in common except that they have been living in the quarter for more than 20 years.

Willing to Stay and Invest:

Two cases considered the Old City cheaper than other places; one believed that it was best when he first moved in 50 years ago (the case came from the more modern part of Aleppo). The rest are living in their family house. One third of the cases didn't have any choice in choosing their houses and almost the same cases don't want to stay. The cases that they don't want to stay are also planning to move; in addition the shared ownership case is planning to move because the co-heirs want sell the house despite the fact that the current residents wants to stay and at least will move to another house in the same quarter. Most the cases are willing to reside their eldest son either with them or very close including the one who wants to live in a modern flat apartment in Aleppo. Food and service are the first priority for all cases except where medical treatment occupies the first priority followed by services and housing then food (they have major structural problems), while housing priority still the last. Only one case had housing the first after increase in their income. Two cases are willing to change the function of the house one partially into commercial use and the second into touristic activities.

Ability to Invest:

All the cases want to upgrade their houses. 4 cases can't do so because of either shared or rent ownership, and all of them can't afford the cost except one.

Heritage Perception:

All like to live in a historic house or neighborhood except one case that this subject doesn't make any difference to and another case that doesn't prefer to live in a historic neighborhood because of transportation difficulties. 4 cases among 9 welcomed the touristic activities in their quarter.

Participation:

On third of the cases know the role of the Community Leader and the quarter committee. 8 cases had conflict with infrastructure project during the implementation phase and only two received help and response. Two thirds heard about the cultural activities in Al-Shibani School, two cases attended, two don't know the schedule and another two are not interested.

2. The Old City:

Most of the cases in this category are self employed in the traditional market close to the quarter. Also most of them are originally from the Old City, having medium sized houses and lived in these houses for more than 20 years.

Willing to Stay and Invest:

All the cases have chosen their reside but only two out of four want to stay and only one is planning to move out of the Old City. Housing is still the last option in the expenditure priorities despite of any increase of income level. None of the cases want to change the function of the house.

Ability to Invest:

All the houses need structural repair, but not all of them want to restore their houses, only two can do (rent and administrative constrains are the reason) and only one can afford the cost (high income case).

Heritage Perception:

All the cases appreciate living in a historic house or neighborhood except the rent case which the family doesn't like to live either in a historic house or in a historic neighborhood. Half of the cases esteemed the launch of touristic activities as a stimulative element for revitalization.

Participation:

Most of the cases know the role of Al-Community Leader and the Quarter committee. Three of them had conflict with professionals from the Directorate of the Old City during the implementation of the infrastructure project and two got support and their problem was solved. All cases heard about cultural activities in Al-Shibani School but only one attended these activities.

3. The Quarter:

All cases in this category are low income families. They have small houses in a medium building condition. They are all originally from the quarter. The head

households of all these cases are widow women, two of them are illiterate and unemployed. The work in the quarter is mainly informal and in the house itself.

Willing to Stay and Invest:

All cases moved to their current houses because of marriage. 2 out of three have chosen these houses because it is close to their family and they are not planning to move out. The third case got the house from relatives for free to use but not to own, it wasn't free to choose, they don't want to stay but they also cannot move due to financial constraints. Thus, all the cases are expecting themselves to remain in the same house for the next 10 years and expecting their eldest son to live with them. In this category, housing becomes the first option when the increase of their income starts even with the tenant case.

Box 4.10 the Quarter



The tenant case (borrower from family) is the poorest case among all research cases, the widow which is the head household has two sons and two daughters (one of them is newly married), she is unemployed, her family by law pays the service bills and her eldest son 13 years old is working as private employee with less than € 50 per month in order to cover the cost of the food.

Her house has sewer penetration under the external wall which creates horizontal dangerous cracks for both the residents and the pedestrians. Although this family is far beyond the poverty line but the widow express her willing the restore her house when she heard about the loans from Directorate of the Old City.

Surprisingly, she planned to pay off the loan from the charity societies. Despite the fact that these societies don't offer grant for restoration work but the widow was planning to ask for support of food and clothes and save from her son's salary.

None of the cases wants to change the function of the house; one case wants to add commercial activity in order to enhance their income. They all are willing to upgrade their residence.

Ability to Invest:

All the cases have structural repair, although they are willing to repair their houses but not all of them can because of poverty. Therefore all of them can't afford the cost and they expect unpaid help to cover any reparation or even maintenance.

Heritage Perception:

They all like to live in historic house and neighborhood because it expresses the continuity of their several previous generations in this house. The new touristic

activities are preferable because it cause a dramatic increase of the price of the houses.

Participation:

None of the cases has any conflict or participate in any project of Directorate of the Old City more than offering the workers tea. 2 cases know about the cultural activities but only one case participates.

Conclusion:

All the inhabitants whose work location is Aleppo City and is far from the Old City is willing to stay and none of them is planning to move except one case. Even the cases who don't want to stay do so because all of them are of the shared ownership and they are planning to move to another house in the Old City or the quarter itself. All the inhabitants who work in Aleppo or the same quarter are willing to upgrade their houses. 4 out of 9 of the inhabitants who work in Aleppo City have better income than the rest that they can pay from their savings to finance the restoration of their houses. This ratio is much less in other categories. All categories have similar preferences for historic house or neighborhoods however the inhabitants who work in the quarter have very limited participation in any activities in the quarter. This is due to the fact that all the cases in this category are incidentally (or not, this needs further research) widows and do their work at home informally.

Restored Houses:

The Restored House category has nine cases: four cases benefited from the loans of the DOC, three cases restored their houses via permission approved by the Technical Committee and one case decided to do it illegally. In addition, this category includes a case currently in the application phase for getting a loan from the DOC. This category also contains families within broad range of incomes, house sizes and conditions. It contains all features of different factors regarding age, education, origin, family size, vacant houses, sub-divided houses, employment and location of work. The most dominant attribute is the single ownership feature, whereas, all cases are single ownership cases and one tenant and one shared ownership (within the same family and all owners live in the house).

In this category, all cases are willing to stay except the tenant, and nobody is planning to move out, even the tenant.

Common answers:

All cases prefer to restore their house first, and secondly their neighborhood. Except one case that has no structural repair in his/her house. This is due to the fact that all houses need structural repair in ceilings or cracks in walls inspite of the loans and the previous restoration. For neighborhood restoration, the most important elements are lighting, wall pointing and others which may do it themselves after the restoration of their house. In the rehabilitation level, all cases complaint about the transportation difficulties, adequate electricity installation, the need for health centre, kindergarten,

daily services (such as grocery, baker, butcher, etc), as well as solid waste collection and the increased penetration of workshops.

All cases with the exception of the high income case (he has his own private car) suffer from the transportation difficulties and more than half suggest to change the plan of the DOC and reuse the axe of Bab Qinnesreen Gate.

All the cases can't afford the cost of further repair except when they want to depend on their savings and unpaid help, only two want ask for loans from DOC. None of the cases expect the cost of the previous experience; the cost doubled at least three times the expected estimated cost.

Table 4.4 Scoring of advantages and disadvantage for houses and neighbourhood

		Advantages*			Disadvantages			Sum
		House	Neighbourhood	Sum	House	Neighbourhood	Sum	Sum
Tenure	single	4.1	2.7	6.9	1.9	3.6	5.4	1.5
	Shared	3.8	1.8	5.7	2.5	2.2	4.7	1
	Rent	2.3	1.3	3.7	2.0	2.3	4.3	-0.6
Income	Low	3.2	1.9	5.1	2.0	2.8	4.8	0.3
	Mid	4.3	2.5	6.8	2.3	3.5	5.8	1
	High	4.0	2.0	6.0	2.0	0	2	4
Employment	Unemp	3.0	2.2	5.2	1.7	3.3	5	0.2
	self	4.3	2.0	6.3	2.4	2.3	4.7	1.6
	Gov	4.0	2.3	6.3	2.3	3.3	5.7	0.6
Work location	Aleppo	4.0	1.8	5.8	2.1	2.9	5	0.8
	Old City	3.8	2.0	5.8	2.5	2.8	5.3	0.5
	Quarter	2.7	3.3	6.0	1.7	3.0	4.7	1.3

* the numbers represent average number of advantages or disadvantages per case

4.2.4 Obstacles Facing the Sustainability of the Rehabilitation Process:

From 16 interviews and the previous analysis, we summaries and categorize the following obstacles:

4.2.4.1 Fragmentation of Ownership:

The cases of inheritors within the same family who live together in the same house are the simplest case of ownership fragmentation. They are likely to have a lot of disagreements in any decision regarding the house.

The cases of inheritors within the same family who don't live in their family house are also probably in agreement on selling the house to one of them or to any other person.

The cases where co-heirs are within the extended family often constitute the first step of complexity. In this case nobody wants to take decision of restoration or selling the house and things become worse year after year.

The cases where there are anonymous or uncountable inheritors are the most complex.

1. Historic Background and Regulations:

Both the law of inheritance which distributes the inherited property over all inheritors and the inheritance law does not entitle the bequeather to any will for valid social purposes have contributed to disintegration of one private ownership into scores of ownerships and to the increase of one property owners after the death of any owners (Hlal 2005).

In 1928 Real Estate Registry Directorate conducted a demarcation¹⁷ and deed release¹⁸ operation (Cadastre) for all properties and parcels in the Old City, this operation took a long time (many years) considering that there are more than 12 000 parcels in the Old City. This registration protects owner right albeit it is very small without trying to solve this problem duly, which increases the number of owners and delay any desire to solve the problem.

The absence of accurate registration: some properties still have been registered under the names of their original owners since 1928, and no transfer of ownership was made in the property registry despite the death of many of its real owners. In some cases the number of unregistered owners for one property could reach a hundred peoples, and the situation gets ever more complicated with the passage of time and with the increased number of the dead owners. In addition, number of the inheritors have migrated, got married abroad, have children and eventually died, but no registry of all these events in the Syrian Civil Registry.

The complex procedures of transfer of ownership after the demise of one of the property owners requires an inheritance restriction document, a settlement of the inherited property changes and a financial clearance document. The documents required for transfer the ownership in Real Estate Registry Directorate are so many and difficult to obtain as well as they are expensive. In addition, the migration of some heirs and the difficult procedures of organizing foreign powers of attorney and having them ratified, led to refrain the heirs from completing these procedures.

2. The impact of ownership fragmentation on the rehabilitation process:

- a.** All the above mentioned circumstances make the present occupant inheritors (who usually the poorest among the co-heirs) have no interest in

¹⁷ Demarcation: is the definition of the parcel by text and drawings.

¹⁸ Deed Release: is to provide property deed with all definitions.

changing the situation and have no money to handle the expensive cost of the required documents, in order to solve the fragmentation problem.

- b.** The inheritor occupier is not interested in maintaining and investing in the houses because it is not his own.
- c.** Heir occupier consolidates holding the deterioration of the house until it becomes emergence or dangerous case.
- d.** Substandard maintenance results in the loss of building life and reduces building quality at a substantial cost of society.
- e.** With too many owners, disagreements are more likely on how to share in required investments or the decision of selling the property.
- f.** The repeated fragmentation of ownership renders individual share into tiny vanished share, which reduce the ability to pay related taxes and fines, which in return reduce the property value.

It is difficult to use the property as guarantee to secure loans. Old City Directorate asks for the minimum 600 shares out of total 2400 shares to allow Housing fund (and previously Emergency and Rehabilitation fund), which prevent the inhabitants who have small share to obtain any support from the government.

4.2.4.2 Rent:

1. **Rent control law:** according to decree number 111 who issued in 11/ 2 / 1952, and its later reforms:

- g.** Real estate rent is determined by 5% of the real estate price, which is considerably very low.
- h.** Landlords have the right to raise the rent every three years and can enforce this through the court. Courts in the past settled on a rent increase of 15% – 20 %.
- i.** Rent can be inherited only to the inheritor who lives in same house.
- j.** Landlords can't evacuate the tenant unless¹⁹:
 - Didn't pay the rent within 30 days from the claim in the court.
 - If the tenant misuses the property by causing damage or reuse it incompatibly with the contract.
 - If the tenant rent the property partially or completely to another renter.
 - If the tenant own a house
- k.** Landlords can't ask for evacuation unless:
 - He wants to reside in this house and he doesn't have any alternatives
 - Own the real estate (the subject for evacuation) for more than 2 years.
 - If he wants to build new construction (under the condition that he has to have building permit).

This is a summary of rent law during the last 5 decades.

¹⁹ According to the reforms in 1953, 1970, 1971 and the last one decision No. 29 in 1975.

2. **The impact of the law on the rehabilitation process:**
- a.** Owners lost any interest in maintaining their property as the cost of the maintenance can't be recovered through higher rent.
 - b.** Considering that the tenants are usually poor people and that they need to the owner's approval for any maintenance work, they frequently leave the house without any maintenance unless there is dangerous case or emergency situation.
 - c.** As in the last case the deterioration of house in a neighborhood reduces the property value of the rest of the houses in the same neighborhood.
 - d.** Owners run down their buildings to levels that make them uninhabitable. Then they can demolish and rebuild a new one.
 - e.** Sometime, the ownership is fragmented (shared) this may add more difficulties on the decision making and the agreement on the maintenance.
 - f.** Rented building (for both owner and tenant) can't be used as collateral or as guarantee to secure loans; which make it more difficult to mobilize resources for rehabilitation and restoration.
 - g.** Tenant can't apply for any fund or permit for restoration without an agreement of the owner, which in almost in all cases is subject to negotiation and rejection.
 - h.** Deteriorated and vacant houses negatively impact the whole neighborhood and stimulate more high income families to move out the Old City.
 - i.** Owners prefer to leave their property vacant as long as they lost any future control on it. This solid idle capital represents great cost for owners and society.
 - j.** Rent control law really protected poor tenants, but only the first generation, because it affects rented houses supply, which was reduced dramatically in the last decades. Rarely rented houses with proper rent and conditions are available in the market. This situation impacts the further generations of poor potential tenants.

4.2.4.2 Deterioration

Two thirds of the buildings in the Old City need structural repair. One third of them are in bad conditions and many of them are obsolescent buildings. All cases in the research unit of analysis list structural dilapidation even the one who restored their houses. This means there is continuous deterioration resulted from lack of maintenance through decades. The impacts of this dilapidation are in same time the reasons for further constant deterioration.

- a.** High Cost of Restoration: In general the cost of restoring a building is 30-50 % higher than the cost of building similar building component from scratch (Rabenau 2003). The inhabitants who upgraded their houses didn't expect this high cost of restoration, and many of them complained on the delivery cost. The increased cost is owe to several reasons:
 - Internal and external accessibility is low. This means manual delivery cost in addition to the materials' cost.

- Changes must fit the structure which initially doesn't design for the purpose. This requires manual field adjustment, which consumes time and require qualified handcrafts. Both previous factors cost a lot and relatively unavailable.
- Adding new materials required additional cost such as isolation, heating system etc.
- b.** Cost of historical Standard: Historical standards add another 20-40 % to the cost of the building (Rabenau 2003). This due to fact that it required:
 - Restoring the intact pieces or parts of the original material and reuse it.
 - Lack or rarity of some materials and market monopoly for the available one.
 - The usage of original and old techniques, which, consume time and required qualified workers.
- c.** Revenue Impediment of Historical Standards: historical standards reduce the revenue potential, for example, it is impossible to add new floor because it is not allowed to change building height.
- d.** Obsolescence: This adds both to cost and reduces revenue. Considering that the community is mostly low income families and most of them are below the poverty line, thereby, holding maintenance and regular restoration work results in more deterioration and higher costs. Some of the cases can't be remedied at any cost.
- e.** Negative Neighborhood Effects: This refers to the loss of revenue potential as a result of environmental and visual impacts from neighbouring buildings. This impact is largest where a building is in a good quality and the neighbours are not. In this case the revenue from the rehabilitation investment may be 50-70% lower than they would be if the neighbouring buildings were in good quality (Rabenau 2003).

4.2.4.3 Administrative Difficulties²⁰:

All cases complained about administrative difficulties. One of them refused to do any repair to his house albeit he was able to do because of these difficulties. Another case was forced to do illegal restoration because he couldn't meet the requirements. These difficulties are varied:

- a.** Bureaucracy and Transparency²¹:
 - All documents have to be approved from two directorates, the Directorate of the Old City and the Antiquities Directorate.

²⁰ Administrative difficulties issue raises the problem of decentralization and capacity on different levels, which has been mentioned by the samples. This concept is beyond this study because it is very broad and difficult to approach within the limited time.

²¹ The procedures mentioned above are just a brief summery of all permit types. This procedures and their required documents are varied in their details according to their types

- Special team has to investigate and check the case. This team consists of members from the above mentioned directorates.
- The documents of the case have to approve from the technical committee.
- There is no brochure or booklet explaining the procedures and the standards.

The Directorate of the Old City launched one stop shop last year as an integrated approach against bureaucracy, but it is still not fully effective.

These long and difficult procedures affect transparency of the DOC negatively; destroy the trust between community and government and impact on negative results for the participation process either in applying for funds & permits or participation in different phases of the project.

b. Required Documents and legal situation: The most difficult documents to obtain as mentioned via community:

- Adequate portion in shared ownership cases.
- The agreement of the owner in rented houses.
- Guarantor, who has to be a public employee in order to ensure pay back of the loan²².

Both shared ownership within extended family and rented houses for a long term constitute one quarter of the inhabitant households of the Old City. Preventing this category of having access to a loan, especially when they are considered as the poor of the poorest, will diminish the opportunity to upgrade the Old City one quarter.

The guarantor approval will impact on the time and number of cases applying also.

c. Standards: The Old City of Aleppo was listed as a World Heritage Site in 1986. However, Ministry of Culture, through the Antiquities Directorate, listed many monuments and registered the Old City as an important heritage site to be protected even before 1986. The law doesn't distinguish between the different levels of significance ranging from a monument to a normal house in the Old City. Law and restoration standards are applied on all properties in the Old City in the same degree.

Applying the standard on all properties in the same degree, supervising the restoration work, mentoring, control and intervening in all tiny details regarding materials and technique with no explanation about the logic behind this application, all these shift the ownership from community into an abstract level. This may impact negatively on the inhabitants; their willing and ability to invest

d. Cost: All cases that applied for the fund complained about the difference between the cost estimate of the official in DOC and the real cost (3-4

²² In the past the directorate of the Old City agreed on merchant or industrialist as guarantor, but unfortunately chamber of commerce and industry haven't any power to enforce payment. Thus the fund fell short to collect the loan.

doubles). There are two reasons: 1) the DOC official uses a prepared list of the price of different cost per unit form the municipality of Aleppo. This list didn't get updated for six years. 2) the officials don't include debris delivery (which is considered the most expensive assignment) in the cost estimate list because it is difficult to measure and control.

4.2.4.4 Bad living Conditions:

All cases complained about the transportation difficulties and many of them listed urgent needs for social infrastructure such as health centre, kindergarten, and pharmacy, electricity, waste collection and others²³.

Bab Qinnesreen has a typical urban form. The main street leads gradually to narrower alleys. The width of the main street allows the passage of two camels in two opposite direction (not more than 3, 30 m) and may reach one meter in some dead end alleys. This physical characteristic creates dense transportation especially that the main street is the link between the out side of the Old City through the gate and traditional market. One more factor that increases the transportation problem is the penetration of the commercial activities through out the quarter and the occupancy of daily service shops (Action Area 1 report 1997). Which is one the one hand the most beneficiaries of the transportation situation and on the other hand causes shortage in daily service shops (grocery, backer, etc). Dense and heavy transportation with lack of traffic management²⁴ was the main traffic problem in this quarter. The Directorate of the Old City through its Action Area 1 project tried to solve the situation. The main proposal of the Directorate of the Old City of Aleppo was to suspend the main street to be the key access to the traditional market and close it with 3 steps. Plus, additional plans were followed to adopt traffic management of the area and plan new parking outside the gate. However, this created difficulties to the inhabitants who thereby had to walk whole the way to the gate or far to the end of the traditional market to find a taxi or public transports. The situation became worse in terms of sickness, fire or emergencies. Public transportation became far from the gate and with new modification of traffic system of Aleppo in July 2006.

Health Centre: the Directorate of the Old City of Aleppo restored historic religious school and reuse it as health point for family planning (تنظيم الأسرة) only. It is not difficult with the coordination with Directorate of Health to expand and enlarge the tasks of this centre.

Kindergarten: the Directorate of the Old City of Aleppo realized the needs of inhabitants for kindergarten. It has restored one of the historic houses and planed to reuse it as kindergarten.

²³ This is not the place to criticise Action Area 1 project and list the achievement and non-success, my concern is only to highlight the obstacle facing community and affect their decision of staying in the Old City and influence their investment in their houses in the Old City.

²⁴ In 1997 within 12 hours (8-20), it was counted 759 small pickup, 147 motorcycles, 402 bicycles, 7 public cars, 14 private car, and 3470 pedestrians.

The quarter lacks the daily shop services because of the intrusion of the commercial activities, except for two street vendors selling fruits and vegetables.

The integrated technical infrastructure project renovates the water supply pipes, sewage system, and telecommunication installation. The problem of shortage telephone service is not regarding the installation, but it is because of lack of lines serving the Old City in the main network.

- a.** Lack and shortage of daily services impact on the willing of inhabitants to stay in the Old City.
- b.** This impact on their decision to invest, considering that bad living condition affect the value of the house. Therefore, the building will not achieve its expected recovery cost of the investment.
- c.** The area becomes more attractive for lower income level families, which in return impact on housing market and the situation becomes more complicated to handle.
- d.** This may result in the increase of number of vacant houses especially with the existence of rent control law.

4.3 General Conclusion:

The findings of the study are summarized into three classification criteria based on residents' willingness to stay, ability to invest, heritage perception and level of participation in community work.

First classification:

Willingness to stay in the Old City is similar for single ownership, middle income and government employee²⁵. Middle income is category most able to invest in the Old City followed by single ownership and then government employee. Middle income category and single ownership listed the most advantages of their houses and neighborhood. Both categories that represent the secure tenure and secure financial resources consider that living conditions is a crucial element, which influences their decision to stay and invest. The responses of government employee cases are similar.

To summarize, in order to consolidate and stabilize these categories, it is necessary to improve their living conditions, and facilitate daily services and administrative procedures related to restoration and rehabilitation. In the case of high income families, more emphasis on the regulation facilities is needed. It is worth noting that government employees are the most active and capable of participating in community work (all of them are previous quarter committee members). This is due to their high education level as well as a better understanding of the rules and regulations.

Second Classification:

Shared ownership, self-employed, and the cases who work in Aleppo or in the Old City have similar responses. They have moderate desire to stay in the Old City, only the shared ownership category expresses increased intention to move out of their houses but not necessarily out of the Old City. In fact, most of them will stay in the Old City. This situation is the result of insecure tenure and fragmentation of decision making. Self-employed, and the cases who work in Aleppo or in the Old City have only modest ability to invest in their houses, while shared ownership category has a better ability to invest. This situation highlights the importance of secure tenure in order to increase the willingness to stay of more financially capable people. All categories in this classification have similar perception to the advantages of the neighbourhood. However, the cases who work in the Old City or in an adjacent neighbourhood listed less disadvantages. People belonging to this classification are the ones who are attached the most to the Old City and exhibit a strong relationship with heritage since most of them have been living in the area for generations. It should be noted though, that within this classification, those with shared ownership and those working in the Old City scored highest. Categories in this classification express less interest in community participation especially cultural activities in Al-Shibani School.

²⁵ There is only one case of high income, which might be unrepresentative.

Third Classification:

This classification is the least willing to stay in the Old City and the least capable of investing. This is not only because they cannot afford the cost but also because of their legal status. The categories in this classification tend to emphasize the disadvantages of living in the Old City, and play down on its advantages. This is related to their difficult financial conditions. Heritage perception differs from one category to the next; the rent category is the least tied to the past and are unemployed, day labourer category and the people who work in the quarter. Their participation in community work varies with tenants being the most interested category.

Table 5.1 The assessment of willing and ability of different categories

		Willing to Stay & Invest				Ability to Invest				Heritage Perception			Participation			Sum		
Tenure	Single	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	0	+	+	-	-	+	0	+	5+	
	Shared	0	0	-	+	+	0	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	0	+	3+	
	Rent	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	1-	
Income level	Low	+	0	+	+	-	0	-	-	+	-	-	-	0	-	+	2-	
	Mid	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	0	0	+	-	-	5+	
	High	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11+	
Employment	Unemp	+	+	-	+	-	0	-	-	+	+	-	-	0	-	+	1-	
	Self-emp	+	0	0	+	-	0	-	0	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	4+	
	Gov	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	5+	
work location	Aleppo	+	+	0	+	-	0	-	0	+	+	0	-	+	-	+	3+	
	Old City	+	0	+	0	-	0	-	0	+	+	0	+	+	-	+	4+	
	Quarter	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	3-	

Coding: : + high
- low
0 average

All problems mentioned by the community have been weighted according to the above analysis. The most dominant obstacles are poor living conditions, administrative difficulties and poor building condition. These obstacles affect the whole population of the Old City. Poverty is also important but it didn't affect the whole population. In addition, poor people may have access to financial resources other than their monthly income, like monetary and non-monetary benefits from charity societies, and often from family members (5 cases out of 16).

Table 5.2 Problem assessment

		Living Condition	Administrative difficulties	Shared Ownership	Rent	dilapidation	poverty
single	5+	.+.+	.+.+	-	.-.-	-	.-.-
Mid	5+						
Gov	5+						
High	11+						
Shared	3+	.0.	+	+	+	+	.0.
Self	4+						
Aleppo	3+						
Old city	4+						
Rent	2-	.+.+	+	-	.0.	.+.+	.+.+
low	2-						
unemployed	1-						
quarter	3-						
Sum		.+.+	.+.+	-	-	.+	.0.

.+.+	The ones suffering the most from this problem
.-.-	The ones suffering the least from this problem

Chapter 5 Recommendations

5.1 Recommendations

Future costs of the rehabilitation of the Old City were estimated, in order to improve possibilities of multi-sector investment planning for the old City of Aleppo within timeframe of 40 years. The finding is an annual expenditure of about 560 million SL or 8.6 million € is needed to implement the suggested development programme for the Old City²⁶. With regard to the cost structure it can be stated that most costs will occur in the sector of residential buildings. The rehabilitation, renewal and maintenance of the residential housing stock will absorb about 40% of the budgets needed (Subject plan 2003).

Due to lack of financial resources and shortage of capacity building at different levels, the previous scenario will be impossible to implement within the timeframe mentioned above. Setting priorities and strategic plan are crucial factors for successful and sustainable programme.

The qualitative land use in the survey 2005 show high percentage of residential land use in the Old City of Aleppo 48.8 %. Therefore, housing strategy is considered one of the main priorities that affect directly one of the objectives of overall strategy *"improving living conditions in the Old City of Aleppo"*.

The first priority in housing strategy is the plan that tackles two main problems that affect the whole population in the Old City. These problems are poor living conditions and difficulties with administrative procedures.

1. The inhabitants summarized the **administrative difficulties** in 4 aspects: bureaucracy and transparency, collecting the required documents, applying standards, and high, unexpected cost.
 - It is recommended to ensure full effective implementation of one stop shop office in order to eliminate bureaucratic procedures.
 - By implementing one stop shop, DOC officers will collect all the required documents from other local government directorates and the applicant has to provide the rest like the guarantee.
 - Publishing two brochures, a small one about the required document and procedures and a detailed one about building code. These brochures will increase transparency and diminish corruption.
 - These brochures are the first step on transparency measures. This step has to be followed with updated web site.

²⁶ This budget includes only sectors which have been elaborated in development planning at a detail which allow cost estimate.

- It is essential in applying the standards to classify the houses in the Old City according to its importance. Monuments and unique buildings have to follow high standards unlike other small normal traditional houses.
 - Legislator needs to take into account that any high standard requirement²⁷ will add 20-40% to the normal cost. Thus, the legislator needs to be sure whether this requirement is justified and required and whether it is available in the market.
- 2. Bad Living Conditions:** The community listed several complaints regarding transportation difficulties, lack of services (health centre, pharmacy, kindergarten etc.), daily services (grocery, baker etc) and finally public service like electricity, lighting and waste collection.
- The Directorate of the Old City of Aleppo has a very good experience in the integrated approach through the technical infrastructure project. It is highly recommended to continue on the same steps.
 - Participatory approach is essential in this regards. Involving all stakeholders increase commitments and mobilize resources and stimulate innovation.

The second priority is dealing with Dilapidation:

In order to support the inhabitants who are willing to stay in the Old City and applying for funds, the government can subsidize specific assignment via direct on-budget government subsidy, such as debris delivery. The idea is to keep this task out of the housing fund as it is now, but at the same time help the applicant in the most expensive assignment. DOC can provide the worker (not necessarily qualified worker) and simple equipment and do the work through special team in the maintenance section.

Targeted subsidies also is necessary, housing fund²⁸ proved that it is the most effective instrument in the housing strategy as well as in stabilizing community, 90% of houses kept its residential function (Hallaj 2003). Thus, reinforcing the capital of the fund is very important to cover wider cases. Also, increases of the loan should take into account market inflation.

The third priority is fighting poverty: The income of the Old City residents is below the national average. The poverty line is estimated at about 19,170 SL per capita/year (Spreen 2003). By comparing the poverty line to the per capita income of 21,000 SL²⁹ reveals that the poverty line constitutes 90% of the average income per capita. The remaining 10% is used to improve living conditions. Thus, as long as people cater for

²⁷ Like choosing specific materials or specific restoration technique.

²⁸ Previously Emergency and Rehabilitation Funds

²⁹ Data from Social survey 1993

their basic needs, they cannot afford to make any contribution to the development program which may improve their living condition in the future without helping them to solve the poverty of problem of today.

- A crucial intervention of the rehabilitation process would be to improve income level of the inhabitants by setting new programme for economic development, job creation and enhancement of formal and informal employment.

The forth priority is to secure tenure:

It is very important for the rehabilitation strategy of the Old City of Aleppo and housing strategy in particular to understand the relationship government / market, and to shift its role from direct provider to enabler.

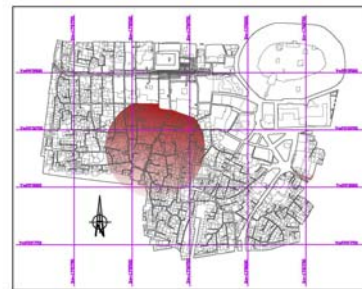
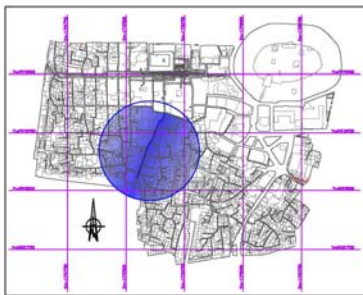
1. Ownership fragmentation (shared ownership): secure tenure leads to improvement in housing stock. In order to solve the problem of ownership fragmentation, it is suggested that:

- **Legal Instrument:** issuing a new law which considers that property whose owner did not change in the property registry over a period of 40 years for instance, and whose owner did not prove that he was alive is subject to liquidation by forceful selling. This will be the responsibility of a specially trained executive circle. The value of the property is put in a certain bank registered in the property registry and a seize tick is put next to the owners account. Every heir who can prove his relationship and inherited proportion and can remove the seize tick from the sum of money can cash the value of his part of the sold property (Hlal 2005). This must be accompanied by a promotion system for the investment of these old properties. This might also help create real estate companies whose purpose is to buy properties in the Old City and to start a unified investment plan for the Old City (Hlal 2005).
- **Purchase of ownership share:** The Directorate of the Old City of Aleppo suggested a fund that would buy fragmented owner shares, in the hop of finally assembling full ownership. This is especially relevant for specific monumental houses (Rabenau 2003).
- **Preservation trust fund:** the proposal is to transfer some development rights into a trust fund, without taking from the owner the long term right to the property or the property income stream. The trust's obligation would be to manage the property through long term leases to willing lessees with the aim to both preserve the property and provide a return to its owner. A key advantage is that the property need not be purchased outright, limiting the cost to the trust fund (Rabenau 2003).

2. Rent: The Government has recognized the problems associated with rent control. A recent law envisions that rent control will be eliminated for the residential market over a period of five years. Further impacts of the new reform are not clear yet

5.2 General Recommendation:

- Investments in physical infrastructure in the Old City have resulted in increased land and housing prices, for small houses used for commercial purposes or big houses used for tourism; while prices of residential housing have not increased. Infrastructure plays a role in dealing with dilapidation, therefore it is necessary to subsidize. However, investments in public spaces will raise the prices which might force poor families that are unwilling to stay to move out of the Old City. The author recommends that any investments in public infrastructure should be dealt with carefully, so as to avoid possible externalities.



- Contrary to what most people in Aleppo believe, that traditional courtyard houses are inadequate for modern life, findings from this research suggest that residents of the Old City highly value the advantages of their houses, even more than the advantages of their neighbourhood. This study also found that, contrary to popular beliefs that young people prefer to move out of the Old City because of social control, some youth and young families choose to stay in the Old City because of proximity to their families. Both these findings challenge such popular beliefs, which are taken for granted, and point to the need for more research in this area, since it has implications for the effective implementation of the rehabilitation process.
- Research needs to be done also with regard to the existing building code, which often poses very high standards, unattainable to most families. The author recommends that research should focus on how the building standards can be modified so as to better reflect the reality.
- Research is also needed that focuses on the Old City of Aleppo, in terms of statistics on vacant and divided houses.

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Annexes

Table A1 Family size

NO	Fund	Income	Tenure	Employment	Condition	Size	Divided	Education	Persons	Family	Family Size	Duration	Origin	Location	Vacant
1	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Good	Small	Divided	Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Generations	10-20.	Quarter	Old City	
2	Permit	Low	Single	Unemp	Med	Small		Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Generations	>20	Quarter	Quarter	a.room
3	Illegal	High	Single	Self-emp	Restor	Mid		Secondary	1-7.	1	2 Generations	>20	Old City	Old City	V.room
4		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	1	2 Generations	10-20 yrs	Quarter	Quarter	
5		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Big	Divided	Primary	1-7.	2	2 Generations	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V
6		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Small		Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generations	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V
7		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	1	2 Generations	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.room
8		Mid	Single	Gov.emp	Med	Small		University	1-7.	1	2 Generations	10-20 yrs	Quarter	Aleppo	
9		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generations	>20	Out Alep	Aleppo	
10	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	2	3 Generations	10.May	Quarter	Aleppo	
11	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Generations	>20	Old City	Aleppo	
12	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	2	3 Generations	>20	Quarter	Quarter	
13	Permit	Low	Tenant	Self-emp	Bad	Mid		Primary	8-15.	2	3 Generations	>20	Quarter	Old City	
14		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	8-15.	2	3 Generations	>20	Quarter	Old City	V
15		Low	Shared	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Generations	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.room
16	Permit	Mid	Shared	Self-emp	Med	Mid		Illiterate	8-15.	2	4 Generations	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V.room

Table A2 Age

NO	Fund	Income	Tenure	Employment	Condition	Size	Divided	Education	Persons	Family	Family Size	Duration/yr	Origin	Location	Vacant	Age
1	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	2	3 Generations	10-20.	Quarter	Aleppo		41-65
2	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Good	Small	Divided	Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Generations	5-10.	Quarter	Old City		41-65
3	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	2	3 Generations	>20	Quarter	Quarter		>65
4	Permit	Low	Single	Unemp	Med	Small		Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Generations	>20	Quarter	Quarter	V.room	41-65
5	Illegal	High	Single	Self-emp	Resto	Mid		Secondary	1-7.	1	2 Generations	>20	Old City	Old City	V.room	41-65
6		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	1	2 Generations	10-20.	Quarter	Quarter		26-40
7		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Big	Divided	Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generations	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V	>65
8		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Small		Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generations	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V	16-25
9		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	1	2 Generations	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.room	41-65
10		Mid	Single	Gov.emp	Med	Small		University	1-7.	1	2 Generations	10-20.	Quarter	Aleppo		41-65
11		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generations	>20	Out Alep	Aleppo		41-65
12	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Generations	>20	Old City	Aleppo		41-65
13	Permit	Low	Tenant	Self-emp	Bad	Mid		Primary	8-15.	2	3 Generations	>20	Quarter	Old City		41-65
14	Permit	Mid	Shared	Self-emp	Med	Mid		Illiterate	8-15.	2	4 Generations	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V.room	26-40
15		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	8-15.	2	3 Generations	>20	Quarter	Old City	V	41-65
16		Low	Shared	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Generations	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.room	41-65

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Table A3 Education

NO	Fund	Income	Tenure	Employment	Condition	Size	Divided	Education	Persons	Family	Family Size (generation)	Duration/yr	Origin	Location	Vacant
1	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Old City	Aleppo	
2	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Quarter	
3	Permit	Mid	Shared	Self-emp	Med	Mid		Illiterate	8-15.	2	4 Generation	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V.room
4		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	1	2 Generation	10-20.	Quarter	Quarter	
5		Low	Shared	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.room
6	Permit	Low	Tenant	Self-emp	Bad	Mid		Primary	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Old City	
7		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Big	Divided	Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V
8		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Small		Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V
9		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Out Alep	Aleppo	
10	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Good	Small	Divided	Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Generation	5-10.	Quarter	Old City	
11	Permit	Low	Single	Unemp	Med	Small		Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Quarter	Quarter	V.room
12	Illegal	High	Single	Self-emp	Resto	Mid		Secondary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Old City	Old City	V.room
13	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	2	3 Generation	10-20.	Quarter	Aleppo	
14		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Old City	V
15		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.room
16		Mid	Single	Gov.emp	Med	Small		University	1-7.	1	2 Generation	10-20.	Quarter	Aleppo	

Table A4 Origin

NO	Fund	Income	Tenure	Employment	Condition	Size	Divided	Education	Persons	Family	Family Size)	Duration/yr	Origin	Location	Vacant
1	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	2	3 Generation	10-20.	Quarter	Aleppo	
2	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Good	Small	Divided	Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Generation	5-10.	Quarter	Old City	
3	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Quarter	
4	Permit	Low	Tenant	Self-emp	Bad	Mid		Primary	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Old City	
5	Permit	Low	Single	Unemp	Med	Small		Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Quarter	Quarter	V.room
6		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	1	2 Generation	10-20.	Quarter	Quarter	
7		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Big	Divided	Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V
8		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Old City	V
9		Low	Shared	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.room
10		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.room
11		Mid	Single	Gov.emp	Med	Small		University	1-7.	1	2 Generation	10-20.	Quarter	Aleppo	
12	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Old City	Aleppo	
13	Permit	Mid	Shared	Self-emp	Med	Mid		Illiterate	8-15.	2	4 Generation	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V.room
14	Illegal	High	Single	Self-emp	Resto	Mid		Secondary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Old City	Old City	V.room
15		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Small		Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V
16		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Out Alep	Aleppo	

Table A5 Duration of living

NO	Fund	Income	Tenure	Employment	Condition	Size	Divided	Education	Persons	Family	Family Size	Duration/yr	Origin	Location	Vacant
1	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Old City	Aleppo	
2	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Quarter	
3	Permit	Low	Tenant	Self-emp	Bad	Mid		Primary	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Old City	
4	Permit	Mid	Shared	Self-emp	Med	Mid		Illiterate	8-15.	2	4 Generation	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V. room
5	Permit	Low	Single	Unemp	Med	Small		Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Quarter	Quarter	V. room
6	Illegal	High	Single	Self-emp	Restor	Mid		Secondary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Old City	Old City	V. room
7		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Big	Divided	Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.
8		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Old City	V.
9		Low	Shared	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V. room
10		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Small		Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V.
11		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V. room
12		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Out Alep	Aleppo	
13	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	2	3 Generation	10-20.	Quarter	Aleppo	
14		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	1	2 Generation	10-20.	Quarter	Quarter	
15		Mid	Single	Gov.emp	Med	Small		University	1-7.	1	2 Generation	10-20.	Quarter	Aleppo	
16	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Good	Small	Divided	Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Generation	5-10.	Quarter	Old City	

Table A6 Size of the house

NO	Fund	Income	Tenure	Employment	Condition	Size	Divided	Education	Persons	Family	Family Size	Duration/yr	Origin	Location	Vacant
1	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Good	Small	Divided	Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Generation	5-10.	Quarter	Old City	
2	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Old City	Aleppo	
3	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Quarter	
4	Permit	Low	Single	Unemp	Med	Small		Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Quarter	Quarter	V.room
5		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	1	2 Generation	10-20.	Quarter	Quarter	
6		Low	Shared	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.room
7		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Small		Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V
8		Mid	Single	Gov.emp	Med	Small		University	1-7.	1	2 Generation	10-20.	Quarter	Aleppo	
9		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Out Alep	Aleppo	
10	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	2	3 Generation	10-20.	Quarter	Aleppo	
11	Permit	Low	Tenant	Self-emp	Bad	Mid		Primary	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Old City	
12	Permit	Mid	Shared	Self-emp	Med	Mid		Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V.room
13	Illegal	High	Single	Self-emp	Resto	Mid		Secondary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Old City	Old City	V.room
14		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Old City	V
15		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.room
16		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Big	Divided	Primary	1-7.	2	2 Generation	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V

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Table A7 Building's physical condition

NO	Fund	Income	Tenure	Employment	Condition	Size	Divided	Education	Persons	Family	Family Size	Duration/yr	Origin	Location	Vacant
1	Permit	Low	Tenant	Self-emp	Bad	Mid		Primary	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Old City	
2		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Big	Divided	Primary	1-7.	2	2 Generation	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V
3		Low	Shared	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.room
4		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Small		Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V
5		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Primary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Out Alep	Aleppo	
6	Illegal	High	Single	Self-emp	Resto	Mid		Secondary	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Old City	Old City	V.room
7	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	2	3 Generation	10-20.	Quarter	Aleppo	
8	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Old City	Aleppo	
9	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Quarter	
10	Permit	Mid	Shared	Self-emp	Med	Mid		Illiterate	8-15.	2	4 Generation	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V.room
11	Permit	Low	Single	Unemp	Med	Small		Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Quarter	Quarter	V.room
12		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	1	2 Generation	10-20.	Quarter	Quarter	
13		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	8-15.	2	3 Generation	>20	Quarter	Old City	V
14		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	1	2 Generation	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.room
15		Mid	Single	Gov.emp	Med	Small		University	1-7.	1	2 Generation	10-20.	Quarter	Aleppo	
16	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Good	Small	Divided	Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Generation	5-10.	Quarter	Old City	

Table A8 Sub-divided houses

NO	Fund	Income	Tenure	Employment	Condition	Size	Divided	Education	Persons	Family	Family Size	Duration/yr	Origin	Location	Vacant
1	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	2	3 Gener	10-20.	Quarter	Aleppo	
2	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Good	Small	Divided	Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Gener	5-10.	Quarter	Old City	
3		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Big	Divided	Primary	1-7.	2	2 Gener	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V
4		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	8-15.	2	3 Gener	>20	Quarter	Old City	V
5		Low	Shared	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Gener	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.room
6		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	1	2 Gener	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.room
7		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Primary	1-7.	1	2 Gener	>20	Out Alep	Aleppo	
8	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Gener	>20	Old City	Aleppo	
9	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	2	3 Gener	>20	Quarter	Quarter	
10	Permit	Low	Tenant	Self-emp	Bad	Mid		Primary	8-15.	2	3 Gener	>20	Quarter	Old City	
11	Permit	Mid	Shared	Self-emp	Med	Mid		Illiterate	8-15.	2	4 Gener	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V.room
12	Permit	Low	Single	Unemp	Med	Small		Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Gener	>20	Quarter	Quarter	V.room
13	Illegal	High	Single	Self-emp	Resto	Mid		Secondary	1-7.	1	2 Gener	>20	Old City	Old City	V.room
14		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	1	2 Gener	10-20.	Quarter	Quarter	
15		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Small		Primary	1-7.	1	2 Gener	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V
16		Mid	Single	Gov.emp	Med	Small		University	1-7.	1	2 Gener	10-20.	Quarter	Aleppo	

Table A9 Vacant houses

NO	Fund	Income	Tenure	Employment	Condition	Size	Divided	Education	Persons	Family	Family Size (generation)	Duration/year	Origin	Location	Vacant
1		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Big	Divided	Primary	1-7.	2	2 Gener	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V
2		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	8-15.	2	3 Gener	>20	Quarter	Old City	V
3		Low	Shared	Self-emp	Bad	Small		Primary	1-7.	1	2 Gener	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V
4	Permit	Mid	Shared	Self-emp	Med	Mid		Illiterate	8-15.	2	4 Gener	>20	Old City	Aleppo	V.room
5	Permit	Low	Single	Unemp	Med	Small		Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Gener	>20	Quarter	Quarter	V.room
6	Illegal	High	Single	Self-emp	Resto	Mid		Secondary	1-7.	1	2 Gener	>20	Old City	Old City	V.room
7		Low	Shared	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Gener	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.room
8		Mid	Shared	Gov.emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	1	2 Gener	>20	Quarter	Aleppo	V.room
9	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Med	Mid	Divided	University	1-7.	2	3 Gener	10-20.	Quarter	Aleppo	
10	Fund	Mid	Single	Self-emp	Good	Small	Divided	Intermediate	1-7.	1	2 Gener	5-10.	Quarter	Old City	
11	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	8-15.	2	3 Gener	>20	Old City	Aleppo	
12	Fund	Low	Single	Day lab	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	2	3 Gener	>20	Quarter	Quarter	
13	Permit	Low	Tenant	Self-emp	Bad	Mid		Primary	8-15.	2	3 Gener	>20	Quarter	Old City	
14		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Med	Small		Illiterate	1-7.	1	2 Gener	10-20.	Quarter	Quarter	
15		Mid	Single	Gov.emp	Med	Small		University	1-7.	1	2 Gener	10-20.	Quarter	Aleppo	
16		Low	Tenant	Unemp	Bad	Small	Divided	Primary	1-7.	1	2 Gener	>20	Out Alep	Aleppo	

Community Interview:

General Data:

Date of Survey:

Cadastral number:

No of Photos:

1. Physical Factors:

The size of the house: Large Medium Small

Physical Condition: Good Medium Bad

Divided No of Divisions

Architectural Elements: liwan Dome Fountain Other

2. Economic and Social Factors:

How many persons live in the house? How many households live in the house?

Is it occupied by? One generation 2 3
More

How long has the family been living in the house?

0 – 1 year 1 - 5 years 5 - 10 years 10 – 20 years > 20 years

Where did the family come from? (Household head)

Quarter Old City Aleppo City Countryside Out of Aleppo

Ownership: private Public Awkaf

Do you own the house? Sole Shared

Do you rent the house? Long term Short Term Pawn

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Storey	Residence	Empty	Ruin	Shop	Worksho p	Office	Clinic	Warehouse	Pub. Service	Others
Sixth Floor										
Fifth Floor										
Fourth Floor										
Third Floor										
Second Floor										
First Floor										
Ground Floor										
First Basement										
Second Basement										
Cave										

One Answer Only In Case (Possible Multiple Choice) A Real Written Answer

Interview:

1. Tenure Condition:

1.1. Rented:

- 1.1.1. Why rent?
- 1.1.2. What kind of contract (old, new, touristic)?
- 1.1.3. For how long?
- 1.1.4. How much it count from there income?

1.2. Shared ownership or inheritors:

- 1.2.1. With how many owners do you share the house?
- 1.2.2. what is the characteristic of the rest of the owners:

Extended family The same family Others

1.3. Single ownership:

- 1.3.1. Did you choose the house yourself?
- 1.3.2. Did you pay for the house yourself?

2. Willing to Stay and Invest:

2.1. Willing to Stay:

- 2.1.1. Why did the family leave its previous residence?
- 2.1.2. Why did you move?
- 2.1.3. Why did you choose this place?
- 2.1.4. Did you have a choice?
- 2.1.5. Do you like to stay in your house?
- 2.1.6. List 5 advantage of the house
- 2.1.7. List 5 advantage of the locality

2.1.8. List 5 disadvantage of the house

2.1.9. List 5 disadvantage of the locality

2.1.10. Are you planning to move from your house? Where?

Inside Old City Aleppo Outside Aleppo

2.2. *Expectation and Priorities:*

2.2.1. Where do you expect yourself to live for the next 5years, 10 years?

Same house Old City Aleppo Out of Aleppo

2.2.2. Where do you expect your eldest son to live in the future? Why?

2.2.3. Where do you rate your income level in the society?

Poorest 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Richest

2.2.4. What do you think your dwelling will look like, tenure, type, size and condition?

2.2.5. What are your expenditure distributions?

Food clothes furniture housing
education

2.2.6. What are your expenditure priorities?

2.2.7. What would you do if your income increased?

20% 50% 100%

2.2.8. What would you do if your income reduced?

10% 20%

2.2.9. What would you cut first?

2.2.10. What would you cut last?

2.2.11. If you have enough money ranks your restoration housing priorities?

2.2.12. If you have enough money ranks your restoration neighbourhood priorities?

2.2.13. If you have to rank both housing and neighbourhood restoration work how do you prioritize?

2.3. Willing to invest:

2.3.1. Do you face problems with?

Location Traffic Environmental Infrastructure
Other

2.3.2. Do you have any proposals to solve this/these problem/s?

2.3.3. Do you want to change the function of the plot?

2.3.4. To which function? Tourist Commercial Industrial
Artisan

2.3.5. Do you want to upgrade the plot? If not, why?

3. Ability to Invest:

3.1. Does your house need any structural repair or maintenance?

3.2. Do you want to repair it?

3.3. Can you afford the cost?

3.4. How are you going to pay for the cost?

3.5. Did you repair your house previously?

3.6. What kind of work? Where?

3.7. How much it cost?

3.8. How did you manage to finance this project?

Saving: 1 member of the family more (How many)
Unpaid help from whom

- 4.2. Do you like to live in an historic neighbourhood? Why?
- 4.3. Which materials do you prefer? Why?
- 4.4. Are there any conflicts in choosing the materials between you and the official in the Rehabilitation Project during the restoration work?
- 4.5. Are there any conflicts of the restoration methods between you and the official in the Rehabilitation Project during the restoration work?
- 4.6. Do you like this cultural (Shibani, Julian) touristic activity in your neighbourhood?

5. Participation:

- 5.1. Do you know about the Rehabilitation Project?
- 5.2. Have you heard about the E- R-Funds?
- 5.3. Have you tried to get fund from the Rehabilitation Project?
- 5.4. If yes, how long the procedures take?
- 5.5. Did the officials in the Rehabilitation Project explain the logic of the required standards?
- 5.6. Is there any community leader, organization (formal, informal)?
- 5.7. What is the role of this org, leader? And what kind of problem that it could be solved?
- 5.8. Did you participate to the infrastructure project?
- 5.9. Did you had any problem in this project (or you neighbour)? How does it solved?
- 5.10. Did you participate to Action Zone Project?
- 5.11. How do you evaluate the work of the Rehabilitation Project? Did they take you suggestion into account?
- 5.12. Have you heard about Shibani School?

5.13. Have you attended (or your family) any of their parties (concerts) (traditional, Jazz, western)?

5.14. Have you attended (or your family) any of their exhibitions (temporary, permanent)?

5.15. Have you applied to any fund in the Rehabilitation Project?

5.16. How do you evaluate this experience?

5.17. What do you suggest?

5.18. Are you willing to participate to community work if you were asked to do so?

By work

By money

Records

The interviews have to record (if allowed).

The records have to be archived and stored according to the plot No in order to link them spatially to the map and digitally to the document.

Observation:

1. The Location of the House:

Description:

Open to the main street, ally or dead end alley.....

Distance to services (Health point, school).....

Utility (lighting, cleanness, safety).....

The condition of adjacent houses.....

Comment

.....

2. The Size of the House and special features:

Description:

Rooms.....

Services.....

Comment

.....

Compare the plan of the house with realty and list:

2.1. Any significant addition

Description:

How old.....

Quality.....

Permanent or temporary (materials)

Purpose.....

Comment

.....

New Division

How old.....

Quality.....

Permanent or temporary (materials)

Purpose.....

Comment

.....

Building Condition: Good Medium Bad Partially Ruin

Description:

.....
.....

Economic Condition:

Do they have TV. Black & White

Washing Machine Normal Half Automatic Full Automatic

Freezer with Refrigerator
Separate

3. Investment (renovation) Condition:

3.1. Quantity:

New Additions: Room Staircase Services Other

Reconstruction: Part of the House Ceiling: Wall: Roof Other
No No No

Repair: Open Door Pavement Painting Metal or wood Work Other

Maintenance: Full Partial Nothing

Comment:

.....
.....

Quality: (good quality means: good and suitable materials, no damage after years and good finishing).

Sensitive with Standards

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High Quality

Medium

Poor

Poor with improper material

Comment:

.....
.....

The Use of Specific Historical Architectural Elements

What is the element?

The new use

Why?

Comment.....

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