

ALEPPO'S AL-MADINA SOUQ: POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION OF ITS SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

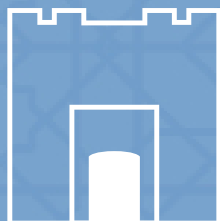
FEBRUARY 2017

CAMILO MONTOYA-GUEVARA



Christope Satge

THE ALEPPO PROJECT



مشروع حلب

AL-MADINA SOUQ COMPLEX

13 KM
Over 1600 Businesses

2012

45 SOUQS

KHANS (CARAVANSERAIS)

WORKSHOPS

HAMMAMS

MOSQUES

2014

34 OF THE 45 SOUQS HAVE
VISIBLE DAMAGE

1500 BUSINESSES DAMAGED
OR DESTROYED

UNESCO 2014

The individual souqs, khans, hammams, and other functions are what made al-Madina a powerful, complex social setting. Redevelopment must not view the Souq as merely an economic enterprise isolated from other social activity. It must recognize the Souq's critical role in Aleppo's cultural and communal rehabilitation.

“I think that women would appreciate good toilet facilities in the souq. Men had a great advantage over women in that respect. The rebuilding of the Great Mosque is also crucial for women since this was a place in which they could rest and be at ease.” Anika Rabo

ALEPPO'S AL-MADINA SOUQ: POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION OF ITS SOCIAL FUNCTION

SUMMARY

Aleppo's Al-Madina Souq, the heart of the city and center of its centuries old history of trading, burned on September 2012. The fire, possibly set deliberately or perhaps the accidental result of nearby fighting, destroyed much of the massive complex of shops, warehouses, religious buildings and hammams that dated back to the 14th century. The loss to the city goes far beyond the physical destruction. Al-Madina was a vital public space in which all religious groups and classes of the city interacted, where commerce was favored over faith and where Aleppians built trading networks that spanned the globe. The reconstruction of the Souq will be essential if Aleppo is to recover its previous vitality but that will require imaginative processes that go beyond simply rebuilding what was there before.

The Souq, the largest covered market in the world with 13 kilometers of shops, was severely damaged in the fire. In 2014, UNESCO assessed the Al-Madina complex and found that 34 of the 45 souqs had severe visible damage and about 1,500 of the 1,600 shops were damaged or destroyed.¹ The fire may have started due to nearby fighting. There is no evidence it was started deliberately but no investigation has taken place. The extent of the damage is enormous; the commercial heart of Aleppo and its complex social networks have been destroyed.

Those networks provided a vital civic function in the city. Pragmatism was bred into the bones of even the most religious Aleppians. In the 14th century, Arab Sunni merchants who preferred not to deal with Shia Persians hired Armenians to act as middle men in the silk trade. In these ways, multi-faith and multi-ethnic networks developed that retained a resonance up to the present day. Now many of those who owned businesses in the Souq have fled the city.

Reconstruction of the Souq will be an essential part of rebuilding Aleppo but there are many challenges ahead. Ownership will be hard to document and in some cases those with claims will have left for good. Reconstruction will need to consider historical accuracy but also provide for improvements demanded by merchants and shoppers. Many of those with traditional construction skills have left the city and the chain of education by which techniques are passed down risks being broken. On top of these issues, there may be commercial pressures to build in a newer style.

The precedents elsewhere in the Middle East do not offer much hope. In Beirut the downtown Souq, once a vital commercial center, was abandoned for so long that there was little prospect of it ever recovering. Trad-

ers had moved elsewhere and shopping patterns had changed. The Souq was rebuilt as a modern shopping mall with only the faintest nod towards traditional design or organization of the Souq. No provision was made for smaller traditional traders; instead it has become a charmless set of international stores that could be found in any large city. Doha attempted to recreate a more traditional feel in a downtown district but the effect is artificial and sterile, a theme-park emptied of history or spirit. Urbanism across the Middle East has turned away from history in favor of sterile, controlled and private spaces focused on consumerism and tight social control.

For Aleppo to succeed, it will be need to put as much emphasis on recreating the social linkages that made the Souq as it does in putting the stones back together. Only with a slow and patient process of consultation will sufficient consensus develop on how to rebuild, how to sequence the construction and how to address the many problems that will arise. Revitalizing the Souq will be essential if Aleppo is to recover a key public space that is not just at its physical center but lies at the heart of its identity as a cosmopolitan trading city.

INTRODUCTION

The oldest areas of the Al-Madina Souq date back to the 14th century but the majority of buildings were constructed during the 16th century. A market has probably existed on this site for far longer as Aleppo was a key way station on the Silk Road. The Souq includes 13 kilometres of passages lined with 1500 businesses, as well as a variety of other buildings including khans (warehouses), workshops, mosques and hammams. The Souq will never return to the way it was before the war but any revitalization of Aleppo will have to start here. It has not just been central to trade but to the city's image of itself as a business center with ancient links around the world.

Aleppo's history is as a center for trade: The Aleppo Al-Madina

“It is not only the Souq that is burning, my heart is burning as well,” said an anti-government activist interviewed in 2012 in words that express the deep sense of loss people from all sides feel about the city.² The loss of the souq has been mourned by both locals and foreigners, people whose livelihoods depended on it and those fortunate enough to stroll its arched gates and get lost within the hundreds of shops.³ How will the Souq recover once the war ends? Will it be rebuilt? Can it be restored? And more importantly, for whom will this work be done and who will it involve?

The Al-Madina Souq is not just physical material, the stones of its alleyways, the domes of its souqs, or the courtyards of its khans. Their significance came from their use. The social space in the Souq is the heart of its historical development and cultural significance. Today the area of the Souq is not just in danger because

of the conflict but threatened by its own future. The Souq runs the risk of being replaced by structures that sterilize the diversity of its pre-existing merchant networks and richness of social interactions. Any rehabilitation strategy must be informed and consider the social significance of the Souq in order to not only rebuild space but revive its place at the heart of an urban culture.

Public Space

The Al-Madina Souq is part of the public space of the central city, it was separated from the residential quarters but integrated into the pedestrian plan of the ancient city.⁴ Along with the Umayyad Mosque, the Souq was a space open to all and not restricted by religious affiliation or ethnic indicators. Therefore, it was truly public in access and consumption. However, its social exchanges and dynamics were subject to rules and restrictions in the use of space as determined by the merchants in its networks.⁵ The Souq cannot be narrowed down to a single definition as a place of merchant networks, or a place of public access, a place of visibility, a place of exchange, the Souq was all of these and more. It was inscribed into the merchants' activities, it fashioned the merchants' way of being and it was in turn physically affected by their employment of space and the social relations they carried out within the souq.⁶

The merchant distribution in the Souq was not organized by ethnicity or religion. Instead, since the 1950s recruitment into businesses had become more homogenous with it being increasingly made up of Sunni Muslims. But there were also a significant share of Jews and Christians in certain souqs.⁷ Souqs were organized by the trade or goods sold. Mobile merchants drifted throughout with carts of seasonal vegetables and fruits, dried goods, sweets and bread. The non-stationary sellers also delivered tea and coffee.⁸ Women were mostly customers rather than owners or sellers in shops and for many it was a space of considerable freedom, particularly from those from the countryside who might not have gone to a local market on their own but would visit the Al Madina alone or just with other women.⁹

The diversity of individuals at the souq was rich, they employed the space of the souq as a public setting for socializing and the fulfillment of commercial needs. Upon reconstruction the open access to the souq must be made a goal of rehabilitation. Depending on the society that develops, this could be improved upon by ensuring further access to women, as both customers, shop owners, managers and employees to encourage equality and provide a continuation of the changing roles of "providers" that women have taken on during the conflict. This will require Aleppians restructure some social dynamics and will be challenged by pre-existing gender roles and religious practices.

Khans

Khans, otherwise known as caravanserais or inns, are residential structures within the souq. They are built around a central courtyard and in the past they were home or inns for merchants.¹⁰ They also housed ambassadorial palaces, such as the 16th century Khan al-Jumruk, or were occupied by specific ethnicities.¹¹ The khans were largely not inhabited by locals, but were often rented to foreigners. Aleppians did not commonly purchase domestic property within the souq. Instead many of the khans were and still are religious endowments, privately owned and operated by the Waqf.¹² The surviving structures of the khans, with their residential purpose should be considered as bases for the rehabilitation of social links in the Souq. Reconstruction may be easier because of their ownership by the Waqf rather than multiple individuals and they may offer potential temporary homes to those returning to the city while rebuilding life in the Souq.

Shops

A shop in the souq is both private and public space. It is private in the sense that it is owned by individuals, and because it is often used for activities such as eating, reading the newspaper, or napping.¹³ However, the shop is public in nature since it is meant to attract customers.¹⁴ Effectively, the space of the souq fluctuates between private and public or open and closed through the activities and purposing of the space by individuals. This is affected by the position of the individuals, with managers and owners forming part of inner networks and receiving the benefits of social status conferred through ownership of a shop in the souq.¹⁵ On the other spectrum were employees, often family members, who were employed as part of their apprenticeship scheme to take over the shop from the older generation. Women did not own or work in the shops. Although they were constantly present in the souq this is an aspect to be reconsidered to ensure a truly open space, available in all ways to all members of society, not just men.¹⁶

The division of the Souq by trades is seen as an advantage for merchants and customers.¹⁷ When three or more stores or shops with similarly specialized merchandise are located in the immediate vicinity of each other, clients and potential clients begin to consider the shops more attractive and worthy of a visit. This spatial organization of the shops in the souq is also valued by the merchants, who consider a location in a specialized souq a valuable asset, and if this character is lost, then so too is the potential for vitality and survival of the individual shop.¹⁸ Moreover, the vicinity of related merchandise shapes the visitor's experience, with knowledgeable customers being able to target the area of the souq with the merchandise that they need, and tourists experiencing the uniqueness and consequent charm of each of the specialized markets. Its continuation through centuries demonstrates its key role in the experience of the souq and should then be included into the rehabilitation strategy for the marketplace.

Hammams

The souq is more than a place of economic activity, but its life extends past the business hours and envelops the leisurely life and family life of its participants. Visits to the souq's baths are an important reflection of this. Students, fathers with their sons and older men, went to the hammam in the evenings to relax after a day of work.¹⁹ Thus, relationships outside of the commercial aspect of the souq were expressed, as moments of tenderness between fathers and children or discussions between students and foreigners. The hammams offered access for men and women during separate times during the day or on different days. Some catered to tourists by offering mixed attendance. The continuation of the city's tradition of mixed and segregated bath houses must be considered.

Mosques

Within the Al-Madina Souq there were a number of religious structures, mostly for Sunni merchants. Here traders, customers and visitors, men and women, could find a space to pray throughout the day. Moreover, the flow of daily and regular life in the souq is partly determined by the Muslim majority and the Muslim calendar, whose calls to prayer, non-business Fridays and official holidays determined the environment of the souq.²⁰ Outside the Al-Madina Souq and in the center of the city, other markets operated on their own schedule, such as the Christian dominated markets that closed on Sundays. The religious institutions in and around the souq were an integral part of its essence and influenced the social interactions there. Depending on the demographic of resettlement post-conflict, the diversity of religious institutions should be reconstructed and reflect the diversity of the population.

HISTORY

In the 12th century Ibn Jubayr, wrote of Aleppo's souq:

“The city enjoys a grandiose site, a marvelous plan and a rare beauty. She has vast and great markets that touch and connect one another, on all directions; they are each reserved for a specific trade: you leave one to enter another so as to cover all of the city's professions ... These markets hold your gaze through their beauty and stop a hurried man in his wonder.”²¹

Description of Aleppo and the mdineh, the old city in which the Souq Al-Madina is located from 1683 by the Chevalier d'Arvieux, the French consul in Aleppo:

“[The streets within and without the city walls], containing in all 13360 houses; to which being joined 272 Mosques and Chapels, 35 Palaces, 68 Khanes, 187 Kaisarias [Caravansaray].”²²

Alexander Russel and Patrick Russel, two Scottish physicians who served in Aleppo from 1740 to 1753 and 1750 to 1771 respectively, provide an image of the distribution of goods in the souq, an aspect that continued until the present day:

“The principal bazars are situated close together in that part of the city contiguous to the great khane; and, distinct bazars being allotted to the respective trades and shops, it is easier for strangers to find what they may happen to want.”²³

The Khan al-Jumruk, a 16th century Ottoman structure and the largest of al-Madina’s Khans. Built in 1594 under the patronage of a grand vizier of Albanian origin, the Khan covered an area of 0.6 hectares, had 52 rooms on the ground floor and 77 larger rooms upstairs. Much of the building survived the 1822 earthquake that shook and destroyed parts of the Al-Madina Souq.²⁴ In the 18th century Alexander Russel described it as such:

“Each khane has one gate only, which is regularly shut at sunset; but there is a wicket by which persons can have access at night. Here also is a chamber for an Aga, or superintendent, appointed by the proprietor to collect the duties on goods that enter, and to regulate other matters relative to the khane. Under him is an ‘oda bashi’, or porter, who constantly resides within the khane, and is a person of trust. The oda bashis are commonly Armenians.”²⁵

Society of the Souq

The society of the Souq is highly dependent on the continuous flow of movement and information throughout the network of covered markets. This connection has been subject to changes for modernization, such as the 1950 new city plan. The new city plans in 1950 demolished sections of the souqs to improve traffic access in what proved to be a terrible mistake for the city.²⁶ Shops that became disconnected from the main foot traffic in the Souq saw a dramatic drop in customer visits. Consequently, this led to the reorganization of space and products offered in the disconnected souqs. Before the new urban plan in 1950, the Bab al-Nasr Souq was a part of the whole network, specializing in cloth. However, it was cut off by new road construction. Foot-traffic dropped dramatically and the other cloth shops started closing or moving to other parts of the souq complex as the demographic of the shops changed.²⁷ Importantly, the connections between shops in the organization of space must be carefully considered and aim to encourage the pre-established practice of specialized souqs.

Merchants would open their shops at the souq around 9 to 10am, with shops being individually owned merchants freely determined their schedule and the ones of their assistants. The shops would remain open throughout the day and merchants would leave around 6, 7 or 8pm.²⁸ At the shops merchants offered their goods to customers, farmers from the outskirts of Aleppo brought their goods to be sold in Al-Madina, mobile sellers delivered tea, coffee and food to store fronts, and state inspectors or tax-collectors came to inspect the market. However, Al-Madina was host to more than the merchants, employers and customers. Sheiks, imams, and individuals tied to the religious institutions, beggars and tourists also create the identity of the souq.²⁹

Parallel to being a place of public access, the dynamism and visibility of the souq also made a place to form and articulate difference. One such way is the varying physical presentation of the souq's merchants depending on age and type of shop, those dealing with "higher class" merchandise or women's apparel dressed to impress, while sellers of less formal goods or those from the country side wore their everyday and working attire.³⁰ Each section of the souq has and uses its own verbal and physical expressions, as well as particular ways of dressing.³¹ Effectively, the souq has its own culture and sub-groups, it was linked but divided, both physically into different structures but also spiritually in the family ties that grew out of it, the trust networks between merchants, and the divisions of goods sold throughout the market. The Aleppo souq is an anchor of the city's legacy and heritage, as much a "space of memory" as one of historic architectural value, or space for the articulation of culture and sociocultural consumption.³²

Women in the Souq:

As pointed out by Anikka Rabo in her studies of society in the Souq, the city functioned through the activities of men, particularly during the day.³³ Men have freedom of movement while women needed particular reasons to be there and seldom participated in city life alone. Women's mobility in the city was determined by age, socio-economic standing and education. Adolescent and older women were less restricted in movement compared to young and married women, who were expected to stay at home.³⁴ The contrast is evident in the leisurely sitting around practiced by men in the Souq, where they would sit for hours on end, visiting friends or drinking tea in public.³⁵ Meanwhile women were there, but buying goods, or bringing food for their husbands, even the women from the countryside would come to the souq's markets in the morning to shop. They needed a reason to enter its space. Moreover, despite the exercises of social courtesies amongst men, they carefully avoided physical contact with women.³⁶ The realities of needed improvements for women are expressed by Dr. Rabo as such, "I think that women would appreciate good toilet facilities in the souq. Men had a great advantage over women in that respect. The rebuilding of the Great Mosque is also crucial for women since this was a place in which they could rest and be at ease."³⁷

With merchant networks eroded due to the war, there will be room for the networks to grow. In this growth the inclusion of women should be considered. It is crucial though to include women as equals in the re-

building and rehabilitation efforts, not create a separate forum for them to contribute in. This runs the risk of further dividing by creating “women only” and “men only” spaces which would physically solidify on the ground. The breakdown of this divided and unequal dynamic through the destruction of the souq presents an opportunity for rehabilitation with gender equality in mind. Women should be included from the very start as implementers and supervisors of rehabilitation projects. Thus, an important question to keep in mind when building up local potential is: how can women be included and empowered to participate in the inner commercial life of the souq?

Tourism in the Souq

The Souq has been the subject of admiration for centuries.³⁸ The sensory richness of the souq and its everyday life make it the object for a romanticized view of the region since the Middle Ages. Accounts as early as the 12th century praise the large network of connected souqs in Aleppo.³⁹ Dr. Ahmad Adib Shaar, whose father owned a shop in the souq remembers sitting by his father’s shop in the 1950s and 1960s when around ten tourists a day would pass by and photograph the arches, people and interactions of the souq.⁴⁰ However, the larger influx of tourists, starting 30 years ago, began to transform the type of goods sold there. Before the conflict an average of about 40 000 visitors went to the tourist sites of Aleppo each day.⁴¹

Consequently, more clothes, textiles and embroideries began to be carried for tourists.⁴² Merchants developed such techniques for attracting clientele, and the influx of foreign visitors to the souq led to the adaptation of merchants’ approaches and the development of new techniques to catch their attention.⁴³ Dr. Annette Gangler recalls her experience as a researcher in the souq as one of respect and friendliness. Although the souq was a series of complex information networks among merchants, it remained open and friendly to visitors, whether passing through or researching.⁴⁴ Before the war visitors delighted over the authenticity of the Al-Madina Souq, its architectural beauty and merchants and their goods. The Souq kept its reputation precisely because it was still a functioning market serving locals and tourists alike. History and culture are valuable urban assets that attract visitors and add value for the citizens, they must then be actively rehabilitated and featured upon reconstruction.⁴⁵ However, Dr. Annika Rabo warns against the idea that the souq could be rebuilt for tourism and survive from tourism alone. The souq was a place of real life and diversity not just handicrafts and souvenirs and for this reason it must be rebuilt in order to cater to locals’ needs and to allow their role as traders of a range of products.⁴⁶

Familial ties & Intimacy in the Souq:

Shops in the Souq were primarily managed by older generations of the family. Brothers would inherit from their father, and share or divide the business. Managers employed younger male family members, and accountability systems were very relaxed.⁴⁷ Through these recruitment dynamics employer-employee contrac-

tual agreements were collectively agreed case-by-case, rather than monitored by a central body.⁴⁸ Familial ties were also highly influential in determining the ownership of shops, inheritance being the main way in which people acquired shops.⁴⁹ Shops and stands could also be rented from the National Ministry of Waqfs.⁵⁰ The importance of family should be considered in the post-conflict reconstruction. Records of ownership or property surveys should be looked for in the local Wafqs and the National Ministry of Waqfs as well.

The hierarchical structure of shop operations was facilitated by the respect fathers received from their sons in Syrian society.⁵¹ However, this system was also subject to economic changes from the early 2000s until the time of the revolution.⁵² As the economy changed, many men were not able to ensure the livelihoods of their sons and their families through work at the family shop or the revenues from shops in the Souq. Importantly, many of the younger workers in the Souq were there while completing their university studies. In some cases, they had to choose full-time work over their studies in order to support themselves and meet the demands of family-run shops.⁵³ The fact that the Syrian government stopped guaranteeing employment to university graduates in 2001 also impacted the reliance of young people on jobs at the Souq in order to work towards financial sustainability and independence.⁵⁴ Networks from family lines or neighborhoods ran parallel to those of the souq.⁵⁵ The souq was still a place of business where loyalties interacted with economic goals and the competition between merchants fueled the progress and demographic of the market.⁵⁶

The evolution and legacy of Aleppo's Al-Madina Souq:

In 1986, Aleppo was added to the UNESCO World Heritage List. The city has a history of around 7,000 years of known settlement. It has traces of civilizations back to the 10th century B.C.E, and has been a major crossroads for important trade routes since the 2nd millennium BCE.⁵⁷ In 2013 the Old City was placed on the UNESCO list of World Heritage in Danger.

The Souq also forms part of a larger system significant in the Arab-wide context. It operated through economic exchanges and social relations identified as distinctive parts of the bazaar economy.⁵⁸ The souq is a cultural form, a social institution and a unique economic type.⁵⁹ In its traditions and evolution, the bazaar economy also resists globalizing trade systems and “Mall Culture” that destroys tradition by rationalizing and monopolizing trade.⁶⁰ The souq and its social dynamics constitute a key aspect of urban life and commerce. This is reflected in its architecture, which has acted as a framework around which Aleppo has grown.⁶¹ Contrary to the public space of the mosque, mostly accessible only to Muslims and often further limited by gender, the souq acts in as an accessible place for secular, economic activity.⁶² Importantly, women, men, children, a diverse crowd of socio-economic classes, professions and ages entered the souq. They gave the souq its character and flavor.⁶³ The social cohesion, communication and shared experiences within the space of the souq are particularly valuable when pursuing reconstruction after conflict. This added value is in danger of being completely lost if reconstruction serves only commercial interests, particularly those from outside the city.

In 2014, UNESCO assessed the Al-Madina complex. Thirty four of the 45 souqs assessed had severe visible damage and about 1,500 of the 1,600 shops were damaged or destroyed.⁶⁴ The severe physical destruction of the souq endangers its heritage value and the networks and social exchanges that gave the physical structure meaning and purpose. These networks and memories survive with the Aleppians, Syrians and foreigners who experienced the Souq's daily life. Importantly then, social roles and participant memories must be considered through citizen consultation and actively included as part of the post-conflict reconstruction.

UNESCO Listing:

UNESCO stresses the importance of local participation and involvement in rehabilitation. It recommends starting with school children, thus using the organizational structures in place to reach the local population for input and collaboration.⁶⁵ One such example of heritage reinforcement is the preservation of the Old City of Damascus. Preservation of decaying buildings relied on local expertise and the work of craftsmen from the neighbourhood. The goal was to create "valuable space" for locals by ensuring their involvement from the start.⁶⁶ Such a strategy should be considered for Aleppo, in employing and subsidizing the local population so that they may recreate the valuable space of the Souq.

Before the conflict some of the poorer people living in the Old City received financial support to repair their homes.⁶⁷ This approach should be continued, especially since after the conflict the urban infrastructure will be in need of massive repairs, and the best way to ensure long term rehabilitation is through active use. The reconstruction strategy must take into account UNESCO guidelines for reconstruction and present them to the local population, giving them opportunity to decide how to proceed.

Rehabilitation, Reconstruction or Redevelopment of the Souq?

In Aleppo there will be significant changes to social relations, economic systems and the city's demographic as a result of the war and any eventual post-conflict process. As part of these changes the proposed policies must consider pre-existing practices and systems. From these, policymakers can identify points of improvement to pursue through citizen and aid cooperation. A careful balance between the imposition of new ways of seeing and understanding must be worked out with the remaining and incoming population's vision, so as to empower the citizens and population of the souq to revitalize itself and work towards post-conflict progress.⁶⁸

A survey by the Aleppo Project in April 2015 showed that 74 percent of those surveyed still plan to return to the city after the war comes to an end.⁶⁹ This figure only reflects the feeling at that time. It will inevitably continue decreasing as the war continues and people make their lives elsewhere. Those who say they are most

likely to return have lower education levels so rehabilitation strategies will need to provide training and other educational opportunities for the city's future citizens.

Commerce has obviously continued even during war. The new economy that has emerged is different with new actors dominating trade as well as new sources of wealth. Syria always had high levels of smuggling and a significant black economy but now almost all economic activity is unlicensed and underground. As was the case with other cities that were besieged like Sarajevo, markets that have sprung up in wartime are likely to persist when peace returns.⁷⁰ Restoring the economy that was centered on the Souq after the war will not be easy, given the significant decline in economic output, the reduction in population, the disruption of established networks and the emerging of rival trading webs. But the Souq was at the heart of the city and urban life is likely to fragment further if it is not restored to somewhere near its pre-eminence in the city's economic life.⁷¹

Post-conflict recovery in Syria after the war may take decades.⁷² Although the country will need to attract foreign capital, any influx of funding must be matched with a concern for local empowerment.⁷³ This should be achieved through long-term engagement with the locals on the rehabilitation of social capital and community-wide participation. Cultural heritage policies in post-conflict zones cannot proceed without considering other objectives such as of redevelopment and recovery. They can contribute to a shared sense of civic belonging in celebrating the multiple identities and individuals of the city.⁷⁴ Thus, the policies for rehabilitating Aleppo's World Heritage sites in the Old City and the Al-Madina Souq cannot proceed independently from the strategies for rebuilding the economy, jobs and housing. Throughout the rehabilitation and reconstruction process, concerns for development and disbursement of international aid need to be interwoven with projects meant to improve the situation of the population and their ability to sustain themselves and have their priorities and concerns included in the reconstruction framework.

The long term effects of adopting a brand-led system of consumption to replace the Souq's diverse market structure are perilous to access for its citizens and the social value of the souq. With diversity and social relations being replaced by external models of consumerism, meaning is lost. Reconstruction advances under the pretense of incorporating history without the people whose history it is. This approach excludes the local and returning populations. It relies on foreign consumers and investors instead of building local networks, consumer potential and strengthening Aleppo's social capital.⁷⁵

The Souq's economy and trading systems are a reflection and product of Arabic society but it does not reflect a uniform system applicable to all Middle Eastern cities. The souq's economy is grounded and unique in each city.⁷⁶ So Aleppo's Al-Madina Souq, its smaller souqs, khans and other institutions are all unique to it and must be rehabilitated based on the city, and a plan devised specifically for it, not using any external model.

The Souq reflected the social diversity of Aleppo in its merchant make-up. At any given souq, a Christian or Jewish Aleppian could trade, greet, beckon a Muslim Aleppian, other visitors and merchants no matter the ethnic or religious affiliation. They could engage shoppers, tourists and other so as to sell their goods or

simply present their shop to an audience.⁷⁷ Importantly so, the openness of the souq's interactions must be molded into the rehabilitation processes of the souq's commercial and social structures. Social capital will contribute to the re-establishment of inclusive networks.

Prioritizing short-term needs is one way in which rehabilitation proceeds unequally and leads to further conflict.⁷⁸ Only focusing on the delivery of private goods without developing social networks leads to corruption and weakened systems of trust.⁷⁹ Thus, a strategy which also prioritizes the rehabilitation of non-strategic resources, such as training opportunities for merchants in the souq contributes to long term sustainability. It also incorporates a long-term strategy for livelihood opportunities linked with social capital through network rehabilitation.⁸⁰

It will be important to bear in mind the following:

- After several years of war, Aleppo is a different place. It will not return to the way it was before the war.
- A future Aleppo can become a more livable city, incorporating previous structures but addressing problems that afflicted the population, including housing, economic inequality and pollution.⁸¹
- Adopting a sterilized and brand-led consumer system to replace the Souq's diversity of goods and interactions shuts out citizens and should be avoided.
- Any plan for the Al-Madina Souq should be built from the vision and perspective of local partners. It must provide opportunities for the local population to contribute to the physical reconstruction and the re-establishing of meaning in the Souq. This has the potential to stimulate community cooperation and social cohesion.
- Gender equality and social sensitivity should be central to a reconstruction strategy. A separate strategy or framework should be avoided as it runs the risk of creating further divisions.
- Merchants have some of their own resources but will need support to return to the city, including subsidies for reconstruction and training of new staff.

POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION:

Reconstruction of Beirut:

Beirut's downtown area was nearly completely destroyed during the 1975 to 1990 conflict.⁸² The city struggles to maintain its heritage value, as new developments dominate in the post-conflict urban reconstruction. By 1999 the city had 1 200 structures nominated for World Heritage Status. Today only 300 are protected on

the list, many left to crumble purposefully so that they can be designated as too damaged to repair and then be torn down.⁸³ Rebuilding has razed many of the surviving structures to the ground with the intention of developing infrastructure.⁸⁴ This is a true danger for the Old City of Aleppo and the Al-Madina Souq, as the large structure stands in ruins which means it may be more easily proposed for demolition and repurposing.

“Aleppo should not focus on investor-led fantasies of what the city might be but concentrate on rebuilding families, their businesses and the local economy.”⁸⁵

In the place of the old Beirut Souq stands a contemporary structure built by the redevelopment firm Solidere. It claims to incorporate the ancient portions of the souq into its design.⁸⁶ The Solidere reconstruction of the souq relied heavily on foreign investment to build up a luxury shopping mall. It started from scratch despite the fact that after the conflict many individuals and families still held the deeds to their shops in the souq.⁸⁷ Instead of including them in the post-conflict reconstruction, owners were bought out from their property with cash and shares in the new development company.⁸⁸ Consequently, Solidere was able to proceed with its building project without including the surviving owners or rehabilitating their businesses. These valuable assets were ignored and the reconstruction only marginally concerned itself with the Roman and Phoenician remnants on site as the main asset and continuation of history. Physical structure serves no purpose without the social capital and interactions that gave the space its purpose and meaning. Effectively, today most Beirutis cannot afford to shop in the area of the old souq and they go elsewhere for public space, shopping and leisure.⁸⁹

Much like in Aleppo, before the conflict the souqs of Beirut served as the center of urban life, trade, and places for the intermingling of different communities.⁹⁰ The initial efforts to rebuild the Beirut souq were framed as an international architectural competition. There were 357 entries from 42 countries, these designs sought to create something new while maintaining the old feeling of the souq.⁹¹ Despite the efforts, the actual reconstruction did not use the submitted designs. It created a completely new space without keeping the “feeling” of the ancient souqs, and replacing the shops with clean-cut boutiques.⁹² The change of space in the downtown area as a whole has driven Beirutis out and thus maintaining the “feeling” of the souq is unattainable without the people that gave it its character.⁹³ An international competition is a valid way of engaging the international community and stimulating interest in the rehabilitation of the city. However, the rehabilitation of the city is tied to maintaining the “feeling” and function of its spaces through inclusion of the local population.

Another proposed but ignored approach in rebuilding the Beirut souq was to use the rents of large international retailers to subsidize the tenants of the smaller, more traditional shops in areas modelled after the original souqs.⁹⁴ The new shops would have supported the original fabric of the souqs. In encouraging the re-institution of the “traditional”, “local” or the heritage of the souqs the redevelopment could have seized an op-

portunity to preserve the richness of local practices and appeal to those who visit Beirut. However, presently the reconstruction has sterilized the space, filling it with generic brands and stores that have no connection to the city. History and culture are valuable urban assets that attract visitors and investors, and add value for the citizens.⁹⁵ They cannot be bulldozed and ignored in the pursuit of creating a manicured and generic shopping paradise for populations whose mobile assets do not contribute permanent funds, and resources to the rehabilitation and revival of urban vibrancy and quotidian life.⁹⁶ Therefore, investment and involvement by Aleppians must be prioritized and built up. Those citizens who have withstood the conflict and those who will return to rebuild their lives are unlikely to desert the city. Instead they will work to re-establish themselves, through business, investment and network rehabilitation.

Lesson for Aleppo:

- Reconstruction cannot focus on catering only to tourists or rely only on foreign investment. Since the situation in Syria will be unstable after the conflict and due to the conditions in the surrounding region, experience shows that foreign investment can rapidly refocus on new opportunities and that tourist markets are easily disrupted.
- Reconstruction in Aleppo must be focused on local economic and social needs. Local trade and commerce must be rehabilitated and prioritized to encourage economic growth at the local level. Thus, international investment should be paired with long term local sustainability, including engagement with rural redevelopment.⁹⁷
- Aleppo should restore its historic center not just as a tourist destination but also as a living city. This means maintaining a mixed economy, a range of social groups, and open-access public spaces. The presence of true public space attracts mixed groups and allows access through minimal exclusion. Tourists and investors are more impressed by an authentic city that retains its culture and identity.⁹⁸
- The protection of heritage sites must be ensured. Penalty measures must be implemented to prevent owners or redevelopment firms from leaving the souq, and the larger ancient city to crumble so that the new building projects can proceed. As large parts of the ancient city have been destroyed, timing is key and this must be addressed even before the conflict comes to an end.
- Investment and involvement by Aleppians must be prioritized and built up. Those citizens who have withstood the conflict and those who will return to rebuild their lives are unlikely to desert the city.

Reconstruction of Sarajevo:

Sarajevo's transition from market socialism to a free-market economy was dominated by criminality and corruption.⁹⁹ In Syria the economy is heavily controlled by the regime and its cronies. Although before the war reforms were taking place to encourage economic growth, infrastructure, demographic and environmental factors had a large impact on the decline of Syrian economy.¹⁰⁰ In the initial phases of rehabilitation, interna-

tional aid is likely to be targeted a rapid transition to a market economy, without ensuring the rehabilitation of local institutional capacity. A similar channeling of funds resulted in Sarajevo being occupied by several massive shopping malls selling expensive imported goods. These make up the formal part of the economy, while markets catering to civilian population are pushed to the outskirts of the city and became an informal part.¹⁰¹

Massive shopping centers designed as a “one size fits all” approach to economic recovery, and backed by rich investors proceeding without a well-planned urban rehabilitation strategy must be avoided. They claim to create shared public spaces, but the absence of public funding prioritizes investor and consumer desires over the creation of public good. Thus Aleppo’s urban rehabilitation plans should be considered carefully by a competent administration. In order to achieve this, local capacity must be nurtured and built before mass-building projects can proceed. The institutions of the Al-Madina Souq form part of the local capacity that must be addressed, whether re-established or encouraged in order to afford access to civilians and contribute to strengthening the economy from a local level, to a city, to a national level.

In Aleppo, the social interactions of the souq have cultural value and are a part of the city’s social capital and identity.¹⁰² Thus, they must be assisted and encouraged in the post-conflict rebuilding of the city, as well as supported financially in order to rehabilitate the city’s character and appeal for both its citizens and visitors. The plans drafted for Aleppo must be tailored to the people who live and will live there, this will be done by including them and their systems in the rehabilitation of the space. In this case rehabilitation means the reconstruction of the souq’s architectural fabric and ensuring the use of its social space by local participants. Reinforcing the cultural assets of the souq builds social capital and the city’s identity.

Lessons for Aleppo:

- The evolution of local markets into illicit markets must be reversed. This can be achieved by supporting the local infrastructure, including it into post-conflict rehabilitation plans rather than focusing on foreign-investor led malls.
- The social interactions of the souq have cultural value and are a part of the city’s social capital and identity. They must be assisted and encouraged in the post-conflict rebuilding of the city, as well as supported financially in order to rehabilitate the city’s character and appeal for both its citizens and visitors.

Reconstruction of Mostar:

Civil war destroyed the multiethnic city of Mostar’s urban fabric, consequently leading to a new urban planning strategy. Although an opportunity for change, evidence shows that not all of it was positive.¹⁰³ The war

turned this diversity against itself in a process of strategic decimation of urban and social infrastructure and important symbols of the city, including the famous Stari Most bridge. The active targeting and destruction of the city's landmarks led to an international outcry and the channeling of international aid through donors and agencies for the reconstruction of the city.¹⁰⁴ Selective reconstruction led to a cosmetic process of heritage reconstruction that was not paired with city rehabilitation. What was needed was to achieve rebuilding parallel to revitalizing public institutions and governance in order to move towards rehabilitation independence.¹⁰⁵ Instead of selective heritage reconstruction determined along sectarian divides the reconstruction process should have aimed at celebrating collective cultural diversity and facilitating inter-cultural connection. This contributes to a common civic identity and strengthens multiculturalism.¹⁰⁶

Further problems in the reconstruction of Mostar derive from the passing on of planning strategies and responsibilities to local elites in an effort to include the community.¹⁰⁷ Studies conducted in other post-conflict reconstruction processes show that elite-takeover is just as harmful as a paternalistic approach by international aid donors. The rebuilding of Mostar lacked strategic planning. Re-establishing the aesthetic appeal of the inner city took precedence over rehabilitating the periphery, but in the rehabilitation of the downtown area elite and donor interests dictated what monuments and structures were prioritized for reconstruction.¹⁰⁸ In Aleppo, material infrastructure should not be given precedence over citizen inclusiveness and diversity. The reconstruction of the old city must be paired with support of institutional capacity building, active citizen participation and making it a part of the urban peace reconciliation process.

Lessons for Aleppo:

- Selective reconstruction determined by donors' agendas must be avoided. Foreign interests must be paired with revitalizing public institutions and governance in order to move towards dependence to a system capable of managing its urban rehabilitation.
- The rehabilitation of the souq must be paired with trust between local actors and NGOs and the monitoring of these actors to minimize corruption, nepotism and sectarian domination.
- The reconstruction of Aleppo must avoid cosmetic reconstruction strategies if not paired with support of the local merchants, employment of local experts and active citizen participation. With this reconstruction will progress as part of the urban peace reconciliation.

CONCLUSION

The souq did not stand as an independent microcosm apart from Aleppian society. It was permeated by social networks created inside and outside the souq. Al-Madina Souq did have its own modes of operation, which often changed from section to section. Language, presentation and interaction with others was determined by the nature of the shops in the souq and so differed from market to market. Solidarity between merchants was materialized in the semi-obligatory or institutionalized exchanges. The relationships were diverse, they

extended between families, friends and foreigners but were dictated by the inner circle of merchants. Thus, the re-establishment of the souq should strive to nurture the family and merchant relationships that were in place before the conflict and closing of the souq. This will be a challenge as many of these merchant networks are now scattered, or broken due to the displacement of the population and the casualties during the war. Thus, the growth should be encouraged through family networks, while preventing family monopolies of commerce and allowing the participation of new individuals in the souq's economy. Without these networks and social exchanges, the physical existence of the souq is without purpose, without charm. Empty of it, the souq will not contribute to the reestablishment of civic identity and lose its international reputation. Although tourism is a draw and benefit of re-establishing the souq, it must not be the main objective nor the main audience. The items offered for sale should reflect the needs of Aleppians, and follow the long standing market tradition of souqs divided by goods for all types of needs. The vanishing of the souq's society implicates a cultural loss, bringing about long term moral and monetary loss if not rehabilitated and revitalized through participatory, gender-inclusive reconstruction projects designed specifically for the souq.

Recommendations for the cultural rehabilitation of the souq:

- The Aleppo souq runs the risk of being replaced by structures that sterilize the diversity of its pre-existing merchant networks and richness of social interactions. Rehabilitation strategy must be informed and consider the social significance of the souq in order to not only rebuild space but revitalize its culture.
- Care should be taken to ensure the return of items Aleppians purchased and will need during the reconstruction process, along with the organization of shops according to products that was valued before the conflict. Support could be provided by pairing foreign investment and rents from new corporations establishing themselves in Aleppo to subsidize the return of merchants and provide them initial capital support to establish their local business.
- Depending on the society that develops, open-access to the souq could be improved by ensuring further access to women, as customers, shop owners, managers and employees.
- The surviving structures of the khans, with their residential purpose should be considered as bases for the rehabilitation of the souq's societies. Upon post-conflict reconstruction they could be used to house resources or temporarily accommodate returning individuals and families.
- Depending on the demographic of resettlement post-conflict, the diversity of religious institutions should be reconstructed to reflect the diversity of the population, as this was an integral part of the souq's essence and influenced the social interactions taking place.
- It is crucial to include women as equals in the rebuilding and rehabilitation efforts, not create a separate forum for them to contribute in. This runs the risk of further dividing by creating "women only" and "men only" spaces which would physically solidify on the ground.

ENDNOTES

- 1 UNESCO World Heritage Centre. "Ancient City of Aleppo - UNESCO World Heritage Centre." Accessed 4 April 2016. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/21/>.
- 2 "Large Part of Ancient Souq in Syria's Aleppo in Ashes: Activists," Reuters, September 30, 2012. Accessed 4 September 2016.
- 3 Kevin Rushby. "Remembering Syria's Historic Silk Road Souq in Aleppo." The Guardian. 5 October 2012. Accessed 1 May 2016.
- 4 Interview with Dr. Annette Gangler. Private architect and urban planner, Rehabilitation Project for the Historic City of Aleppo. University of Stuttgart. April 16 2016. Budapest. Lamphere-Englund, Galen. "Rebuilding Sarajevo." The Aleppo Project, October 5, 2015. <http://www.thealeppoproject.com/papers/rebuilding-sarajevo/>.
- 5 Franck Mermier and Michel Peraldi. *Mondes et places du marché en Méditerranée: formes sociales et spatiales de l'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 25.
- 6 Annika Rabo. "L'espace. Le Temps et Les Gens a Alep. Un Magasin a Soi." in *Mondes et Places Du Marché En Méditerranée: Formes Sociales et Spatiales de L'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 79.
- 7 Interview with Annika Rabo. Professor. Stockholm University. 05 May 2016.
- 8 Annika Rabo. "L'espace. Le Temps et Les Gens a Alep. Un Magasin a Soi." in *Mondes et Places Du Marché En Méditerranée: Formes Sociales et Spatiales de L'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 97.
- 9 Ibid. 83-84.
- 10 Janet Starkey and Mohammad Gharipour. "The Continuity of Social Space." in *The Bazaar in the Islamic City: Design. Culture. and History.* (Cairo. New York: The American University in Cairo Press. 2014) : 116.
- 11 Interview with Ahmad Adib Shaar. Phd. 01 March 2016. Budapest.
- 12 Janet Starkey and Mohammad Gharipour. "The Continuity of Social Space." in *The Bazaar in the Islamic City: Design. Culture. and History.* (Cairo. New York: The American University in Cairo Press. 2014) : 116.
- 13 Annika Rabo. "L'espace. Le Temps et Les Gens a Alep. Un Magasin a Soi." in *Mondes et Places Du Marché En Méditerranée: Formes Sociales et Spatiales de L'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 81.
- 14 Ibid. 81.

- 15 Ibid. 91.
- 16 Interview with Annika Rabo. Professor. Stockholm University. 05 May 2016.
- 17 Annika Rabo. "L'espace. Le Temps et Les Gens a Alep. Un Magasin a Soi." in *Mondes et Places Du Marché En Méditerranée: Formes Sociales et Spatiales de L'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 92.
- 18 Ibid. 92.
- 19 John Borneman. *Syrian Episodes : Sons. Fathers. and an Anthropologist in Aleppo* (Princeton : Princeton University Press. 2007) : 63-64.
- 20 Annika Rabo. "L'espace. Le Temps et Les Gens a Alep. Un Magasin a Soi." in *Mondes et Places Du Marché En Méditerranée: Formes Sociales et Spatiales de L'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 105.
- 21 Translation from French by author. See, Franck Mermier and Michel Peraldi. *Mondes et places du marché en Méditerranée: formes sociales et spatiales de l'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 23.
- 22 Janet Starkey and Mohammad Gharipour. "The Continuity of Social Space." in *The Bazaar in the Islamic City: Design. Culture. and History.* (Cairo. New York: The American University in Cairo Press. 2014) : 119.
- 23 Janet Starkey and Mohammad Gharipour. "The Continuity of Social Space." in *The Bazaar in the Islamic City: Design. Culture. and History.* (Cairo. New York: The American University in Cairo Press. 2014) : 119.
- 24 Janet Starkey and Mohammad Gharipour. "The Continuity of Social Space." in *The Bazaar in the Islamic City: Design. Culture. and History.* (Cairo. New York: The American University in Cairo Press. 2014) : 124-127.
- 25 Janet Starkey and Mohammad Gharipour. "The Continuity of Social Space." in *The Bazaar in the Islamic City: Design. Culture. and History.* (Cairo. New York: The American University in Cairo Press. 2014) : 127.
- 26 Annika Rabo. "L'espace. Le Temps et Les Gens a Alep. Un Magasin a Soi." in *Mondes et Places Du Marché En Méditerranée: Formes Sociales et Spatiales de L'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 93.
- 27 Ibid. 93.
- 28 Seasons also affected how long shops were kept open, with religious holidays impacting the movement within the souq. See, John Borneman. *Syrian Episodes : Sons. Fathers. and an Anthropologist in Aleppo* (Princeton : Princeton University Press. 2007) : 108.
- 29 Annika Rabo. "L'espace. Le Temps et Les Gens a Alep. Un Magasin a Soi." in *Mondes et Places Du Marché En Méditerranée: Formes Sociales et Spatiales de L'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 98.
- 30 Behavior was also affected by the type of goods being dealt in and the customers a merchant was expected to interact with. Those in finer goods, apparel, or women's accessories sat straight, with fully done up shirts and ties, while the merchants selling produce, cords, cotton or less-luxurious goods sat with legs

sprawled in simpler clothes and did not resist the temptation to yawn or spit. See, Annika Rabo. “L’espace. Le Temps et Les Gens a Alep. Un Magasin a Soi.” in *Mondes et Places Du Marché En Méditerranée: Formes Sociales et Spatiales de L’échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 96.

31 Ibid. 96.

32 Franck Mermier and Michel Peraldi. *Mondes et places du marché en Méditerranée: formes sociales et spatiales de l’échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 36.

33 Annika Rabo. “L’espace. Le Temps et Les Gens a Alep. Un Magasin a Soi.” in *Mondes et Places Du Marché En Méditerranée: Formes Sociales et Spatiales de L’échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 82.

34 The ideal was that women occupied themselves with the home, and to leave the home they should have had a reason and a purpose. See, Annika Rabo. “L’espace. Le Temps et Les Gens a Alep. Un Magasin a Soi.” in *Mondes et Places Du Marché En Méditerranée: Formes Sociales et Spatiales de L’échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 82- 83.

35 John Borneman. *Syrian Episodes : Sons. Fathers. and an Anthropologist in Aleppo* (Princeton : Princeton University Press. 2007) : 38.

36 Annika Rabo. “L’espace. Le Temps et Les Gens a Alep. Un Magasin a Soi.” in *Mondes et Places Du Marché En Méditerranée: Formes Sociales et Spatiales de L’échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 96.

37 Interview with Annika Rabo. Professor. Stockholm University. 05 May 2016.

38 Janet Starkey and Mohammad Gharipour. “The Continuity of Social Space.” in *The Bazaar in the Islamic City: Design. Culture. and History.* (Cairo. New York: The American University in Cairo Press. 2014) : 116.

39 Franck Mermier and Michel Peraldi. *Mondes et places du marché en Méditerranée: formes sociales et spatiales de l’échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 23.

40 Back then sellers of traditional goods continued to do their business under awnings, tents or selling out of saddle bags. Interview with Ahmad Adib Shaar. Phd. 01 March 2016. Budapest.

41 Janet Starkey and Mohammad Gharipour. “The Continuity of Social Space.” in *The Bazaar in the Islamic City: Design. Culture. and History.* (Cairo. New York: The American University in Cairo Press. 2014) :131.

42 Interview with Ahmad Adib Shaar. Phd. 01 March 2016. Budapest.

43 John Borneman. *Syrian Episodes : Sons. Fathers. and an Anthropologist in Aleppo* (Princeton : Princeton University Press. 2007) : 96-97.

44 Interview with Dr. Annette Gangler. Private architect and urban planner, Rehabilitation Project for the Historic City of Aleppo. University of Stuttgart. April 16 2016. Budapest.

45 Ilona Ilma Ilyes. “Rebuilding Downtown Beirut” (The Aleppo Project. November 2015). Accessed 04 April 2016. <http://www.thealeppoproject.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Rebuilding-downtown-beirut-compressed.pdf>.

- 46 Interview with Annika Rabo. Professor. Stockholm University. 05 May 2016.
- 47 John Borneman. *Syrian Episodes : Sons. Fathers. and an Anthropologist in Aleppo* (Princeton : Princeton University Press. 2007) : 111.
- 48 Franck Mermier and Michel Peraldi. *Mondes et places du marché en Méditerranée: formes sociales et spatiales de l'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 33-34.
- 49 Sons, apprenticed from a young age, when they began accompanying the father to the shop rather than staying at home with their mother and other siblings. John Borneman. *Syrian Episodes : Sons. Fathers. and an Anthropologist in Aleppo* (Princeton : Princeton University Press. 2007) : 148.
- 50 Annika Rabo. "L'espace. Le Temps et Les Gens a Alep. Un Magasin a Soi." in *Mondes et Places Du Marché En Méditerranée: Formes Sociales et Spatiales de L'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 90.
- 51 John Borneman. *Syrian Episodes : Sons. Fathers. and an Anthropologist in Aleppo* (Princeton : Princeton University Press. 2007) : 118.
- 52 Cenap Çakmak and Murat Ustaoglu. *Post-Conflict Syrian State and Nation Building : Economic and Political Development*. Palgrave Pivot (Houndmills. Basingstoke. Hampshire : Palgrave Macmillan. 2015) : 43.
- 53 John Borneman. *Syrian Episodes : Sons. Fathers. and an Anthropologist in Aleppo* (Princeton : Princeton University Press. 2007) : 148.
- 54 Cenap Çakmak and Murat Ustaoglu. *Post-Conflict Syrian State and Nation Building : Economic and Political Development*. Palgrave Pivot (Houndmills. Basingstoke. Hampshire : Palgrave Macmillan. 2015) : 64.
- 55 Interview with Ahmad Adib Shaar. Phd. 01 March 2016. Budapest.
- 56 Interview with Annika Rabo. Professor. Stockholm University. 05 May 2016.
- 57 UNESCO World Heritage Centre. "Ancient City of Aleppo - UNESCO World Heritage Centre." Accessed 4 April 2016. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/21/>.
- 58 Franck Mermier and Michel Peraldi. *Mondes et places du marché en Méditerranée: formes sociales et spatiales de l'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011). p33.
- 59 John Borneman. *Syrian Episodes : Sons. Fathers. and an Anthropologist in Aleppo* (Princeton : Princeton University Press. 2007.) : 108.
- 60 Franck Mermier and Michel Peraldi. *Mondes et places du marché en Méditerranée: formes sociales et spatiales de l'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 7.
- 61 Ibid. 8.
- 62 Ibid. 25.
- 63 John Borneman. *Syrian Episodes : Sons. Fathers. and an Anthropologist in Aleppo* (Princeton : Princeton University Press. 2007).

- 64 UNESCO World Heritage Centre. “Ancient City of Aleppo - UNESCO World Heritage Centre.” Accessed 4 April 2016. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/21/>.
- 65 ICOMOS, “The Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas” (Paris, November 28, 2011), http://www.icomos.org/Paris2011/GA2011_CIVVIH_text_EN_FR_final_20120110.pdf.
- 66 Domenico Copertino, “‘Al-Madina Al-Qadima’ of Damascus: Preservation of the Cultural Heritage, Representations of the Past, and the Production of a Valuable Space,” in *The Politics and Practices of Cultural Heritage in the Middle East: Positioning the Material Past in Contemporary Societies*, ed. Rami Daher and Irene Maffi (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014): 197-199.
- 67 See, Interview with Dr. Annette Gangler. Private architect and urban planner, Rehabilitation Project for the Historic City of Aleppo. University of Stuttgart. April 16 2016. Budapest. And, Meinolf Spiekermann, “The Sustainability of Urban Heritage Preservation: The Case of Aleppo” (Inter-American Development Bank, 2010), <http://idbdocs.iadb.org/wsdocs/getdocument.aspx?docnum=35335580>.
- 68 Franck Mermier and Michel Peraldi. *Mondes et places du marché en Méditerranée: formes sociales et spatiales de l'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 7-8.
- 69 The Aleppo Project, “Data Snapshot: Do You Think You Will Return to Aleppo?,” The Aleppo Project, accessed April 4, 2016, <http://www.thealeppoproject.com/surveys/data-snapshot-do-you-think-you-will-return-to-aleppo-2/>.
- 70 Galen Lamphere-Englund. “Rebuiding Sarajevo” (The Aleppo Project. October 5. 2015). <http://www.thealeppoproject.com/papers/rebuilding-sarajevo/>.
- 71 Franck Mermier and Michel Peraldi. *Mondes et places du marché en Méditerranée: formes sociales et spatiales de l'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 8.
- 72 Cenap Çakmak and Murat Ustaoglu. *Post-Conflict Syrian State and Nation Building : Economic and Political Development*. Palgrave Pivot (Houndmills. Basingstoke. Hampshire : Palgrave Macmillan. 2015. 2015) : 44.
- 73 Ibid. 54.
- 74 Harriet Deacon. *The Subtle Power of Intangible Heritage : Legal and Financial Instruments for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage*. Research Monograph / Social Cohesion and Integration Research Programme (Cape Town. South Africa : HSRC Publishers. 2004) : 7.
- 75 Thomas Vervisch et al.. “Social Capital and Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Burundi: The Limits of Community-Based Reconstruction.” *Development and Change* 44. no. 1 (January 2013): 147.
- 76 Franck Mermier and Michel Peraldi. *Mondes et places du marché en Méditerranée: formes sociales et spatiales de l'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 28.
- 77 Franck Mermier and Michel Peraldi. *Mondes et places du marché en Méditerranée: formes sociales et spatiales de l'échange* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions. 2011): 26.

- 78 Thomas Vervisch et al.. “Social Capital and Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Burundi: The Limits of Community-Based Reconstruction.” *Development and Change* 44. no. 1 (January 2013): 150.
- 79 Thomas Vervisch et al.. “Social Capital and Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Burundi: The Limits of Community-Based Reconstruction.” *Development and Change* 44. no. 1 (January 2013): 163.
- 80 P. B. Anand. “Getting Infrastructure Priorities Right in Post-Conflict Reconstruction.” 2005: 1, 5, 6, 12, 16-17.
- 81 Interview with Marcell Shehwaro. Executive Director. Kesh Malek. 23 February 2016. Budapest.
- 82 Rebecca Collard. “Developers Threaten Beirut’s Architectural Heritage | The National.” *The National*. September 16. 2011. <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/middle-east/developers-threaten-beiruts-architectural-heritage>.
- 83 Rebecca Collard. “Developers Threaten Beirut’s Architectural Heritage | The National.” *The National*. September 16. 2011. <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/middle-east/developers-threaten-beiruts-architectural-heritage>.
- 84 Ilona Ilma Ilyes. “Rebuilding Downtown Beirut” (The Aleppo Project. November 2015). Accessed 04 April 2016. <http://www.thealeppoproject.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Rebuilding-downtown-beirut-compressed.pdf>.
- 85 Ibid.
- 86 Ilona Ilma Ilyes. “Rebuilding Downtown Beirut” (The Aleppo Project. November 2015). Accessed 04 April 2016. <http://www.thealeppoproject.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Rebuilding-downtown-beirut-compressed.pdf>.
- 87 Rebecca Collard. “Developers Threaten Beirut’s Architectural Heritage | The National.” *The National*. September 16. 2011. <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/middle-east/developers-threaten-beiruts-architectural-heritage>.
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 Ilona Ilma Ilyes. “Rebuilding Downtown Beirut” (The Aleppo Project. November 2015). Accessed 04 April 2016. <http://www.thealeppoproject.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Rebuilding-downtown-beirut-compressed.pdf>.
- 90 Ilona Ilma Ilyes. “Rebuilding Downtown Beirut” (The Aleppo Project. November 2015). Accessed 04 April 2016. <http://www.thealeppoproject.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Rebuilding-downtown-beirut-compressed.pdf>.
- 91 Ibid.
- 92 Ibid.
- 93 Harriet Deacon. *The Subtle Power of Intangible Heritage : Legal and Financial Instruments for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage*. Research Monograph / Social Cohesion and Integration Research Programme (Cape Town. South Africa : HSRC Publishers. 2004) : 7.

- 94 Ilona Ilma Ilyes. “Rebuilding Downtown Beirut” (The Aleppo Project. November 2015). Accessed 04 April 2016. <http://www.thealeppoproject.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Rebuilding-downtown-beirut-compressed.pdf>.
- 95 Ibid.
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 Ibid.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 Galen Lamphere-Englund. “Rebuiding Sarajevo” (The Aleppo Project. October 5. 2015). Accessed 04 April 2016. <http://www.thealeppoproject.com/papers/rebuilding-sarajevo/>.
- 100 Cenap Çakmak and Murat Ustaoglu. Post-Conflict Syrian State and Nation Building : Economic and Political Development. Palgrave Pivot (Houndmills. Basingstoke. Hampshire : Palgrave Macmillan. 2015) : 45-46.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 Galen Lamphere-Englund. “Rebuiding Sarajevo” (The Aleppo Project. October 5. 2015) : 7. Accessed 04 April 2016. <http://www.thealeppoproject.com/papers/rebuilding-sarajevo/>.
- 103 Maya Mabas. “Post-War Mostar: The Reconstruction of a City without Reconciliation” (London: University College London. 2013). https://www.academia.edu/3812056/Post-war_Mostar_The_reconstruction_of_a_city_without_reconciliation.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 Ibid.
- 106 Ibid.
- 107 Ibid.
- 108 Ibid.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anand, P. B. "Getting Infrastructure Priorities Right in Post-Conflict Reconstruction," 2005.
- Borneman, John. *Syrian Episodes : Sons, Fathers, and an Anthropologist in Aleppo*. Princeton : Princeton University Press, c2007., n.d.
- Bureau of Public Information. "Post-Conflict Reconstruction." UNESCO, October 2006. http://www.unesco.org/bpi/pdf/memobpi56_postconflict_en.pdf.
- Çakmak, Cenap, and Murat Ustaoglu. *Post-Conflict Syrian State and Nation Building : Economic and Political Development*. Palgrave Pivot. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire : Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, 2015.
- Centre, UNESCO World Heritage. "Ancient City of Aleppo - UNESCO World Heritage Centre." Accessed April 4, 2016. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/21/>.
- Collard, Rebecca. "Developers Threaten Beirut's Architectural Heritage | The National." *The National*, September 16, 2011. <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/middle-east/developers-threaten-beiruts-architectural-heritage>.
- Connolly, Kate, and Werner Bloch. "The War Is Still Raging, but the Race to Rebuild Aleppo Has Already Begun." *The Guardian*, March 12, 2015, sec. World news. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/12/war-rebuild-aleppo-syria-architects-reconstruction>.
- Copertino, Domenico. "Al-Madina Al-Qadima' of Damascus: Preservation of the Cultural Heritage, Representations of the Past, and the Production of a Valuable Space." In *The Politics and Practices of Cultural Heritage in the Middle East: Positioning the Material Past in Contemporary Societies*, edited by Rami Daher and Irene Maffi. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Deacon, Harriet. *The Subtle Power of Intangible Heritage : Legal and Financial Instruments for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage*. Research Monograph / Social Cohesion and Integration Research Programme. Cape Town, South Africa : HSRC Publishers, 2004., 2004.
- East, Diana Darke Writer on the Middle. "How Syria's Ancient Treasures Are Being Smashed." *BBC News*. Accessed May 1, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-28191181>.
- Gagnon, Chip, and Keith Brown. *Post-Conflict Studies : An Interdisciplinary Approach*. Routledge Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2014, 2014.
- ICOMOS. "The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments - 1931 - International Council on Monuments and Sites." Accessed April 30, 2016. <http://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/167-the-athens-charter-for-the-restoration-of-historic-monuments>.
- . "The Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas." Paris, November 28, 2011. http://www.icomos.org/Paris2011/GA2011_CIVVIH_text_EN_FR_final_20120110.pdf.
- Ilyes, Ilona Ilma. "Rebuilding Downtown Beirut." *The Aleppo Project*, November 2015. <http://www.thealeppoproject.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Rebuilding-downtown-beirut-compressed.pdf>.
- Lafrenz Samuels, Kathryn. "Heritage and Globalisation." In *Material Heritage and Poverty Reduction*, 202–16. Oxon: Routledge, 2010.
- Lamb, Franklin. "The Syrians Will Rebuild Aleppo!" *Www.counterpunch.org*, December 15, 2014. <http://www.counterpunch.org>

www.counterpunch.org/2014/12/15/the-syrians-will-rebuild-aleppo/.

Lamphere-Englund, Galen. "Rebuiding Sarajevo." *The Aleppo Project*, October 5, 2015. <http://www.thealeppo.com/papers/rebuilding-sarajevo/>.

"Large Part of Ancient Souq in Syria's Aleppo in Ashes: Activists." *Reuters*, September 30, 2012. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-crisis-idUSBRE88J0X720120930>.

"Large Part of Ancient Souq in Syria's Aleppo in Ashes: Activists | Pictures." *Reuters*. Accessed May 1, 2016. <http://www.reuters.com/news/picture/large-part-of-ancient-souq-in-syrias-ale?articleId=USBRE88J0X720120930&slideId=658336783>.

Mabas, Maya. "Post-War Mostar: The Reconstruction of a City without Reconciliation." London: University College London, 2013. https://www.academia.edu/3812056/Post-war_Mostar_The_reconstruction_of_a_city_without_reconciliation.

Makdisi, Saree. "Reconstructing History in Central Beirut." *Middle Eastern Research and Information Project*, Summer 1997. <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer203/reconstructing-history-central-beirut>.

Mermier, Franck, and Michel Peraldi. *Mondes et places du marché en Méditerranée: formes sociales et spatiales de l'échange*. Paris: KARTHALA Editions, 2011.

Project, The Aleppo. "Data Snapshot: Do You Think You Will Return to Aleppo?" *The Aleppo Project*. Accessed April 4, 2016. <http://www.thealeppoproject.com/surveys/data-snapshot-do-you-think-you-will-return-to-aleppo-2/>.

Rabo, Annika. "L'espace, Le Temps et Les Gens a Alep. Un Magasin a Soi." In *Mondes et Places Du Marché En Méditerranée: Formes Sociales et Spatiales de L'échange*, 79–112. Paris: KARTHALA Editions, 2011.

Rushby, Kevin. "Remembering Syria's Historic Silk Road Souq in Aleppo." *The Guardian*, October 5, 2012, sec. Travel. <http://www.theguardian.com/travel/2012/oct/05/aleppo-souq-syria-destroyed-war>.

Spiekermann, Meinolf. "The Sustainability of Urban Heritage Preservation: The Case of Aleppo." *Inter-American Development Bank*, 2010. <http://idbdocs.iadb.org/wsdocs/getdocument.aspx?docnum=35335580>.

Starkey, Janet, and Mohammad Gharipour. "The Continuity of Social Space." In *The Bazaar in the Islamic City: Design, Culture, and History*, 115–47. Cairo, New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014.

UNESCO. "Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention." Accessed April 30, 2016. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13637&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

———. "Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape, Including a Glossary of Definitions." Accessed April 30, 2016. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=48857&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

———. "UNESCO Declaration Concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage: UNESCO." Accessed April 30, 2016. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=17718&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

United Nations Institute for Training and Research. "Satellite-Based Damage Assessment to Cultural Heritage Sites in Syria." UNITAR, 2014.

Vervisch, Thomas, Kristof Titeca, Koen Vlassenroot, and Johan Braeckman. "Social Capital and Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Burundi: The Limits of Community-Based Reconstruction." *Development and Change* 44, no. 1 (January 2013): 147–74. doi:10.1111/%28ISSN%291467-7660/issues.

**The Shattuck
Center on Conflict,
Negotiation and Recovery**

**School of Public Policy
Central European University**

Nador u. 9 | 1051 Buda-
pest | Hungary Phone:
+36.1.327.3000 | ext. 2614

aleppo@spp.ceu.edu