Disneyland or Wasteland? Avoiding both in post-conflict heritage reconstruction.

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Abstract:

In my dissertation I look at heritage reconstruction and rehabilitation projects in progress in urban areas in the aftermath of conflict and destruction, in the Middle East, focusing on Iraq. As heritage theory increasingly accepts wider definitions of the heritage values attached to historic buildings and areas, including their contributions to conceptions of place, memory and experience, so attempts at reconstruction of destroyed heritage which respects these extrinsic values is becoming more practiced. This is in defiance of a concern often voiced that reconstruction leads to inauthenticity and the 'Disneyfication' of place, and often in response to the desire of local populations to regain a dignified, functional, and meaningful environment.

Using archival research, remote observation, and interviews, I have looked at the challenges of two reconstruction projects in Amedi and Mosul, north Iraq, including identifying how understanding of the heritage values of these places have been sought from their key project partners, and how they have addressed the reinstatement of those more traditionally valued attributes relating to historic fabric and form. I have evaluated their effectiveness in these areas and in that of deploying international resources to bring about sustainable and transferable approaches to tacking varying levels of neglect and destruction. In doing so I have tested the concept of authenticity in its traditionally understood sense of relating to historic fabric and sought to expand it to accommodate contemporary views on heritage values. Finally, I have sought to identify good practice for successful reconstruction projects, set out in a practical toolkit of recommendations for their inception and conduct.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Scope

'In order to gain a deeper understanding of an activity.. a different reflection from that required from performing it is usually required.' (Vinas 2011)

In this introductory chapter I will set out the challenges for heritage theory and practice I have identified arising from reconstruction in historic cities following conflict-related damage and destruction. As there is some inconsistency in the use of the term, I have taken reconstruction to include physical reconstitution of sites using original materials and fragments as well as new, and to include choices made to recover heritage values lost as a result of destruction of physical features. The circumstances of reconstruction vary from site to site, occurring, if at all, with varied protagonists who may include Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international heritage organizations such as UNESCO or the Aga Khan Foundation, national heritage agencies, or private organisations or individuals, with concomitantly differing approaches to heritage structures and different levels of resource to deploy (see for instance Hardy (ed.) 2011, Stig Sorensen & Viejo Rose 2015). The practical challenges of such work can be equally various, ranging from dangers to life from unexploded ordnance to the more mundane issues of providing adequate drainage and sewers. Most projects where there is an attempt to reconstruct or rehabilitate heritage will, in addition, focus on the recovery of heritage values, be they seen as residing in the intrinsic, physical characteristics of the site, or the intangible attributions made by the people with whom it is most closely associated. The challenge there, in terms of heritage theory, is to understand how, and which, heritage values are identified and followed through in reconstruction decisions, and the outcomes of these choices.

I have chosen this area to research because, generated by extreme circumstances, these challenges are pushing hard against conventional views on practice in my professional field, the conservation of historic built fabric. This is particularly so in respect of decisions on whether destroyed or severely damaged historic structures should be reconstructed and in determining what constitutes 'authenticity' when it is done. Experience of working in a profession tasked with managing change to historic structures has given me awareness of the degree of change which can be accommodated in historic structures while retaining the core attributes which make them of heritage interest, and of the degree to which both heritage and wider values can still be appreciated even in very altered structures; decisions on reconstruction are seldom clear-cut or obvious.

I therefore see the examination of these challenges and responses to them as an opportunity for reflective and reflexive personal practice of the kind supported by the professional doctorate programme, focused on practice-based research leading to a substantive contribution to the field of practice (Fulton et al. 2013). In the context of increased diversity in the presentation both of PhD and professional doctoral research (Fulton et al. 2013) I have been able both to undertake a deep investigation of the relevant academic and practical literature relating to the subject, but also to produce a practical element in the form of a toolkit intended to support reconstruction projects. Both may be able to act as informed contributions to a debate that needs to occur within the built heritage profession regarding the fitness for purpose today of policy and legal systems founded in the twentieth century. As I will set out in subsequent chapters, these systems and principles are straining in response to damage and loss of a sudden and traumatic kind caused by conflict or natural disaster.

Background

At the time I started researching, Islamic State, or Daesh, as I shall refer to it (see for instance Irshaid 2023) had already reached the peak of its geographical extent although its destructive activities in Syria and Iraq continued even as it began to be driven out by a coalition of international and regional forces (Stanford Centre for International Security and Co-operation 2021). Public statements were made in the UK at the time questioning whether or not destroyed or partially destroyed sites should be reconstructed. Some participants in that debate valued a particular kind of authenticity, based on the materiality of the site – all the right fabric, in the right order. Where sites have been blown up and cleared by bulldozer the order has been lost, the argument went, and authenticity can thereafter lie only in the fragmented remains. Attempts to reconstruct – it was both implied and stated – are wrong: 'Restoration is a delicate art, and the responsible preservation of antiquities has to mean accepting the finality of loss where rebuilding might be deceitful' (Jones 2016). It was also said that the shattered sites could stand as a testimonial to the terrible events leading up to their destruction. For instance, Director of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), Mathew Slocombe stated 'Damage at Palmyra is a tragedy, but it is a loss we must all accept. This barbaric act of destruction, intended to erase cultural heritage, is now part of the site's long history. While there is an understandable inclination to reverse the damage, there is surely greater dignity in remembering and conserving what remains as a truthful record of the human and cultural losses' (Slocombe 2016).

This evident reluctance of some with a public voice on heritage to countenance reconstruction reflects the continuing influence a traditional approach to heritage conservation, derived from a Western-centric, scientifically based ethos where the value of heritage objects – that is the tangible objects which are the subject of heritage processes - is seen to reside in their aged fabric, monumentality, or aesthetic qualities, with these values, assumed to be intrinsic and authentic, and to be defined and curated by relevant experts. The 'truth' of these values can be obscured, concealed, or destroyed through restoration, which is therefore to be avoided, or carefully prescribed, again, by experts (see for example Viñas 2011).

The concept of Disneyfication, too, is often cited as a concern by heritage professionals and others when discussing the complete rebuilding of a cultural heritage site that has been destroyed or seriously damaged (Thomas & Bülow 2020). The danger of Disneyfication has been presented as a reason not to undertake reconstruction, for instance in the context of the touring exhibition of the 3D printed Arch of Triumph from Palmyra (Cunliffe 2016, Khunti 2018) or discussions regarding the reconstruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan (Janowski 2011), primarily on the basis that reconstructions, will be copies, or worse, fakes, which may convey an inaccurate understanding of the past, and will, whatever the appearance of the end product, result in a loss of values accrued over time (Janowski 2011). Concerns are often linked to the actual or potential poor quality of the resulting product reconstruction and related issues. Roshni Khunti, for instance, in discussing the Arch of Triumph project, highlights the insensitivity of its presentation by the Institute for Digital Archaeology and by champions such as Boris Johnson in omission of any evident concern for the suffering of the Syrian people, political naivety in not acknowledging the harmful actions of other parties, not least the Syrian regime, and failure to consult Syrian people at large over the endeavour (Khunti 2018). The focus on the technical achievements of the reconstruction were potentially a distraction, blurring the meaning of what had been created, and exacerbated by arguments over its authenticity given that it was to a reduced scale.

The unease engendered by the concept of Disneyfication takes justification from the thinking of Jean Baudrillard (1994) and links reconstruction to his idea of simulation which not only threatens the difference between true and false, real and imaginary, but in producing something of the original pretends to have what is not there, substitutes the signs of the real for the real, often, in his view, in order to conceal an even greater absence (Baudrillard 1994). Furthermore, he seemingly ascribes moral values to degrees of image

making, seen as good when it simply reflects reality, and 'evil' where it masks and denatures reality (Baudrillard 1994, 6) and opens the door to nostalgia, another assertion of unreality. Disneyland is highlighted as the perfect metaphor, a miniaturised caricature of the 'real' America, concealing its lack of substance, or hyperreality (Baudrillard 1994, 12). It is a metaphor which wears thin when the possibility is considered that in its lack of pretence as to its nature as a pretence, constructed and commodified for consumption, Disneyland could be seen as real rather than simulation (Kennedy & Kingcombe 1998).

It seems fair to say that that where the term Disneyfication is used in discussions regarding heritage today, these concepts are seldom overtly acknowledged or reflected; rather the term is deployed to express unease, distain even, picking up on associations of the term, moving beyond Baudrillard, with consumerism, standardisation, commodification and a certain vacuity of uncomprehending consumption in relation to culture (Walsh 1992, Harrison 2013) or linked to the idea of the 'heritage industry' (Smith 2006 p. 28), associations which will be discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters but generally relate to more elitist views of heritage and the capabilities of the non-expert (Smith 2006). While there may be legitimate concerns arising from the transformation of real historic environments for the consumption of tourists (Sinding-Larsen 2011) and the concept is a salient prompt for careful consideration of methods and likely outcomes of reconstruction efforts, it is often used, rather, as a marker of absolute condemnation, a closure of any debate, rather than a claim which needs to be balanced against other priorities (Thomas and Bülow 2020). As I will examine in my literature review, the values ascribed to heritage are more various and nuanced that this would imply, and so there are competing values and priorities to be taken into account (Adam 2008, Menon 2008). In this dissertation, I have therefore taken the term Disneyfication to be a shorthand for generalised objections to works of reconstruction, and something capable of examination and challenge.

The ethical commitment statement for ICOMOS members emphasizes authenticity as an integral principle in the conversation about and presentation of monuments and sites in order that 'their cultural significance is retained as reliable evidence of the past' (ICOMOS 2002, Article 2). The issue of authenticity is also much adduced in discussions regarding reconstruction projects, although little clarification is provided in most sources as to what it constitutes, as will be discussed below. The Venice Charter is often quoted in the discussions regarding reconstruction, with it's a priori prohibition against reconstructions. However, this view is increasingly being

challenged in the light of recognition of a greater plurality of heritage values and the identification of circumstances in which it might be morally right to reconstruct (Thomas & Bülow 2020). As I will examine below, contemporary theories relating to heritage have recognised the intangible and symbolic value of heritage buildings and sites, and their role in defining or negotiating meaning for those experiencing them. These values are consequently mutable, depending on the audience, and evolve from generation to generation as meanings are accreted or lost (Smith 2006). This is an approach which does not favour the expert or one set of values over another. It also suggests that an approach based solely on survival of fabric is only a partial rehearsal of possible valid responses to destruction. Following on from this, a shift in academic heritage theory visible in this century has revealed a greater willingness to reject professional disengagement from conflict-damaged sides on the basis of loss of material authenticity (Newson and Young, 2017). The principle of reconstruction of urban sites is also being accepted, albeit with acknowledgement of potential pitfalls, as a way of providing the returning residents of damaged cities a locus for re-establishing daily life and negotiating reconciliation with others, with the past and the present (Piazzoni 2020).

The ongoing destruction of heritage in the Middle East and North Africa region (MENA) therefore presents a prompt and an opportunity to question our principles for and approaches to major interventions in heritage sites, particularly in relation to the concept of authenticity. As I identify, the concept of authenticity is the subject of ongoing academic debate, and has been used in various contexts, including the Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964), without being fully or clearly defined. As such it is used inconsistently (Bold et al. 2018). This research will contribute to that debate on tangible heritage and definitions of authenticity.

Destruction also calls into question whether the still widespread focus on a narrow range of supposedly intrinsic qualities such as the age, representativeness, or aesthetics of surviving material is an adequate response to loss of heritage. What, for instance, should be done about destroyed or partially destroyed sites if re-establishing their intangible values relating to personal, local, or national identity can reap high rewards in terms of recreating or re-rooting these identities or supporting a stable social and economic base for a recovering community? As we have seen in Iraq, the consequences of failure to do these things, including continuing conflict and social disintegration, are potentially grave (see for instance, Hamsaeed & Nada 2020, Center for Preventative Action 2024).

If the conservation of historic buildings, monuments and sites is accepted as an evolutionary process, rather than simply an exercise in preserving stasis, the possibility for more imaginative and diverse futures for them opens up, rather than a stark dichotomy of choice between leaving places in fragments or completely reconstructing them; a choice between Wasteland or Disneyland.

Geographical scope

Meanwhile, on the ground, the reconstruction of historic areas in the MENA region damaged or destroyed in recent internal conflicts is being increasingly openly harnessed to meet pressing humanitarian needs and repair fractured societies (see for instance Barakat, 2021). Internationally conducted research in these areas focused on remotely quantifying and documenting conflict heritage damage is well established, but stops short of informing what happens next, while its concern has often been on major or internationally recognised heritage sites. Despite growing recognition of the potential of historic urban areas to meet many post-conflict practical and social needs they have received relatively little international attention (see for instance Azzouz 2023). Additionally, as I will set out in Chapter 2, the colonial legacy of prioritisation of the pre-Islamic past has been internalised in heritage systems and practice within the region, with top-down approaches dominating, alongside a tendency to monumentalise grand archaeological set pieces rather than recognise living historic urban landscapes. Both research and practice need better to engage with such places to realise fully their heritage and wider social potential.

The heart of my research is therefore to peer-review active, post-conflict reconstruction projects in damaged historic cities in the MENA region, and to examine how today's more expansive theoretical definitions of heritage processes and participants are being translated into action in these complex and often undervalued places, and, where possible, how successfully heritage is being deployed so far in meeting humanitarian needs and promoting reconciliation and societal healing. UNESCO's 'Revive the Spirit of Mosul' is one such a project, where ideals of public participation are integral to the project design, extensive reconstruction works are being conducted for significant religious buildings alongside rehabilitation of historic urban dwellings, and UNESCO itself is taking an unusually direct operational role (UNESCO 2020). I will look at choices made in respect of the nature and degree of engagement of in situ and displaced communities; mobilization of international expertise; the extent and design of reconstruction versus new build; and will interrogate heritage practitioner experiences of immediate

successes and setbacks, taking a snapshot of contemporary practice to identify early lessons for future reconstruction projects.

Further, I will look at how lessons learnt in the context of the extremely testing circumstances of post-conflict work can reflect back onto wider heritage principles. For instance, the primacy often given to material authenticity must be challenged where heritage values beyond the physical survival of structures also exert a strong pull, while everyday national and international heritage legal/management systems may need to rethink how they can promote genuine societal participation. These reflections may point towards possible adaptations to heritage practice in dealing with other burgeoning challenges, not least the effects of extremes of climate change.

In the following chapter I will go on to set out the research contexts in more detail, including review of the literature relating to heritage, to the application of social values to heritage projects and to the aftermath of conflict in the heritage context.

Chapter 2 – Research Contexts

Introduction

Looking into the role of heritage in post-conflict situations requires a review of literature on several fronts. Many factors in this dissertation relate to the way in which heritage is and has been conceived, which in turn influence the uses to which it is put today. As the concept of heritage has evolved in the UK and globally, so too have its processes, objects, and protagonists, and it is to this evolution and the key concept of authenticity I turn firstly in this chapter. I will then look at more recent debates relating to the reconstruction of heritage in post-conflict societies, and to the highly relevant matter of increased community participation in the processes of heritage.

'Heritage' is used today as an umbrella term covering a variety of tangible and intangible entities. It has passed through a number of shades of meaning since the late twentieth century, and still presents some challenges in definition, covering as it does both the objects of practice, and the practice itself (see for example Cowell 2008, Harrison 2010, Historic England 2013, Smith 2006, Stanley Price, Talley & Vaccaro 1996, and Viñas 2011). Adding to the multiplicity of heritage concepts is the exponential growth in the numbers and categories of objects of heritage activity; numbers of listed buildings within England alone have reached about half a million (Mayes 2017, Historic England n.), while the Museum of London's recent acquisition and conservation of a large piece of one of the largest 'fatbergs' found lurking in London's sewers, suggests that there are few limits to what can be considered as part of our common inheritance (Pendlebury 2013, Sparkes 2018).

The Fatberg Exhibition at the Museum of London, 2018. (Photos S. J. Buckingham)

Meanwhile, internationally, places on the inscribed list and tentative list of world heritage sites grows yearly. There were in 2023 1199 World Heritage sites in both cultural and natural categories, sited in 168 states (UNESCO 2024 b). Using figures provided by UNESCO, I observe that the rate of increase has been a steady one of between 20 and 30 sites per year for most years, with occasional spikes such as in 2000 (64 additions) or indeed 2023 (45 additions). Nearly half, just over 47%, are situated in Europe and North America (UNESCO 2024 b).

So not only have the objects of heritage become numerous the term 'heritage' has now also 'taken on a currency in popular, policy and academic discourse that verges on the promiscuous' according to Waterton et al. (2006) (see also Lowenthal 1999 for similar conclusions) or, lexically, 'capricious enough to accommodate wildly discrepant meanings (Samuel 1994). Understanding of the term, and its associated discourses, is not therefore entirely straightforward. Heritage as an active academic and practical discipline contains contention, or at least sometimes a lack of consensus, on its aims and objects. So I now turn to consideration of its roots and development in order to set out my understanding of how this evolution has influenced contemporary discourse and decision making.

Evolving concepts of heritage

Early ideas

People's care for the past and its remains has been evident from the earliest days of written testimony; the Greek author Herodotus documented the already ancient temples and pyramids of Pharaonic Egypt (Herodotus (translation)1890), while the Emperor Hadrian carefully relocated and curated some of its more portable statuary and obelisks and rebuilt Agrippa's century old Pantheon in Rome (Guierrieri 2019). Antiquarian interest in the evidence of the former greatness of Rome was apparent in Renaissance Italy and in the study of the mysterious remnants of a hazily understood pagan past in seventeenth century Britain (Historic England 2012, Jokilehto1999). Similar impulses were evident in Mediaeval China (Winter 2013). Before the nineteenth century the role of the structures of the past was either mundane, the backdrop to everyday life, or more spectacular, didactic, and memorial, inspiring contemplation and conveying lessons from past great, but ultimately failed, civilisations. For many years it was enough to look upon these works and admire, or indeed despair (Shelley 1817), but there was no evident impulse to preserve or repair.

It was later, in the post Enlightenment world, that the desire to intervene in the remnants of the past emerged, encouraged by the development of nation states and emergence of capitalism (Byrne 2008, West and Ansell 2010). Laurajane Smith characterises this development as the emergence of a particular discourse which was related to the development of nineteenth-century nationalism and liberal modernity, creating a particular set of cultural and social practices imbued with a sense of the pastoral care of the material past (Smith 2006, 16 – 17). The impulse to preserve and record these material remains grew fed by a debate between two competing approaches, discussed below, prioritising on the one hand the physical survival of the fabric of old buildings, and on the other the recreation of an idealised aesthetic, both of which remain highly influential and embedded in practice today (Smith 2006). Furthermore, as Tim Winter (2013) reminds us, although both this emergence of heritage ideas and their subsequent academic theorising were largely Anglophone and focused on Western Europe and North America, they have informed the dominant narratives regarding cultural heritage promoted globally today by bodies such as UNESCO. They therefore repay some examination.

The nineteenth century debate crystallised around two key figures; John Ruskin, an influential English art critic and social commentator and Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, architect, and restorer of such key buildings such as Notre

Dame de Paris (Viñas 2011, Jokilehto 1999). Ruskin was aware of the work of Viollet-le-Duc and also responded to the work of home-grown architects such as James Wyatt, who, in their work to restore cathedrals including Lichfield, Salisbury, Hereford and Durham, were destroying historic fabric in the interests of stylistic restoration with an idealised restored appearance as the principal concern (Jokilehto 1999). This approach to restoration is nowhere better summed up than in the words of the French architect himself as 'neither to maintain it, nor repair it, nor to rebuild it; it means to re-establish it in a completed state, which may in fact never have actually existed at any given time' (Viollet-le-Duc 1866, translated in Viñas 2011, p4).

Ruskin himself reacted strongly and memorably in his most famous works, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (Ruskin,1849) and *The Stones of Venice* (Ruskin 1851–53) to the continuing restoration of historic buildings, and particularly the enforcement, sometimes speculatively, of Gothic style in restored mediaeval churches and cathedrals. In the former, he set out his unequivocal position that 'It is again no question of expediency or feeling whether we shall preserve the buildings of past time or not. We have no right whatsoever to touch them. They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them, and partly to all generations of mankind who are to follow us' (Ruskin 1845). In the strength of his response, and vehement condemnation of the practice of restoration, he and others (for instance Carter 1804), set the tone for the suspicion with which ideas of restoration are viewed today, and the reluctance still displayed on occasion towards accepting restoration as a valid approach to dealing with the remains of the past.

His much-quoted comment and related views went on to be a significant influence on the development of conservation thought, providing the intellection foundations for many of the approaches and organisations that were to follow (Cowell 2008, Historic England 2013, Jokilehto 1999, Smith 2006, Viñas 2011, and many others). Chief among these was the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) founded by Willliam Morris in 1877 as a source of direct action and lobbying for the conservation of ancient buildings. SPAB in turn became hugely influential in setting the ideological framework within which conservation thinking was to develop over the following century. The idea of authenticity based on physical survival of fabric achieved primacy in the practice of heritage and conservation from this point, including in national policy and legislation developed from the end of the nineteenth century in Britain (Cowell 2008, Historic England 2013, Jokilehto 1999, Smith 2006, Viñas 2011). The Society in its manifesto (SPAB 1877) displayed its concern for the fabric and the unaltered, aged, appearance of a building as tangible expressions of a different age and outlook, and

advocated minimum intervention, mending, and propping, and resisting the temptation to tamper with either fabric or ornament. This was probably the first point at which the emerging concept of heritage widened from simple considerations of its objects, the monuments, cathedrals etc., and became a reflective activity, which addressed the practices of curating or responding to these objects.

A contrasting approach to the remains of the past emerged towards the end of the eighteenth century in the form of the artistic, literary, and intellectual Romantic movement (Berlin 2000). A complex movement to define, it found a dynamic, organistic character to being and valued change, imperfection, creative imagination and the unconscious (Peckham 1970), the distinct identity of the individual and importance of community (Morrow 2011). Reaching a peak in Europe around 1850, it was partly a reaction to the Industrial Revolution, partly to the Enlightenment and its scientific rationalisation, which revealed the desire to look back to a time where humans existed in greater harmony with the natural world (Smith 2006, Morrow 2011). It also looked to strong emotions as an authentic source of aesthetic experience. As a result emotions such as awe were given a new emphasis, particularly in response to natural and human-made places and their rugged, weathered, and possibly also mildly terrifying appearance (Morrow 2011). Such places were referred to as 'sublime'. Beauty, both natural and human-made, and the emotions it inspires were also given great value. In this context ruins were valued as a source of emotions such as reflection or awe, with no imperative to intervene in any way; their ruination was what made them interesting. The concept of the Picturesque related to Ideas of the sublime and the beautiful introduced respectively in England by Edmund Burke and William Gilpin and was also associated with Romanticism. The sublime was about beauty with a hint of apprehension and related to ruggedness, in contrast with the typical smoothness of conventional beauty (Burke 1768, Gilpin 1792). Wild nature was often the focus of art in the Picturesque tradition (Gallitz 2004), while ruins were also often featured for their evocative, aesthetic, or didactic power (Zucker 1961).

To give an example, the Italian Artist Piranesi in his etchings of the great ruined monuments of Imperial Rome epitomises the Romantic view of historic ruins as evocative, mysterious, possibly a bit unnerving. The picture below of the pyramidal tomb of Cestius shows it surrounded by ruins and overgrown, against the backdrop of a slightly moody sky. The contemporary photographs reveals the exaggeratedly small scale of humans in Piranesi's picture.

The Pyramid of Gaius Cestius, from Vedute di Roma (Roman Views) by Giovanni Battista Piranesi, c. 1756. Put in the public domain by the Metropolitan Museum of Art New York.

The Pyramid of Gaius Cestius in 2015. (Photographs by J. Ette and S.J. Buckingham)

A further example can be seen below in in the comparison of the work of Turner, in his depiction on the left of the transept of Tintern Abbey, shown as roofless and overgrown, and more or less the same view, given on the right. The latter shows a contemporary presentation of ruins, or at least that bequeathed to us in the early twentieth century by the scientific approach espoused by the Ministry of Works, the Government department responsible for the care of historic monuments in the early twentieth century. There is, if anything, more historic fabric present than in the earlier representation, as a result of some obvious reconstruction, but the aesthetic is a sterile one, with masonry protruding from bowling-green lawns, more structurally stable perhaps, but less characterful.
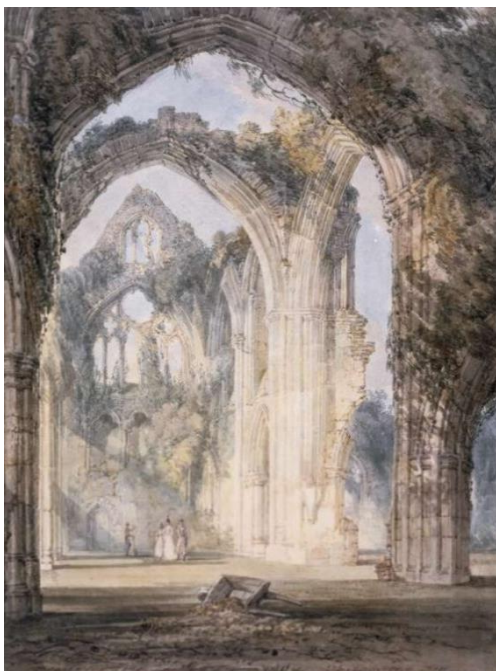
Watercolour of Tintern Abbey, the transept, by J. M. W. Turner, c1794. © The Trustees of the British Museum

Twenty first Century view of the transept. Philip Pankhurst, accessed through Wikimedia commons.

The cult-like appreciation of ruins is a legacy of the Picturesque which continued to resonate in popular imagination (Zucker 1961, Huyssen 2006), albeit tested to its limits by the very real ruination wrought in the World Wars of the twentieth century (Huyssen 2006). Andreas Huyssen (2006) identifies ruins as a particular repository for nostalgic contemplation, presenting the past in trace, but no longer accessible. Originally referring to the manifestations of extreme homesickness, the term nostalgia has become associated with the endemic sense of loss arising from the contemplation of the products of the past in the face of the disruptions caused by rapid changes instituted under modernism, and the subsequent sense of a threatened, or even absent future (Huppatz 2021, Pickering & Keightley 2006). So it has become a response to

painful separation from the lost across space, and the irretrievably lost across time (Huyssen, 2006). Consequently it has been possible to characterise nostalgia negatively as a reactionary and amnesiac longing for the unattainable past or as seeking a sentimental and inauthentic re-evocation of the past in superficial forms (Huppatz 2021, Pickering & Keightley 2006). It has thus also been possible to use nostalgia as a critical tool to interrogate the articulation of the past in the present and to investigate sentimentally inflected mediated representations of the past, particularly where there is an element of commercial exploitation at stake (Pickering & Keightley 2006). In that respect, its negative characterisation resonates with the concept of Disneyfication described in Chapter 1.

In contrast, however, more positive aspects of nostalgia could be seen in its character as a personal response to the past (Hupptaz 2021), with the democratic potential to be actively produced rather than passively consumed, and, given the impossibility of an actual return to the past, to create recognition of aspects of the past as a basis for renewal and satisfaction in the future (Pickering & Keightley 2006). In this last respect, nostalgia has the potential for a positive role responding to the traumatic loss of aspects of the past through conflict, driving a desire to rebuild the conditions for living through recovering what has been lost. However, a nostalgic obsession with ruins which focuses on retaining their ravaged fabric, albeit that it is an imperfect transmission of the intentions of their original creator, can in some circumstances deny their potential for renewal. The case of Bagrati Cathedral, which I examine below, is one where this has occurred through awarding ruination the unquestioned status of a heritage value in its own right.

Ruin Lust, was an exhibition at Tate Britain in early 2014, looked at the varied representations of ruins in art from the seventeenth century to the present day and included works by Turner and Constable, Rachel Whiteread and Tacita Deane. This banner image highlights the work of Louise Wilson looking at the remains of the Nazi regime's Atlantic wall (Tate Modern, Banner image credits: Louise Wilson, Jane Wilson Azeville 2006 © Jane and Louise Wilson, courtesy 303 Gallery, New York)

By the turn of the twentieth century, national legislation to protect monuments or antiquities had emerged in European countries including Italy, Spain (1865), Germany and Switzerland (1866/67), following the examples of - Sweden (1666), Portugal (1721) and post-Revolutionary France (Jokilheto 1999). In Britain the first heritage legislation, the Ancient Monuments Protection Act was introduced in 1882. It offered some protection but stopped short of completely preventing the loss or damage of monuments due to the endemic reluctance of the state to interfere in the private property rights of the landowning class (Delafons 1997, West 2010). In comparison, following decades of antiquarian interest and survey, including the founding of the Asian Society in 1784, legislation for the conservation of buildings for their historical and architectural value had been introduced in 1863 by the colonial government of India.

Around the turn of the twentieth century the Italian Architect Camillo Boito, rejecting the approaches espoused by his contemporaries, Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc, promoted a different approach to preservation which recognised the inevitability of value judgements in decision making (Boito 2009). In his Charter of Restoration, 1893, he set out eight points to be considered in the restoration of historical buildings: making a differentiation

between the old and new fabric in terms of style and materials; keeping additions to the minimum necessary; retaining and exhibiting removed old pieces next to the monument; marking and recording any interventions, including with a descriptive epigraph; the retention of records and photographs of the different phases of the work, to be held in or close to the building; and ensuring that the alterations are well known (Boito 2009). It is an archaeological-, materials-based approach, which attempts to put interventions in historic buildings on the footing of objective and scientifically grounded fact, while standing clear of personal tastes and hypotheses. For Boito, restoration was to be kept to the minimum necessary to return a building to use. (Boito 2009, Mehr 2019, Viñas 2011).

At a time of the academic formalisation and professionalisation of many areas of the natural and social sciences, and definition of new, scientifically based methodologies in areas such as archaeology, a scientific approach such as this was to prove popular and influential in the practice of heritage. Justified by its claims to objectivity it became the dominant model in western Europe, and with it came the notion of objective 'truth' to be found in the fabric of historic structures and their features. As, in turn, this European-influenced approach spread to other parts of the world, including the United States, the principles and approaches it espoused came to inform the content of international treaties and charters relating to cultural heritage and its management produced by the international organisations emerging after the First World War. Whether or not taken up in national systems for heritage protection, they remain influential today as high-level expressions of conservation philosophy (Mehr 2019, Viñas 2011).

It is here worth briefly considering the term 'monument', a term often used in these early expressions of heritage thought. Smith has characterised it as being imbued with 'particular registers of power greatness and beauty from the seventeenth century and subsequently having a commemorative role in triggering certain public memories and values … a concept that has come to embody a particular European vision of the world' (Smith 2006,19). The term remains in contemporary use, for instance, in the UK system of designating and managing 'Scheduled Monuments'. It has, however, multiple associations: with memorialisation, for instance in the form of church monuments; with monumentality in terms of grand or imposing structures (Leveson 2019); and with monumentalisation, i.e. something to be preserved in a static and unchanging condition although capable of re-energising through the accumulation of new associations (Mitchell 2003). In practice, both in the UK and other heritage protection systems globally the term is

associated with considerable age, and restrictions on change (see for instance Historic England 2024 c).

Alois Riegl was early to identify the nuances of the term by distinguishing between these 'deliberate monuments', that is, memorial and didactic structures, which 'when we speak of the modern cult of monuments or historic preservation we rarely have … in mind', preferring the concept of 'artistic and historical monuments' (Stanley Price et al. 1996, p. 69). He has, by introducing the concept of values, been seen to prefigure the contemporary approach to heritage (see for instance, Ahmer 2020), although this is challenged by those who see a subordinate role for values in the Austrian legislation he was introducing and draw attention to his primary focus on age and historical values (Lamprakos 2014). However, when these values, defined as broadly anything with artistic and/or historic value as long as it revealed the passage of time, are applied to Riegl's conception of the monument this does not always sit comfortably with the objects of contemporary conservation systems. In the UK, for instance, designated monuments may include items as various as industrial machinery, prehistoric burial mounds, and World War 2 concrete pill boxes. This variability in both time depth and artistic merit are seen by some as product of the 'rampant relativism' arising from the proliferation of values following Riegl (Lamprakos 2014). The concept of values in relation to heritage is discussed further below.

International treaties and charters and the scientific approach

The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments, 1931, resulted from the first international congress of architects and technicians of historic monuments, in Athens. Aimed primarily at the preservation of the fabric of monuments, it set out and stated explicitly the value of a systematic approach to conservation (ICOMOS 1931). Overall the focus of this and subsequent charters formulated during the mid-twentieth century is on the material and intrinsic qualities of the heritage properties they address, arising from an empiricist or positivist approach in which these qualities were considered capable of objective reporting from the expert observer (Byrne 2008, Pacquette et al. 2017). In this lies its claims to a scientific, and therefore justifiable, approach. As a result, an emphasis on the importance of experts, be they scientists or architects, or those formulating the principles, runs through the whole.

Its general principles reveal a fabric focused approach, to eschew wholesale restoration in favour of 'regular and permanent maintenance' to ensure the preservation of buildings (ICOMOS 1931, Article 1). The emphasis is firmly on the material survival of historic buildings, accepting that the beneficial use of historic buildings is instrumental in securing their maintenance and survival,

provided it respects the historic or artistic character of the building. It too acknowledges that 'the best guarantee in the matter of the preservation of monuments and works of art derives from the respect and attachment of the peoples themselves'. However this is somewhat counteracted by the statement that this is to be achieved by teaching the peoples themselves this respect and attachment through 'a greater and more general interest in the protection of these concrete testimonies of all ages of civilisation', implying the need for officially approved forms of respect and attachment (ICOMOS 1931, Article 7).

Pronouncements on the restoration of monuments include that the experts present 'approved the judicious use of all the resources at the disposal of modern technique and more especially of reinforced concrete'; the structural hazards of integrating this highly inflexible material with traditionally constructed buildings were evidently not yet known. They specified also that this work of consolidation should, whenever possible, be concealed to preserve the aspect and character of the restored monument. This approach was recommended particularly 'to avoid the dangers of dismantling and reinstating the portions to be preserved.' (ICOMOS 1931, Article 4). While this idea arises from the concern to retain original fabric in situ, in an apparent contradiction it accepts an element of stylistic restoration, fakery even, to retain the original appearance of the restored monument.

The Charter also advocates anastylosis – the re-erection of buildings using to the full extent recovered and re-instated original. Original fragments might be set in a matrix of new material, which should be distinguishable from the original. It is an approach which can succeed – the Neues Museum in Berlin is a good example - but the history of site presentation contains many examples of more contentious interventions, not least the restoration of the so-called palace complex at Knossos, which, while the modern fabric (reinforced concrete) is conspicuous, may have created the impression that it is original work.

Overall the focus of the Athens Charter is tilted towards practical approaches to preservation – record keeping, removing clutter, landscaping etc. On the other hand, it prefigures later approaches to conservation by advocating the retention of historic interventions, without excluding the style of any given period (Article 1)- that is, retaining what is often described as the 'palimpsest' (Machado, 1976) of changes accrued over time to any particular old or complex building.

A Gallician Castro (Iron Age Hill Town) Galicia, north- west Spain. (Photo S. J. Buckingham) An example of consolidated historic buildings using new fabric. The wall tops, consolidated in concrete, causes speculation among visitors as to what these low walls were used for – containing animals perhaps? The majority formed the lower parts of domestic buildings and would have extended to eaves level, supporting a circular thatched roof above.

The next major step in the conception of heritage ideas was *Teoria de Restauro* published by Cesare Brandi, an influential art historian, who set up the Institute Centrale del Restauro in Rome in 1939 and was active in the international sphere from the late 1940's (Viñas 2011). The lack until 2005 of an English translation of this work on conservation, published in 1963, means that his influence on international conservation thinking has not necessarily been extensively analysed in the Anglophone world, being restricted to quotations in UK or American publications (see for instance Stanley-Price et al, 1996 and Jokilehto 1999). Concepts restated by Brandi and still followed today include the need to distinguish new work from old, respect for patina, and the avoidance of over-perfecting a work through the removal of later phases of its development. However Brandi was in the main considering works of art rather than buildings and, while accepting the restoration of buildings he cautions against their reconstruction, as forgery (Brandi 2005). His arguments are, however, far from clear cut or straightforwardly applicable to buildings, and I have given a more in-depth analysis of his *Teoria de Restauro* in Appendix 1.

Ensuring that new work should be distinguished from the original is a particular idea transmitted from Boito via Brandi, whence its often repetition has led to its acceptance as a core principle of heritage restoration. Brandi, drawing on his art historical background stressed the need to distinguish new work from old, alongside respect for patina, and the avoidance of re-perfecting a work to its original state, both falsifications, in his view, which would erase the elapsed time since it was created. The clear separation of new and old work avoids falsification (Brandi 2005). Brandi's work just predated the Venice Charter and doubtlessly influenced its content (Jokilehto,1998). Paul Phillipot,

who wrote an essay prefacing the Teoria, and was generally supportive of his approach, was also a member of the drafting committee of the Venice Charter, which was to prove the medium for carrying through many of Brandi's ideas, including this, into subsequent conservation ideology.

The Venice Charter was published in 1964 as an update to the Athens Charter and is considered by some to be one of the foundational texts of conservation philosophy (Staun 2002, quoted in Smith 2006). It establishes as a key principle that the value or significance of a building or site should determine how it is conserved and managed. While this is a keystone principle of contemporary buildings conservation, concepts of value and significance have evolved since its publication.

The document builds on the principles of the Athens Charters in magisterial tone and a series of hortatory assertions, beginning thus: '**Imbued with a message from the past** (original emphasis), the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions. People are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage. The common responsibility to safeguard them for future generations is recognised. It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity' (ICOMOS 1964, Introduction).

Smith notes in this and other passages the assertion of a number of unquestioned assumptions of what is important, including the ancient, the authentic, and their role as common heritage. The term 'living witnesses' is seen as reinforcing the intrinsic, material condition of the monuments, endorsement of their evidential value, and, by implication, their role as agents of truth telling. She also detects, in the use of the word 'civilization' (ICOMOS 1964, Article 1) the underpinning of narratives of nationhood, and in the term 'duty' an implication of the morality of this approach. The role of such language is to naturalise these values and meanings (Smith 2006).

It is also a document written **by** experts – architects and technicians of historic monuments, mainly European with limited representation of other continents - and **for** the experts who will be leading the highly specialised scientific and technical work of conservation and restoration. There is much in the document which sets the scene for contemporary conservation practice, including the emphases on the benefits of maintenance and keeping a monument (the continued use of this term is telling) in active use (ICOMOS 1964, Articles 4 and 5), preserving its setting (Article 6), and, inspired by contemporary works to relocate the Abu Simbel temple in Egypt, the problems of loss of meaning inherent in the practice of moving monuments

(Article 7). The practice of restoration is treated emphatically in Article 9 with a series of firm injunctions as to how it 'must' be done: - to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic values based on respect for original material; to stop at the point where conjecture begins (although, arguably all restoration is conjectural); and to bear a contemporary stamp. The idea of the palimpsest is restated in Article 11, but with the additional thought that where 'a building includes the superimposed works of different periods, the revealing of the underlying state can only be justified in exceptional circumstances and when what is removed is of little interest'. It is clear that in such circumstances the decision as to what may be destroyed cannot rest solely on the individual in charge of the work, but the text is not explicit about who should make such a decision (ICOMOS 1964).

These tenets perpetuate the assumptions of the primacy of fabric and the expert identification of values which are, effectively, sacrosanct. Article 12 revisits the idea, posited earlier by Boito and repeated in the Athens Charter, that replacement elements, while integrating harmoniously with the whole, must also be distinguishable from the original, with the added admonition 'so that the restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence (ICOMOS 1964, Article 12). In this, the document exemplifies the adherence to the notion of truth and its enforcement which even in today is identified as being core to heritage theory, and said to be found in the material, age or artistry of the object (Viñas 2011). As a result, in dealing with the antithesis of truth - that is, falsity, inauthenticity, or fakery - the tone adopted in the Venice Charter and related classical approaches to heritage is normally condemnatory; non-truthfulness is to be avoided. Yet, as a counter to this, Viñas points out that works for the restoration of a building or a work of art are based on choices, themselves determined by values, tastes and preferences, rather than an underlying and immutable truth. (Vinas 2012, Otero-Pailos et al. 2010 discussing the destructive 1972 de-restoration of the Aphaia sculptures by the Munich Glyptotheck). Lowenthal goes further to suggest that heritage, as a social construct, actually thrives on non-truth (Lowenthal 1996) and Schulz further still in suggesting that the fake, rather than a shoddy deception is a powerful force that allows the viewer to realise the constructedness, staging and mythmaking of heritage (Schulz 2022).

In discussing of heritage values and authenticity, below, I identify that while contemporary heritage practice more commonly recognises multi-perspectival approaches to heritage and heritage values, nonetheless truth's close companion, authenticity, is still often invoked. At the same time, falsification or fakery remains a pejorative term often invoked in rejection of

the reconstruction of historic structures (Piazzoni 2020) and often allied to the concept of 'Disneyfication'.

In the Venice Charter, while restoration of monuments and buildings including, exceptionally, some removal of elements, is accepted, all reconstruction work of monuments and ruins, with the exception of anastylosis, is nonetheless categorically ruled out in order to avoid the distortion of their meaning. Through the distinctions it makes between 'monument' and 'building' it also sets up the artificial division of archaeological remains and buildings into two separate types of heritage object, still very much followed today, when perhaps they may be more helpfully viewed as points on a spectrum.

The Venice Charter as a revision and expansion of the original approaches in the Athens Charter, succeeded it also as a key document setting out and creating international awareness of conservation issues, framing them in the context of the dominant conservation philosophy and practice of the time (Smith 2006). In that these charters were the first to attempt to systematise these phenomena, generated significant international awareness, and were drafted by those with status as eminent architects, art historians or scientists of their times, they earned the prominence and credibility which caused them to be taken up and codified in national heritage systems around the world. Their Influence was heightened by their role in formulating responses to horrors and losses of two world wars (Goethcheus and Mitchell 2014). They also, in their creation, expansion and global promulgation reflected the growing interests of the international field of practitioners as well as those of governing elites in embedding and naturalising authorised heritage discourses (Rojas 2014, and Smith 2006). Thus there were technocratic as well as political reasons behind their absorption and canonisation as fundamental tenets. Consolidated by the hegemonic imposition by Europe on non-Western nations of its tenets (Byrne 1991) and reinforced over time by the subsequent treaties and charters that collectively reinforce and bind the authority of the AHD, the status in particular of the Venice Charter as the source of principles for considering heritage works has thus been naturalised internationally and nationally where its principles have been embedded in heritage laws and policy (Smith 2006). While modified, for instance, by the absorption of further heritage values into its ambit, such as the recognition of landscape and intangible cultural practices (Goetcheus and Mitchell 2014, Rojas 2014), the original invocation of scientific practice and objectivity remains a claim to legitimacy in heritage practice (Jones and Yarrow 2013, Jones and Yarrow 2022).

As a result of the enduring influence of the Venice Charter, it still touches on and challenges heritage practice today. An ongoing issue of debate relates to Article 9. Emphasising the importance of preserving and revealing the aesthetic and historic value of the monument, based on respect for original material and fabric, stopping at the point where conjecture begins, contention has arisen from the injunction that 'any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp' (ICOMOS 1964). This has been taken by some to have been misused to justify changes which are contrasting rather than simply contemporary (Younes in Hardy et al. 2008), and to privilege the voices of a transnational class of modernist architects, a reflection of the ethos of the time in which it was created, amply represented among the authors of the Charter itself (Hardy 2008), and indeed dominant in architectural training today but not necessarily in step with contemporary, more human-centred and traditionally inspired approaches (Younes in Hardy et al. 2008).

Heritage which is taken to comprise the collective memory of the society to which it belongs and exists to create or reinforce group identity is antithetical to modernity in that it is not concerned with a classificatory, compartmentalising historicist approach (Younes in Hardy et al. 2008), and therefore does not measure out the progress of change and improvement identified in historical study and demanded by the modernist project (Adam in Hardy et al. 2008). It does not recognise modernity's need to keep the past at arm's length, and, in connecting the present to the past through continuity and adaptation, can also be at odds with the notion of historically derived authenticity ((Adam in Hardy et al. 2008). The problems of this for buildings can include not only the jarring interventions in significant buildings, but also the interruption in cultural continuity (Hardy 2008), the musealising of buildings and eradication of traditional and traditional crafts as modern and evolving practice (Younes in Hardy et al. 2008). For cities, the ruptures and creation of difference demanded by modernism are at odds with the complex, 'layered maturation of collective living' and their integrative transformation, often including the composition and re-composition of existing buildings (Younes in Hardy et al. 2008, p. 34). These contradictions can therefore feed contention over the handling of reconstruction works to historic places, where a modernist-inspired approach would shun the recreation of traditional forms.

There is no instruction in the Venice Charter on how to deal with the newly ruinated, where fabric, albeit damaged and disturbed, may still be present, and evidence of previous form clearly held in the memories, and indeed today cameras and mobile phones, of thousands of residents or previous

visitors. This is to be expected, as the issue was not a preoccupation of the time, and we should not necessarily accept silence on the matter to be an argument against considering such a form of restoration/reconstruction today. However, by the time the World Heritage Convention of 1972 set up the World Heritage Committee and the system for inscribing world heritage sites, avoiding destruction and damage arising from natural disaster and conflict was again a priority. There was an imperative to remedy the loss of 'the most important and priceless heritage of all' which was being 'impaired or lost everywhere at an alarming rate' (UNESCO 1977, Article 1). Such sites were to be identified and 'inscribed' on the List of World Heritage Sites on the basis of their Outstanding Universal Value (OUV).

OUV is described in the first set of operational guidelines for implementing this system (UNESCO 1977) as pertaining to parts of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding interest which therefore need to be preserved as part of the heritage of mankind as a whole. The aspirations of inscription are again lofty, but the practicalities vaguely defined; detailed criteria for identifying OUV had not been established at this point but were so later. The first operational guidelines also stated that 'universal' value did not actually mean the recognition by all people, everywhere, but rather that it 'must therefore be interpreted as referring to a property which is highly representative of the culture of which it forms part' (UNESCO 1977, paragraph 7). Notwithstanding this qualification, the concept of universal value remains one which exceptionalises the status of world heritage, while the implication of values which are shared equally by all, irrespective of their cultural, geographical or cultural status, remains (Labadi 2013, Tucker and Carnegie 2014). The assumption arising from this is that such sites possess intrinsic and stable attributes that transcend those particular factors, and the understanding of values as primarily intrinsic therefore prevails (Labadi 2013, Tucker and Carnegie 2014). This has been borne out in progressive updates to the operational guidelines, which currently define OUV as meaning 'cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for and future generations of all humanity' (UNESCO 2023). Smith suggests a Europocentric bias to this and notes the UNESCO response to such accusations in its 2001 proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (Smith 2006). However, Labadi (2013) suggests the potential mutability of universality as the values of world heritage sites form themselves to the particular cultural framework in which they sit. Meanwhile, Tucker and Carnegie (2014) identify informal practices within the Goreme Open Air museum in central Turkey which subvert this dominant narrative. However, there is a need actively to embrace plural values if the protection and peace building and co-

operation at the heart of the world heritage project is to be fully realised (Tucker and Carnegie 2014).

Detailed criteria for assessing OUV now include such factors as the expression of human creative genius, the important interchange of human values, exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or civilisation, outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape etc. etc. (UNESCO 2023). The adoption of a superlative approach without clarity on how the exceptional, outstanding or examples of genius are to be measured and objectively separated from the simply good or extremely good runs the risk of inconsistency in outcomes, a lack of certainty on the part of those seeking nomination of sites to the World Heritage List and a certain circularity in argument where there is actually little room for consideration of wider values. Nonetheless inscription is normally sought for prestige and economic advantage, and often for reasons other than outstanding value, potentially devaluing the process (Keough 2011). Conversely, the threat of de-inscription due to damage or other harm is a badge of dishonour but little more, and a number of sites have been severely damaged without sanction (Keough 2011, Halliday 2021).

Heritage today

The concept of 'heritage' as it is currently used emerged in the second half of the twentieth century (Hunter 1996). The practice and philosophy of heritage tended again, during the latter part of the twentieth century, to develop through a series of leaps forward in response to a particular given threat or crisis. One such crisis in Britain was alarm in the post-war period created by extensive demolition and redevelopment of historic town centres and the creation of urban ring roads, occasioned by the contemporary thirst for the modern. The response by concerned campaigners and academics was an outcry, focused naturally on the physical conservation and preservation of threatened areas and buildings. The tone was urgent, not to say slightly sensationalised as in *Outrage* (Nairn. 1956), *Heritage in Danger* (Cormack 1976), and *The Rape of Britain* (Amery and Cruikshank 1975). Official responses to this included protection of historic buildings through the introduction of the system of 'Listed Building Consent' in England and Wales in 1968 and the ability to create and protect 'Conservation Areas' in 1967.

With these established, debate in the 1980s turned towards the 'heritage industry' identified by Robert Hewison (1987), Patrick Wright (1985) and others as something more than the business of presenting the past to a paying public in museums, castles or country houses. Set against the backdrop of the wholesale economic restructuring under the Conservative government of much of the 1980s, the loss particularly of manufacturing industries, the

dismantling of the mining industry, and the severe impact that it had on places and communities associated with them, they conceived the proliferation of heritage attractions and experiences as a debilitating form of nostalgia. Robert Hewison in *The Heritage Industry* observed that a new museum was opening every week, and that in many cases they were sentimental recreations of an imaginary past, viewed through sepia-tinted lens. Furthermore, such heritage 'experiences', harnessed in the construction of a dominant political discourse, were substituting a feeble economic base in towns hit hard by the loss of manufacturing industry and were a dangerous distraction (Hewison 1987).

Their critique carried the implication that mass interest in the past is inherently negative, also implying endorsement of an elite, expert led view heritage and casting heritage audiences as passive receptors. The countering view by Raphael Samuel, a left-wing historian of working-class life and culture, responding in 1994, was more optimistic, and argued that a genuine democratisation of heritage had occurred. He characterised criticism of this as condescending and elitist, and championed heritage as a genuine expression of identity and historic understanding, thus prefiguring some of today's approaches (Samuel 1994).

This debate fixed the concept of heritage in popular understanding and consolidated its definition as encompassing both the things of historic or cultural value and the practice of identifying and managing them to secure their preservation. The processes for the physical protection of historic buildings and sites were by then more established and secure and there was the leisure to debate this, rather rush to prevent widespread or imminent destruction. It was increasingly recognised that, broadly, heritage is the past viewed through the lens of the present, 'reconstructing the past in present terms' (Lowenthal 1985). As a result, however, it cannot be a neutral activity, nor one carried out without a subtext; heritage is constructed in response to present concerns, perhaps political or social expediencies, and often relates to expressions of national identity, since it is the institutions of state that have most control over the formal identification and expression of heritage.

Elsewhere, other approaches were emerging. James Semple Kerr's book *The Conservation Plan,* first published by the National Trust of Australia (NSW) in 1982, represented a significant step in conservation thought, setting out a logical process for the formulation of 'Conservation Plans' for places of cultural significance, developing policies based on an understanding of that significance, and intended to defuse the conflict between developers and conservationists (Sempel Kerr 2013). Influential since then and re-issued in several editions subsequently, this approach was to influence the

development of thought in this country by early adopters such as Kate Clark (Clark 2001), and later permeate official approaches (Historic England 2008).

Australia was also the source of a very particular development of thought in conservation philosophy. The Burra Charter, first published in 1979, broke away from the approach set out in the Venice Charter by accepting the sometime need for adaptation of culturally significant places, and even the possibility of reconstruction where necessary for the survival of a place or in order to recover its cultural significance (ICOMOS Australia 1979). The version re-issued in 1981 introduced the concept of values – the aesthetic, historic, scientific, or social value for past, present or future generations which were the constituents of cultural significance. This idea has informed heritage practice from then on as a tool for evaluating the sum of cultural significance and has been widely adopted outside Australia (Waterton et al. 2006). The inclusion of social values is significant, and the aim of conservation is stated to be to retain or recover cultural significance, presumably relating to all the identified values (Australia ICOMOS 1981), although in practice the emphasis remains on respect for fabric (Waterton et al. 2006).

The Burra Charter was revised in 1999 to acknowledge the values attributed to sites of cultural significance by indigenous peoples, which were not easily assimilated into existing frameworks and might include spiritual values. Updated most recently in 2013, its effect has been to introduce a very different vocabulary and approach, including concepts of cultural significance which go beyond fabric to encompass setting, use, associations, meanings, records and related places and objects (ICOMOS Australia 2013) para. 1.2). However, while representing a significant change in approach, it has not been universally seen as an unqualified success due to its continuing and uncritical acceptance of the dominant narratives regarding heritage (Waterton et al. 2006).

Another document produced to attempt to reconcile Venice Charter inspired practice with differing realities was the Nara Document on Authenticity, prepared in 1993 by representatives of 43 countries in Nara Japan. It was initially a practical response to the challenge of accommodating in the World Heritage system Japanese conservation practices comprising the periodic dismantling, repair, and reassembly of ancient wooden temples (Stovel 2008). Following the recommendations of this document, authenticity should be at the heart of cultural heritage and can take in spiritual and intellectual values in addition to those already identified in the Venice Charter. Importantly, it acknowledges that: 'All judgements about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture,

and even within the same culture. It is thus not possible to base judgements of values and authenticity within fixed criteria.' They are, in short, contextual (ICOMOS 1994b). It thus moved away from the universalist concepts inherent in the world heritage system towards an acceptance of cultural relativism (Gfeller 2017). In this signalling of multi-perspectival possibilities for the understanding of heritage, the concept of authenticity has moved in theory beyond considerations based either on retention of fabric or aesthetics. The message is political and puts human definition of values at its heart. The Nara Document is also, as Susie West points out, a reminder to heritage professionals and governments that 'heritage is not always to be defined by the dominant cultural group in given society' (West 2010).

More recent publications (for instance Smith 2004, Smith 2006, Benton 2010, Harrison 2010, and West 2010) demonstrate that 'heritage' is now an established area of academic enquiry, inviting more measured and sophisticated but critical analysis, with the necessary critical framework and academic practitioners. This suggests that as society, and therefore the range of communities who define heritage, has become more complex and varied, then so have conceptions of heritage. Early tenets, such as that that heritage should be conserved at all costs have come to be challenged (Benton 2010). Smith, in particular, has been an important voice in contemporary criticism in her identification of the AHD as an institutionalised interpretation of heritage which privileges monumentality, expert judgement, innate significance tied to time depth, social consensus and nation building. The implications of such an approach include the exclusion of values which do not fit this range of meanings, and a narrowing of the focus of debate to a narrowly identified, expert-led scope, thus excluding even the exploration of a wider definition of values (Smith 2006).

However, following on from Smith's highly influential work, other academics such as Harrison have moved on to identify that there are, in fact, multiple perspectives, giving rise to a multiplicity of understandings of the value of heritage objects (Harrison 2010). Harrison also recognises the primacy in practice of the AHD, and he and others note the dominant narrative of heritage as the places, buildings or other things that have passed through the official processes that say they are heritage, with the concomitant expectation that they must be actively managed and conserved in support of the ideology which sits behind their official recognition (Harrison 2010, Smith 2006, Waterton 2010, West 2010). Not only does this happen to the exclusion of other values, but even those values which are prioritised as intrinsic are in fact simply ossified values attributed by professionals over long periods. This is another manifestation of Smith's AHD.

The concept of authenticity and its application to reconstruction projects

Authenticity is a term inspired by Ruskin and taken up in the Venice Charter. It is commonly employed in the identification and management of heritage internationally and has been the principal metaphor of engagement for conservation debates for several decades (Stovel, 2008). However, agreement on its definition is far from clear, as is any advice on how to recognise it in the real world (Bold et al. 2018, Jokilehto 2020). Its expression in the World Heritage Operational Guidelines revision of 2005 was expanded to reflect the spirit of Nara, and the definition has been retained in subsequent updates (Khalaf 2017, UNESCO 2005b, UNESCO 2023). Paragraph 82 states that 'Depending on the type of cultural heritage, and its cultural context, properties may be understood to meet the conditions of authenticity if their cultural values (as recognized in the nomination criteria proposed) are truthfully and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes', those attributes including form and design; materials and substance; use and function; traditions, techniques, and management systems; and location and setting. How truthful expression of cultural values is to be recognised in such attributes is likely to be an exercise of some detail and complexity, and the guidelines do not attempt to go there. They do however refer in para 84 to the usefulness of 'information sources'. This does not necessarily advance our understanding.

Often taken to correlate to the presence of original material (Goetche & Mitchell 2014) the concept of authenticity is increasingly open to debate, including regarding the appropriateness of retaining it as a benchmark for assessing cultural heritage (Gfeller 2017). At its simplest it is identified as the 'real' rather than 'fake'. West, in questioning the concept, offers it as 'an additional twist to the western discourses about heritage' and 'presented in heritage assessments as a quality that really is inherent to the material reality of the object of heritage' (Otero-Pailos et al. 2010). Rejecting the notion that buildings are capable of lying or faking, or indeed incapable of being other than they authentically are, I have taken a working cue from a succinct and early but short-lived definition of authenticity within the World Heritage Site Operational Guidelines as 'the ability of a property to convey its significance' (Stovel 2008). To expand, this would mean that the heritage values attributed to the property are revealed and communicated by it. For traditional heritage values that might be manifested in the ability to appreciate the age of the property, even if restored to allow it to continue to exist or function. In today's understanding of heritage the significance conveyed should include its functional, social or spiritual significance for those who use and experience

the property (Khalaf 2017). However, authenticity is nowhere identified as an element of significance in its own right, and problems arise where it is treated as such, as can be seen in the discussion of the Bagrati cathedral in Appendix 2.

Just as the attribution of heritage values may differ between parties, so will understandings of what constitutes the authentic. Traditionally, views on authenticity, particularly those held by international bodies such as UNESCO and ICOMOS, have focused on the physical completeness and survival of original fabric (Gfeller 2017, ICOMOS 1931, Jokilehto 2020). Thus, while heritage theory has evolved to take greater account of differing cultural priorities and norms, the prioritisation of material survival may still emerge as the dominant priority in practice in relation to physical preservation of buildings and sites. Wood commenting, in contrast, on a vibrant academic debate regarding authenticity in heritage and tourism, highlights the recognition that the experience of authenticity results from personal responses to context, although she notes also that the forms of authenticity defined in that debate 'add little in terms of informing the management and care of historical materials or the experience of those engaging with it' (Wood, 2020). Finally it is worth noting that para. 86 of the World Heritage Operational Guidelines makes it clear that 'In relation to authenticity, the reconstruction of archaeological remains or historic buildings or districts is justifiable only in exceptional circumstances. Reconstruction is acceptable only on the basis of complete and detailed documentation and to no extent on conjecture' (UNESCO 2023). A presumption against the conjectural reconstruction of cultural heritage was followed in the Riga Charter, drawn up by the Baltic States and Ukraine in 2000 in response to burgeoning projects to reinstate lost buildings and places as a reassertion of national identity following independence (Stovel 2001). This prohibition has been patchily obeyed in practice – the reconstructed Mostar Bridge, completed in 2004, springs to mind. This ambivalence brings me to the next section, in which I will look at authenticity through the lens of a practical scheme of reconstruction carried out in recent years.

Authenticity on the ground – the case of Bagrati Cathedral

This example is offered as an opportunity to look in depth at the issue of authenticity in the context of international responses to reconstruction works carried out to in response to damage inflicted during an historic period of conflict and intended to bring the site back into active use. It provided an accessible parallel to the sites which I went on to use as case studies and acted as a pilot in which I was able to test practical tools for assessing

damage and the impacts of damage on heritage value that I was creating during my research.

The Bagrati Cathedral in Kutaisi, Georgia, founded towards the end of the tenth century on the instruction of Bagrat III, the first king of a united Georgia, and completed early in the eleventh century, was built in a distinctive local version of Romanesque style (ICOMOS 1994b). I visited it in April 2018, drawn by the controversy of its relatively recent de-inscription from the World Heritage List, and a write-up in the guidebook which implied that it had been ruined in the process of a heavy-handed reconstruction. Although I was able to have only one site inspection, and the form of the nineteenth century damage was long lost to view, the sequence of changes it had undergone were well documented through UNESCO papers relating to the inscription and subsequent de-inscription of the cathedral as a world heritage site.

There had been historic and catastrophic loss of historic fabric to the cathedral due to bombardment in the nineteenth century by Turkish troops, leaving it unroofed and in places in a fragmentary condition. Weathering and continuing deterioration of the unconsolidated structure continued for nearly two centuries, although some reconstruction of ruined walls and porches was undertaken, possibly during the early twentieth century. Reconstruction work carried out in the early years of the twenty first century focussed largely on re-roofing the structure and providing a central dome, while retained the earlier reconstruction work. Visual inspection indicated that loose blocks had been reinstated in positions which correspond to their original locations within the structure, with some refacing of ancient, weathered surfaces, leaving others exposed. Modern structures had been inserted in spaces where there were no surviving early structures, and so had not caused additional loss.

Sitting high on a hilltop in Kutaisi, the administrative capital of Georgia, the cathedral appeared as an ancient building surrounded by ruined walls and the remains of other ancient structures, although clearly partially restored. Further investigation revealed that this reconstruction had followed the Venice Charter approach, retaining a distinction between old and new fabric, with repairs which were sympathetically designed in relation to the original building and a clearly modern intervention in the form of an internal mezzanine floor in modern materials, intended to facilitate use of the building. I was also aware from literature available on site that the restoration project had been awarded an international conservation prize. This disparity between the appearance of the building and the story of its de-inscription acted as a prompt to investigate further.

I mapped the range of possible heritage-related values from the pre-existing, non-restored state to the current state of the reconstructed building and assessed the ability of the restored structure to express these values (see Appendix 2). In doing so, I concluded that the reconstructed building may be said to be at least equally authentic to the ruins which preceded it, if differently so. Yet the decision to de-inscribe the property from the list of World Heritage Sites was made on the grounds of a loss of authenticity. The authenticity of the structure was said, by ICOMOS experts who guided the UNESCO decision to reside in its ruinated state, although this attribution was nowhere amplified or justified. This is an example of authenticity being identified questionably and applied as if a heritage value in its own right with, I would suggest, unfair consequences.

Analysis of the site suggests that while there have been some elements of compromise, such as the concrete foundation works, the reconstruction has not resulted in an outcome which is unduly harmful in terms of the evidential value of the building to be derived from its ancient fabric and the understanding it provides of the original architectural design. At the time I visited it, the building had been restored and was in use as a place of worship. That element of its historic value has been overlooked in a narrative focused largely on the details of fabric lost or (re)created, but it was clearly of spiritual importance to those visiting for quiet prayer.

The implication for the Bagrati Cathedral is that the possible OUV, rather than having been lost in a real sense, has been lost to understanding through the failure satisfactorily to marry it up with a reasonable articulation of the culturally specific heritage values of the site and of its authenticity in those terms. This case may be an indication that unless more precision is given to the application of authenticity as a criterion in identifying and validating world heritage properties by UNESCO and ICOMOS, there will be further questionable decisions in relation to world heritage sites. This is, after all, a system which already has to grapple with the identification and formalisation, to a consistent threshold, values which it identifies itself as culturally specific and relative. Overcomplicating this through the misapplication of the concept of authenticity cannot help.

Bagrati Cathedral in 2018. (Photo S.J. Buckingham)

Heritage reconstruction after conflict

'Culture is not a luxury' (Kreimer et al. 1998)

Numerous books and articles have been published in response to global conflicts occurring over the past 25 years, as the nature of warfare has evolved to focus on extensive but supposedly more targeted aerial bombing, and as the destruction of cultural heritage has been brought more and more to the fore as a consequence, if not a tactic, of war (for instance Saber 2024, UNESCO 2024). Commonly deployed in twentieth century conflicts and offensives such as the Armenian genocide or bombing raids by both sides during World War Two, this practice was brought sharply into focus by the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas in 2001 during the Taliban period of control of Afghanistan (Winter 2007), while during the twenty first century levels of destruction have approached those of World War Two, prompting a corresponding growth in research.

Literature concerning post-conflict reconstruction and heritage falls into two broad camps. The first is the general canon of works concerning post-war or post-disaster reconstruction (e.g. Barakat 2004, Barakat 2005, Stig-Sorensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015, Bold et at. 2018) considering in a reflective way the role of heritage in such scenarios and including studies investigating dormant or terminated conflicts. The growth of reflective writing on the treatment of cultural heritage during times of conflict has been particularly noticeable following various major conflicts of the later twentieth century. It reflects the growing recognition then and subsequently, by actors such as the World Bank, that the conservation of cultural heritage is not a frivolous pursuit in the post-conflict world, and indeed can be seen 'as integral to the transition from war to sustainable peace and as a prerequisite for economic and social development' (Kreimer et al. 1998).

Much literature relates to the aftermath of World War Two (for instance Larkham and Adams, and Voldman in Bold et al. 2018) but also takes in conflicts which became dormant around a generation ago taking advantage of the perspective granted by distance in time. Those post-conflict societies most frequently studied have been the former Yugoslavia where conflict ceased in 1995 (For instance Armakolas, and Davenport in Stig-Sorensen and Viejo-Rose 2015, Hisari & Fousek 2020); Cambodia, where recovery from the chaos following the ousting of the Pol Pot regime and the arrival of mass tourism came together during the 1990s (Winter 2007); and Rwanda, following the intercommunal violence and genocide of 1994 (Giblin 2014). The focus of such studies is very often on sites of commemoration and memorialisation (Stig-Sorensen and Viejo Rose 2015), or on set piece

archaeological or monumental sites such as Angkor Wat (Winter 2007), with a particular emphasis on their role as focal points of communal memory, and vehicles of forward-looking political or ideological statements as they are reinterpreted and re-purposed for the post-conflict world. The memorial sites covered are often those commemorating a single tragic/glorious event in the national life, and therefore with a very targeted and focused audience – those for whom that event would, for national, ethnic, or political reasons, have resonance. Such sites are by their nature of a single phase or few phases of development or subject to relatively few changes or interventions prior to conflict and its aftermath.

Secondly there is literature focused on unresolved, live, or recent conflicts. This in some cases has been reactive and dogmatic, and often produced by those outside, and therefore politically disengaged from the conflict in question (Winter 2007). However, there is now a growing body of works which examine more recent or live conflicts from an academic perspective, sometimes conducted by those with an insider's knowledge of the country or region (see for example in relation to more recent conflicts in the MENA region Hisari and Fousek, 2020, Khalaf 2017, Munawar 2017, Plets 2017, Sheikh Ali 2018). This literature builds on the findings of study of earlier conflicts to make sense of these recent and ongoing conflicts, starting around the first Iraq war and in many cases focusing on various civil conflicts in the Middle East. Studies of major natural disasters such as the Indian Ocean Tsunami of 2004 are also instructive in this context, as widespread destruction has been followed by reconstruction unhindered by ongoing civil conflict or terrorism (see for example Rico 2014).

The second Gulf War appears to have sparked this contemporary reengagement with the role of cultural heritage in times of conflict or societal upheaval. Certainly, destruction of historic sites and buildings was part of a strategy of state-sponsored violence in the past, as the systematic erasure of traces of Armenian culture in Turkey from 1915 demonstrates, but in Iraq in 2003 the issue sprung again into public consciousness. This was a country with a rich and ancient archaeological and historical record which had been subject to massive bombing campaigns by an external coalition, followed by widespread civil conflict. The damage to cultural heritage both by the warring state parties as a collateral of warfare, and subsequently through terrorism and looting was significant in scale. Public awareness of the issue had never been higher, stoked by the later destruction in Syria following the Arab Spring.

Some authors have examined the reasons that the destruction of cultural heritage has been foregrounded in contemporary conflicts, indeed has normalised (for instance Stone and Farchakh Bajjaly 2008). Often this research is conducted outside the affected region and using heritage theory to account for and evaluate the ongoing destruction. This approach may have relied on remote surveying techniques such as aerial or satellite imagery to deduce the degree of destruction and perhaps identify battlefield measures to protect or recover heritage (for instance Cunliffe 2012, De Cesari 2015, University of Oxford n.d.). While increasing in volume, reflections on the success or otherwise of reconstruction works stemming from recent conflicts are less frequent (Barakat 2021); in many cases such work is in its early stages or not underway, complicated by conflict that is unresolved or ongoing.

Meanwhile, the extent of conflict destruction has shifted approaches to World Heritage, for instance in prompting the reconstruction of mausolea in Mali, although their subsequent future inscription status is by no means assured (Khalaf 2017). A new approach to such sites has been proposed by Roha Khalaf, noting the increasing acceptance that heritage is not simply comprised of old things, but also represents the processes of identifying and redefining cultural and social values. Her idea is to introduce new criteria to the Operational Guidelines which challenge the notion of material authenticity, admit the wider range of values in play, and allow reconstructed sites to retain their World Heritage status (Khalaf, 2017). While supportive of the intentions of any reform which would allow this to happen, I would depart from her assumption that reconstruction is closer to development than conservation; if carried out on the historic site, even on the historic foundations, following traditional techniques and using traditional materials it could rather be characterised as reconstructive conservation. I would therefore argue that it is not so much rewriting of the criteria in the Operational Guidelines that is required as a move away from the narrow interpretation which prevents such work from being accepted as preserving or reinstating the spirit of the monument in the light of a range of values.

'The Warsaw Recommendation on Recovery and Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage' represents one step at least in this direction (UNESCO and the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage of the Republic of Poland, 2018). This document sets out a number of high-level principles for the reconstruction of heritage in post-conflict societies. While recognising this as a legitimate aspiration of conflict-affected communities with acknowledged advantages of doing so, it is nonetheless caveated that there is a need to ensure that any reconstruction is exceptional, and that OUV should be protected, and the tests of authenticity and conditions of integrity be met.

During the proliferation of internal conflicts within states during the last quarter century the engagement of international agencies in heritage works has gone hand-in-hand with their involvement for the purposes of general recovery (Viejo-Rose 2013). UNESCO meanwhile continues to identify cultural heritage as an integral part of promoting just and equitable societies following conflict or transformative global crises such as Covid (UNESCO 2022), while others characterise it as a healing element in post conflict societies (for instance Meskell and Scheermeyer 2008).

The extensive reconstruction of historic urban centres has an important precedent in the treatment of historic Warsaw following its systematic and near-total destruction in World War Two. Besides the practical imperative to re-establish a capital and rehouse many thousands, this was also an emotional response intended to reassert the cultural identity which the Nazis had been so determined to erase, and to recover sites of collective and personal memory. It was a technically sophisticated exercised, based in detailed analysis of what had been lost, with choices on the extent and nature of reconstruction made on the basis of the extent and value of what had survived, and with a palimpsest of styles followed. In those respects, and in that it was done at all, it defied the prevailing philosophy of the Athens and later Venice Charters, a rigorous test of the validity of rational theory when faced with a real and compelling situation. The inscription of the historic centre of Warsaw as a World Heritage Site in 1980 was a validation of this approach, although not without controversy, and not seen as a precedent (Appelbom Karsten 2018).

However, notwithstanding its potential for practical good in such situations, the value or usage of heritage post-conflict scenarios is also often challenged in academic critiques (Giblin, 2013). It is challenged, for instance, as validating and reinforcing dominant ideologies (Smith 2006, Viñas 2011); as having the potential to be misused to deny previous atrocities or inflame inter-communal tensions (Giblin 2014, Stig Sorensen and Viejo Rose 2015); and to lead to the scripting of some groups as victims, some as perpetrators, some as pre-eminent and others as subsidiary, a situation that is only amplified by the highly selective process of what is identified and saved as post-conflict heritage (Smith 2006 or Giblin 2014). The lesson from this contested narrative is to be wary of how heritage is being used, either to reinforce the victorious side or denigrate the losers, to stake claims on places or to write new foundation myths. Recovery of heritage post-conflict cannot be a value-neutral exercise and is therefore not straightforward (Byrne 2008) but if we are to accept that it is still a worthy goal, then great care is needed as to who decides what is done and how (Giblin 2014 and Piazzoni 2020).

Another criticism is that any focus on the physical destruction of monumental heritage sites and prioritisation of material reconstruction is liable to stifle locally valued heritage that does not comply with established global understandings of heritage constructs. Thereby, it is argued, it will prevent emerging heritage discourses, particularly local ones, in the re-assignment of heritage values after disaster or conflict which may seek memorialisation of events through very recent incidental or planned structures (see for instance Piazzoni 2020 or Rico 2014). This idea not only challenges traditional ideas of authenticity but also the assumed instrumental value of heritage in post disaster or post conflict societies (Munawar 2017) and the assumed need for its repair in these circumstances (see particularly Trinidad Rico 2014 on the re-assignment of heritage values in Banda Aceh following the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami).

Local values will be at risk in situations where there is an inrush of emergency international aid and the imposition of top-down solutions. On the other hand, the effectiveness of heritage in promoting social healing will be diminished in the eyes of local communities if it is not integrated into wider programmes of improvement such as provision of facilities for healthcare or education, adequate housing, or economic opportunities. Failure to do so may result in heritage being viewed as an ineffective agent of healing by its chief target audience. This is highlighted by Giblin in relation to the mass grave memorial for the Luwero Triangle Bush War site, where the creation of this heritage has been identified by local people as failing to make a substantive difference to their life, as it failed to stimulate any further local development and failed to be followed by the desperately expected healthcare facilities. Their conclusion was thus that the memorial was no more than an unwanted reminder of conflict, at worst an insult. This is a salutary reminder of the need for heritage solutions to be meshed into wider aid works in post conflict situations, to be locally situated, and to be realistic in what is offered.

Cut Dewi, also examining post-Tsunami Band Aceh, develops this theme in considering whether it is in fact the function, rather than materiality, of architectural heritage which could more usefully lead considerations of conservation in post-disaster scenarios in non-Western contexts where heritage value is less tied to fabric (Dewi 2017 and see also Khalaf 2017). Dewi also notes that the international pre-occupation with the grander architectural achievements tends to overlook the more prosaic, vernacular structures, which may nonetheless have meaning to many, particularly as a focus for memory and ideas of place. She identified that visitors to two mosques in the city, one simply refurbished and the other rebuilt, were aware

of the degree of change which had occurred to each and considered that both retained their authenticity as places of worship. In the case of the rebuilt Peulanggahan mosque she concludes that as it occupies the same site and has been replicated in design it has allowed for continuity of experience, where activities and symbolic meanings endure. Meanwhile, the newly constructed Tsunami museum rapidly became a focus for commemoration and learning about the event, acquiring new heritage value. The mosques in Dewi's study nonetheless lost their official heritage status due to their perceived lack of material authenticity. Demotion of historic structures for this reason is increasingly being challenged due to the multi-faceted nature of heritage values, and the recognition that local communities, whose experience of heritage buildings and sites may differ from the national AHD and who might place less value on material completeness, will have an important part to play in re-knitting the social cohesion of the post-conflict society (Newson and Young 2017, Piazzoni 2020). They may well be able to re-establish a relationship with the recovered place (Munawar 2017), and in doing so create new heritage values for it.

This resonates with the work of Michel de Certeau's 'The Practice of Everyday Life' (1988), in which, examining how individuals navigate and find meaning within their daily lives, he posits that they may choose to subvert dominant policies and strategies through tactical divergence. This may include activities and contexts related to urban spaces, for instance by taking shortcuts which ignore planned hierarchies and layouts of spaces or roads in order to express some kind of agency. While he does not in this work specifically refer to historic buildings or places, people may use such spaces in unexpected ways to reflect their personal needs or cultural practices. A good example of this would be the undercroft of the listed South Bank Centre, colonised by skateboarders, BMX bikers and graffiti artists, whose eviction in the face of a major redevelopment project was firmly resisted by this community with considerable public support (Madgin et al. 2018).

Critique of his work might include that of over-generalisation and an inability to translate into practical ideas (De Heredia 2017) or an overemphasis on resistance and underestimation of other forces (De Heredia 2017). However, it suggests the potential of historic sites, particularly if liminal or neglected, at least to create the opportunities for such subversion and, often, to diverge from the AHD, while potentially revealing their agency and entanglement in the network of affect identified by ANT.
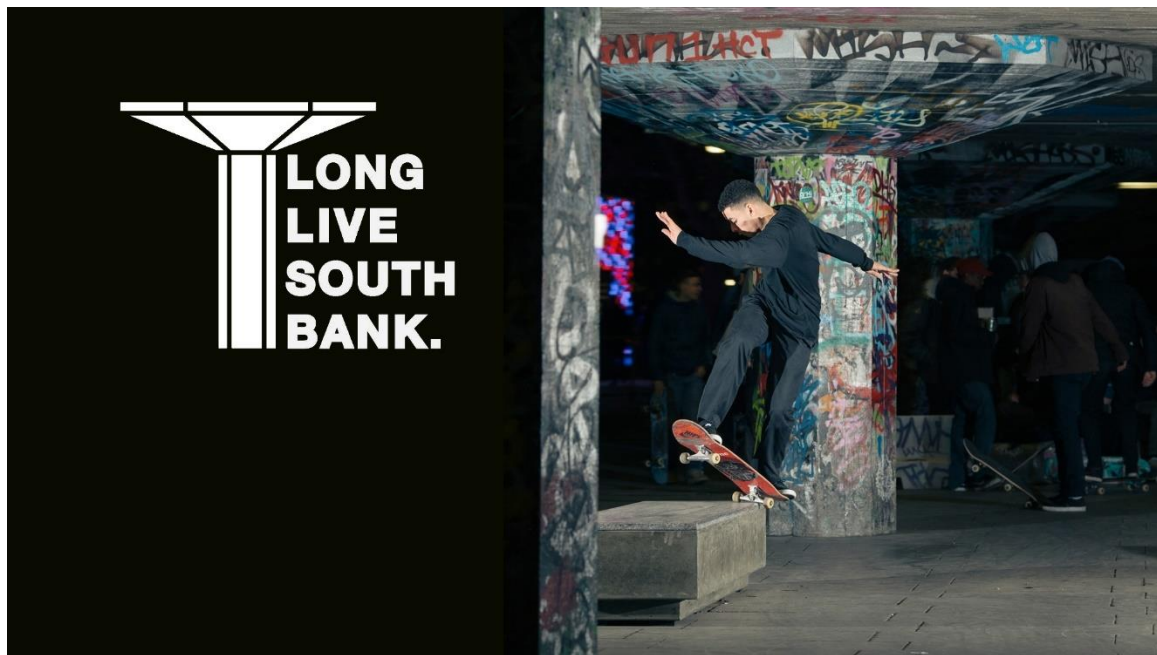
(Photo from Long Live South Bank campaign published in Sidewalk magazine, June 2017, available here: https://sidewalkmag.com/skateboard-news/southbank-centre-x-long-live-southbank-fundraiser-undercroft-reborn.html)

While it can have the effect of advancing reconciliation, this utilisation of heritage sites in post conflict situations may not always be effective in allaying future conflicts. Winter writing in the context of south-east Asia, identifies critical voices suggesting that cultural heritage can indeed perpetuate conflicts, sustain anger, hostility and enmity (Winter 2007). Giblin adduces the example of studies of national genocide memorials in Rwanda which are taken by some to enforce and sustain trauma, when what is sought is 'chosen amnesia' in order to be able to deal with the present, although others see them as necessary reminder that facilitates reconciliation (Giblin 2014). Contestation itself is thus contested.

Notwithstanding these complications, the desires and needs of those communities affected by conflict normally go beyond securing the basic requirements of shelter, food security and economic growth, to meet a human need for the recovery of the familiar and valued focal points of their environment (for instance Barakat 2004, 2005 & 2021). Reactions to the disastrous fire at Notre Dame, although contextually different, throw light on this instinctive response (see or example Ockrent 2019). While this interpretation has been challenged in critical heritage literature, the focus of criticism appears often to relate to memorials, which may not be entirely instructive in relation to other forms of heritage, including urban areas. In practice, interviews quoted by Giblin suggest, rather, that communities affected by civil wars, are largely in favour of some form of memorialisation (Giblin 2014).

Recovery of heritage values

The recasting of heritage significance as cultural significance – the sum of aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value of a place for past, present or future generations in the Burra Charter – is discussed above (Australia ICOMOS 1979, 1999 & 2013). These constituent values of cultural significance have become the dominant concept guiding practical and academic responses to heritage. Sustaining and strengthening values is the common frame of reference for a wide range of heritage actions, notwithstanding the potential for contestation (Lafrenz Samuels 2008). As increasing democratisation of the field has caused the focus of concern for heritage practice to broaden from the traditional priorities of ancient fabric or architectural virtuosity, so too have the categories of heritage value grown. Today, heritage values are considered to comprise aspects of worth or importance attached by people or communities of people to buildings, places or landscapes (Diaz-Andreu 2017). Values have been extensively discussed in heritage literature (for example Mason 2008, Historic England 2008, Lafrenz Samuels 2008, West 2010, Council of Europe 2012, De La Torre 2014, Avrami et al. 2019, Buckley 2019). A focus on values which are not fixed or absolute in assessing the meaning of heritage carries with it the implication that new values can be created, and values can change, not least in response to practical actions (Lafrenze Samuels 2008). As I will discuss in the following chapter, many legal and policy measures for protecting or managing change to buildings and sites were normally predicated on the protection of intrinsic and supposedly unchanging characteristics such as age, completeness or architectural virtuosity and may not fully address diverse and mutable values (Mason in De La Torre et al. 2002).

The heritage values now commonly used replace the traditional categories of significance based heavily on historical, art historical and archaeological specialisms and applied through those disciplines and are ideally derived in a cross-disciplinary way and necessarily incorporating the input of those communities with an interest in the heritage building or place (Mason 2002). There is no commonly agreed list of heritage values, and their handling in practical decision making may be inconsistent, with all values collapsed into a generalised assessment of significance, or with a focus on one kind of value eclipsing discussion of others treated as subordinate (Mason 2002)

Reviewing the identification of values in practically focused documents including Historic England's Conservation Principles (Historic England 2008); Council of Europe Guidelines on Cultural Heritage (Council of Europe 2012); and the Getty Conservation Institute (de la Torre et al. 2002) a long list of the types of heritage value can be identified (see Table 1). There are

commonalities between these lists, although the values identified are categorised in different ways, with no direct congruences. The sources of values are set out below side by side to enable a comparison, which I have used to produce a long list for the purposes of this dissertation. It is notable that the Getty Institute has identified economic values on the basis that economic behaviour cannot be beyond, or separate from, culture, although such values are outside the traditional purview of conservation professionals, and not always happily accommodated (Lanfrenz Samuels 2008). I have also separated out traditional values such as architectural and archaeological which are subsumed in historic or evidential values by these sources. In practice it may be helpful to identify these as particular aspects of a place, as they are also likely to be used in official documentation. I have also included in my long list natural and landscape values, which may also be of relevance (Makhzoumi 2020). It is helpful to separate out national values from other forms of social/cultural value, from which they may diverge notably as part of the AHD. Additional values may also be identified such as, for instance, the representation of a particular place in literature, or close connections with a different place, which cannot be captured through the other values.

Table 1: comparison of heritage values

Historic England (2008)	Getty Institute (2019)	Council of Europe Guidelines (2012)	Burra Charter Values (2013)	Potential Values:
Sociocultural Values				
Historical	Historical (includes educational and academic value and archaeological and artistic value)	Historic and Aesthetic	Historic	Historical:
				Architectural:
Aesthetic (includes architectural and artistic value)	Aesthetic (relates to sensory experience more widely)	Historic and Aesthetic	Aesthetic	Aesthetic:
Evidential (includes archaeological value)		Scientific or Research	Scientific	Evidential:
				Archaeological:
Communal:	Cultural/Symbolic (includes political/civic value, and craft- or work-related values)			Social/Cultural
	Social (relates to uses for social purposes and includes place attachment)	Social and Spiritual	Social (including spiritual, political, national)	Social/Cultural
Spiritual	Spiritual/Religious	Social and Spiritual		Spiritual:
				National:
Setting (referred to but not defined as a value)				Setting:
Economic Values				
	Economic Use (market) value Nonuse (nonmarket) values			Economic:
Other Categories				
Natural values referenced, but not defined.				Natural:
Landscapes referenced but landscape value not defined.				Landscape:
				Other:

On the basis of the values identified above, and including the additional considerations set out above, I have identified the following long list of potential heritage values: -

– Historical
– Architectural
– Aesthetic
– Evidential
– Archaeological
– National
– Communal
– Spiritual
– Natural
– Landscape
– Setting
– Economic
– Additional

It is worth remembering that, not all heritage values are necessarily shared, and heritage objects may have sharply contrasting meanings for different parties, and this has somehow to be captured in any assessment of values if local interpretations, dissonances and indeed diversity are to be captured.

The heritage values identified will lead to certain outcomes in practice. In the past the expert-led approach favoured by UNESCO and bodies such as ICOMOS have led to very selective decisions on which buildings or sites are to be saved or repurposed post-conflict, further constricted by international narratives constructed around the groups demarked as victims and perpetrators. The approach taken to the rehabilitation of the Angkor temple complex in Cambodia after the demise of the Khmer Rouge regime is instructive; reliance on international aid and expertise to secure the conservation of these monuments with a view to attracting international tourism led to the invocation and authentication of a colonial version of Angkorean history based on a 'high' regal culture, to the detriment of vernacular and social histories. Additionally, the favoured aesthetic of restoration was a romantic, Indiana Jones-inspired heritage scape of ruins intertwined with jungle, notwithstanding the degree of scientific intervention required in propping and re-erecting parts of the ruins. This imposed focus on the material authenticity of the temples (quite possibly predicated on the authenticity of ruination for its own sake) crowds out other understandings of their value, including their connections with living communities and potential as places for contemporary Buddhist worship or pilgrimage, and largely exclude local, non-expert, communities from decision making processes

(Winter 2007). While approaches such as that taken at Angkor could be said to exemplify international attempts to rise above politicisation of ruined structures through espousing a strictly scientific approach, in fact they simply favour a narrow, European-centric bandwidth of values, based on scientific factors and the idea of universal values, as discussed above. As Giblin concludes, 'the post-conflict management of healing-heritage based on conceptions of universal heritage values is flawed. Instead, greater attention should be paid to situated semiotics so that a more nuanced and appropriate response to post-conflict healing-heritage practice can be achieved' (Giblin 2014, p. 17).

Heritage reconstruction in cities

Critical examination of the treatment of cities in post-conflict recovery has not, until recently, been extensive, notwithstanding the numerous examples of natural and human-made destruction and the opportunities for renewal, including reconstruction, they have offered (Jigyasu 2022). While there were earlier examples of wholesale reconstruction, such as the post-war reconstruction of the centre of Warsaw, they were treated as exceptional due to their conflict with the prevailing approach set by the Venice Charter (Appelbom Karsten 2018). With time, however, the understanding of the social and cultural values held by urban heritage sites and of the processes of obsolescence and recovery has deepened, with examples of urban rehabilitation feeding a more sophisticated appreciation of the economic use value of their buildings (Rojas 2014). Thus today, following the blooming of destruction of cultural heritage over recent decades, attitudes towards reconstruction have become more favourable, notably following the reconstruction of the Mostar Bridge in Bosnia Hertzegovina and its inscription as World Heritage in 2005 (Jigyasu 2022).

In comparison to monumental or archaeological sites, however, urban sites present more complex scenarios; 'dynamic cultural sites, such as historic cities and landscapes, may be considered to be the product of many authors over a long period of time whose process of creation often continues today' (ICOMOS 1996, Article 5). Thus they will bear a wider range of meanings, memories, and values. Najib Hourani (2014) explores the 'citizenship agenda' the complex matrix of cultural, political, legal, economic and spatial relationships which determines who can, and does, consider themselves a citizen, and which may differ from nationally derived narratives. In a constantly evolving process, the city is produced and reproduced, by these narratives, and in the city urban forms, functions and fragments can be seen as a living archive of these discursive traditions. In this context, post-conflict reconstruction highlights citizenship agendas by emphasizing the intersections

between urban planning, architecture and political community (Hourani 2014). To add to the complexity, there may in times of conflict have been significant outward migration as witnessed in cities such as Mosul or Aleppo (Al-Harithy 2022). This complexity will be compounded by the degree to which the built heritage has already been adopted, adapted or reused in the ongoing production of space to accommodate contemporary life and values and embody the spatial practices and relations of its people (Hourani 2014).

There are many models for understanding the structure and operation of cities, according to the purposes for which they have been created (see for instance Sayer 1979). Planners, transport planners, geographers and social scientists will view the city through different prisms and at different levels of granularity, depending on the task in hand. Areas of heritage interest will be caught up – or not – in the study of cities in different ways. Analyses of the tourist-historic city such as those offered by Ashworth and Tunbridge (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000), looking largely at Western Europe and North America and Luna Khirfan (Khirfan 2016) whose focus is the Levant, are the most relevant; in these studies the areas of obvious or contrived interest to tourists tend to have significant overlap with areas on which heritage processes are mostly focused. Outlines of the processes of city formation, expansion and abandonment of certain areas can help to contextualise today's historic townscape survivals (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000).

Looking at the understanding of urban heritage, it is seen to face many challenges. Even in peace time it is often regarded as a planning and financial liability, and it may be situated peripherally in government structures, while the burden of preserving and rehabilitating heritage often rests on the shoulders of reluctant owners (Rojas 2014). In the aftermath of conflict urban policies related to reconstruction can be seen to differ only in degree (rather than in kind) from planning and projects intended to transform the city under normal circumstances, with evidence of if not contempt at least incomprehension of or indifference to historic urban fabric by many planners in the name of the modernization of the city, the affirmation of the state or the necessary adaptation to economic globalization (Nasr and Vermeil 2008). Meanwhile, public funding for the rehabilitation of heritage is, barring happy accidents, famously scarce in most parts of the world. This is nowhere more so than in situations dominated by neo-liberal approaches (Rojas 2014) where its instrumentalised value must be demonstrated to the highest degree. The challenges facing urban areas lead often to unfair distribution of advantage and resources, with community concerns and values only rarely effectively integrated into urban planning instruments

(Rojas 2014). Using the example of Amman, Rami Daher (2024) highlights the consequences of changes to historic areas and buildings which, not informed by systematic tools for understanding context, social as well as spatial, introduce insensitive elements into the urban fabric.

In responding to these challenges, particularly in the context of recovery after conflict, the importance of responding to the connections between heritage and society have been recognised (Al-Harithy (ed.) 2022). It has been identified that more sustainable outcomes can be achieved when the focus moves from the monumental and grand to a wider range of heritage assets, thus drawing in a wider range of actors and interests to its care (Rojas 2014) and to recovering both the physical and social integrity of the urban fabric, thereby fending off gentrification by supporting the return of original inhabitants (Jigyasu 2022).

Cities of the MENA present their own particular set of issues, not least the codification through repetition of Orientalist tropes on the historic 'Islamic City' and its necessary constituents such as the suq (market), *hammam* (bathouse) and congregational mosque, plus residential quarters specialised by ethnicity (Abu Lughod 1987). While such characteristics have been applied homogenously across the region, the prototypes were identified by European scholars on the basis of very few examples from North Africa and the Levant (Abu Lughod 1987). While rejecting these, Janet Abu Lughod (1987) nonetheless identifies key ways in which Islam contributed to the form of cities within the regions. These include neighbourhoods of related people, forming also units of social organisation for the implementation of practical functions such as maintaining and guarding shared spaces; the architectural and spatial imperatives to secure the segregation of the sexes; and patterns of space and access which preserved property rights and privacy. The effects on the ground included the fractal patterns of enclosed alleys, the location, size and height of windows and doors; and the internal layouts of buildings with separation of private and visitor spaces (Abu Lughod 1987).

A further trope, that of the apathetic or unaware urban population unwilling to participate in urban affairs (Elsheshtawy 2008) is challenged in the growing body of critical literature addressing the Arab or MENA city which examines the inclination of individuals and organised civil society to contest urban affairs, including in demonstrations against large scale development initiatives. Cities given particular attention include Cairo and Amman and pinpoint the less than effective attempts to instigate genuine public participation in such initiatives either due to institutional arrogance (Khirfan 2017) ineffective, one-size-fits-all solutions, or the privileging of elite views emerging even within communities (wrongly) characterised as marginal

(Piffero 2017). With origins attributed to the colonial legacy and to historically dysfunctional relations between centre and municipalities, it is a problem with no easy answers (Harker 2017), and consequences include an inability to check, or at least challenge, inappropriate decision making which does not adequately serve cities attempting to meet challenges including rapid population growth, inequality, poor infrastructure, unemployment and failing infrastructure (Khirfan and Momani 2017).

Christopher Harker (2017) challenges the focus of much recent scholarship on Arab-world cities in seeking to understand, examine and critique urban spaces through the lens of neoliberalism. Other approaches are available, he suggests, for foregrounding both theoretically and empirically the way in which urban dwellers use space on a daily basis. He identifies this focus on the economic at the expense of the social as reductive and as underestimating the complexity and resilience of these urban spaces and ignoring local discourses and history. Notwithstanding the potential for a wider focus, neoliberal approaches have been adopted in several key cities within the MENA region and addressing the consequences of major interventions which are seen as imposed on local communities (Khirfan (ed.) 2017 on Amman and Cairo) is an understandable preoccupation. Looming over these narratives too is the story of post-civil war Beirut, a much discussed and radical example of a neoliberal approach to city centre reconstruction, with outcomes often considered antithetical to heritage and community considerations. While not the only example – the story of conflict led destruction and reconstruction is one also recounted in cities including Sarajevo, Belfast and Mogadishu (Nasr & Verdeil 2008) – it is the most famous, and a model for other, similar enterprises (Mango 2017). Although previously reconstructed and reimagined under Ottoman and French rule and transformed by its economic flourishing of the mid-twentieth century, the extent of physical destruction inflicted by the civil war which raged between 1975 and 1990 was brutal. The consequent social damage arising from the numbers of internally displaced people and the loss of functions and economic activities meant that physical reconstruction was an imperative for recovery and modernisation. Projects were therefore instituted in the northern and southern suburbs, and on a huge scale, in the centre. Reconstruction plans also reflected the polarisation by religious confession which had emerged throughout the conflict, with secondary centres in the territories of different belligerent groups manifesting acceptance of the status quo (Nasr and Verdeil 2008).

Solidere, a private real estate holding company was given full control over the market-driven redevelopment of a huge central area, the Beirut Central *Suq* (market) (Hourani 2014, Nasr & Verdeil 2008, Mango 2017). The ethos was to project a modern, unified Mediterranean city back to the world (Nasry and Verdeil 2008), a regional and international business centre and an investment opportunity (Mango 2017). In the process, historic structures were razed, and new commercial, business and touristic uses introduced in modern buildings (Nasr and Verdeil 2008, Hourani 2014, Mango 2017). The intertwined role of Rafiq Hariri, the prime minister at the time, is an overt manifestation of the politicisation of the whole reconstruction enterprise and the very indistinct line between public and private at this time only partly explained by the time it took for state apparatus to revive and develop to take on such a significant challenge (Nasr & Verdeil 2008). Tamam Mango (2017) also highlights the entanglement of public finance and policy with Solidere in the subsidies and legal rights handed over by the state to Solidere in expectation of economic and social benefits.

As a social arena for reconnection of that which had been divided, there was no great effect, with little bridging between Christian and Muslim enclaves (Nasr & Verdeil 2008). Meanwhile, exclusion and othering of those displaced, large numbers of whose homes and businesses had been expropriated in exchange for shares for owners only, accompanied the reconstruction. Generally poorer, and displaced by war, proponents of reconstruction blamed the dispossessed for the decline and lack of modernisation before 1975 and labelled them irrational compared to the supposedly irrefutable logic of the market. Returning Shi'a refugees occupying bombed out buildings were characterised by the authorities as anti-urban and acultural, a particular threat to urban life and invaders rather than returnees, with no legitimate claims. Thus their expulsion from the suq and indeed from Beirut was facilitated (Hourani 2014). The situation was complicated still further by the opportunistic actions of militias cashing in on the reconstruction. Although the project was also lauded as a powerful symbol of and engine for Lebanon's rebirth as an entrepreneurial and cosmopolitan nation (Hourani 2014), the looked-for economic recovery was not fully realised.

Solidere also claimed to be a protector of the city's heritage (Mango 2017) but its treatment of its buildings and archaeological sites was erratic, varying from complete destruction to partial retention. Byzantine, Phoenician and Roman ruins were preserved in archaeological parks and there was some limited rehabilitation of grander institutional buildings, with retained religious buildings stripped of their urban context and musealised in landscaped

gardens. Historical aspects of the city were thus subordinated to the modern narrative (Hourani 2014, Nasr & Verdeil 2008. Some historic urban fabric was re-used and recognised as successful in the context of entertainment and retail uses, an approach which spread subsequently to the immediate pericentral zone and other neighbourhoods, perhaps influenced by other programmes for urban development based on cultural heritage and funded by the World Bank elsewhere in the country (Nasr & Verdeil 2008). The stylistic, functional and physical separation from the rest of the city (Mango 2017) and exclusionary nature of the reconstructed area is clear to the observer, marked out by the kind of architectural ticks that one might see in similarly treated areas in other parts of the world – say London's Docklands; lack of footfall, lack of public spaces, inactive frontages, gates and fences, generic design. With the creation of this segregated and contested space there came no opportunity for healing; what was lost included identity, inclusion and social cohesion (Mango 2017). The remaining historic buildings or archaeological sites, stripped of their urban context, are set in metaphorical glass cases separated from the places and people who would have animated them and given them meaning in the past.

(Central Beirut, 2009. Photograph S. J. Buckingham)

Other major redevelopment projects were carried out at the same time, and Hourani offers a contrast in the Harat Hreik district, carried out under the auspices of Hizballah, through an NGO created for the purpose, which retained the urban grain and multiple homes, businesses and owners/occupiers, with majority of residents returning to the neighbourhood. This challenged the hegemony of the Solidere model, the tabula rasa and the masterplan, and responded to the city as a living space produced by people, families and community through the practices of everyday life that would evolve in its own way through small scale and context-specific interventions in response to multiple perspectives and the vision and choices of owners and tenants (Hourani 2014). This approach resisted homogeneity and ensured that urban dwellers were participants in, and producers of, the city rather than passive consumers, and long-gone places and people remained valorised as they were embodied in practice and memory. Notwithstanding, it was not entirely equitable in effect as gentrification emerged where owners sold their newly modernised properties or increased the rents. Nonetheless, it presents a challenge to neoliberal orthodoxy (Hourani 2014).

Fundamental flaws in what occurred in postwar Lebanon have been identified as a lack of a cohesive vision, plan or adequate governance for the massive task, with responses based on, rather than seeking to overcome, spatial and sectoral fragmentation, and a bias towards large scale redevelopment and infrastructure-led plans, while leaving extensive areas outside the capital to the uncoordinated and unsupported resources of individual owners (Nasr & Verdeil). The failure to do adequate justice to the heritage has been noted. Identification of these shortcomings can provide helpful warning for future reconstruction actions in similar situations.

Finally, in the context of the MENA, Eyal Weizman throws light on the murky world of military-architectural research and the inversion of urban syntax created by the Israeli Defence Force. Subverting normal urban forms and circulation patterns it has adopted in some circumstances the practice of going directly through walls and ceilings within buildings, a response to barricading and mining outside and used, for instance, in 2002 in Nablus to assassinate experienced Palestinian resistance fighters. The multiple forced routes through buildings in an apparently chaotic swarm often brings soldiers into direct contact with civilians in their private domains, causing injury, privation, and in some cases death, and almost invariably profound trauma. The destruction remains concealed rather than visible and allows the IDF to portray it as tolerable. This kind of action is characterised as 'smoothing out' space to remove borders, which may exist for others and for other purposes

but do not prevent the IDF from penetrating and acting within them, a covert imposition of sovereignty even in the face of agreed borders. Although not historically unique to the MENA region – similar tactics have been deployed historically in locations such as nineteenth century Paris and twentieth century Stalingrad – there are particular resonances in this region in relation to this action which transgresses the limitations embodied by the domestic wall as a guarantor of separation between the public and private domains. The "un-walling of the wall" he suggests destabilizes not only the legal and social order, but democracy itself by destroying the functional spatial syntax created by the wall (Weizman 2006).

Heritage and community values

From the late twentieth century, the acknowledgement of community and an emphasis on social inclusion has come to occupy a central place in public policy in the west (Cornwall 2008). With this has come the recognition of the relevance of values placed on objects of heritage by non-expert project partners (Jones 2016, Khirfan 2016, Otero-Pailos et al. 2010, Pendlebury 2013, Waterton and Smith 2010). Now well-established, this approach seeks the engagement of relevant communities and recognition of their values as a prerequisite to meaningful decision-making in projects affecting significant heritage sites. Further weight of expectation is placed on this approach through the assumption that it will also contribute to the social and economic wellbeing of these communities through responding to their heritage needs.

There is considerable academic literature on early efforts to have community responses acknowledged in the face of modernist-informed comprehensive renewal processed during the twentieth century (for instance Frieling & Kipp, 2017, Flinn 2019, Saumarez-Smith 2019) and spilling over into the twenty first in the face of infrastructure or other major planning schemes (for instance, Fainstein et al. 2023). The reasons for resistance may have been complex, and not always related to heritage (Flinn 2019). Ironically, some more recent community-driven initiatives have been to preserve the products of the very modernist projects previously resisted (Aelbrecht 2021, Aelbrecht & While 2023). Examples such as Covent Garden and Seven Dials, where comprehensive redevelopment were staved off by community resistance (Seven Dials Trust 2024), were the exception, and contemporary approaches to engaging communities in changes to their area stand in stark contrast to this history.

In the international arena, the clearest exposition of these ideas can be found in the Council of Europe's Faro Convention on the value of cultural heritage for society. This offers a helpful definition of communities in this context, as 'people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations' (Council of Europe 2005, Article 2 b); that is, communities of interest and intent rather than of accidental proximity - and indeed association of a community with a locality cannot be considered a 'given' (Byrne 2008). It states the Member States' recognition of the need to put people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage, and their conviction of the need to involve everyone in society in the ongoing process of defining and managing cultural heritage and to facilitate this, even to the extent of accommodating it in law. In its recognition of the need for

equality of access to cultural heritage and parity in what is recognised as heritage, subject only to the restrictions necessary in a democratic society for the protection of the public interest and the rights and freedoms of others, as well as the acknowledgement of the economic, social, and environmental values of cultural heritage, it is a strong and contemporary expression of principles for what heritage can be, and increasingly is, for society.

However, implementation of such principles in practice – and the convention leaves it to individual states to do so in their own way - is constrained. Historic England, for instance followed through the overall approach in its 'Conservation Principles' and their recognition of community values (Historic England 2008), although there was no resulting legal change in the UK prior to Brexit. In general terms, a top-down approach with its narrowly identified, expert-led prioritisation of what is important remains embedded in many legal and policy mechanisms (Smith 2006). There is therefore little scope formally for the recognition of wider values.

Petti et al. (2019) in comparing three heritage protection systems within Europe identified their potential expansion to take in wider sociocultural value by recognising the intangible values attached to the traditional categories of tangible assets and incorporating intangible expressions of cultural heritage through autonomous ontological categories of protected objects. Decentralisation of decision making to community levels, as practiced in Spain, may be closer to the ideal than the more centralised systems in Italy and the UK, which they also examined. Despite some movement towards greater recognition of wider heritage values there remains an innate tension between this and the means by which this might formally be achieved. I examine this in further detail in the next chapter.

Additionally, even where the identification of social values is actively sought, they may not be straightforward to define. For instance, there is potential for misidentification, as the communities holding these values may comprise coalitions of interest or of shared experience which are harder to pin down than simple geographical populations (Waterton and Smith 2010). The fact that values are attributed means that they are fluid, changing as the communities change or change their outlook, or as intergenerational change occurs (Byrne 2008). While pointing to a need to identify social values on a regular basis, such fluidity may also be one of the reasons why professional actors in the field of heritage are less convinced of the validity of such values in decision-making, fearful of relinquishing the levers of power, or simply lacking interest in them (Jones 2016, Davison 2008, Byrne 2008). There has also been a tendency to assimilate community values into the authorised version of heritage rather than expanding that definition to meet diversity of cultural

and historic experiences; particularly, where wider cultural values are acknowledged in practice, they are generally assumed to be dependent on the other, 'primary' values contingent on fabric, historical value and aesthetics (Waterton and Smith 2010, Jones 2016).

There is a tendency today for heritage to be instrumentalised in terms of the benefits it creates for health, well-being, education, and financial effects such as regeneration, a process particularly related in the UK to the award of public funding through bodies such as the Heritage Lottery Fund (now the National Lottery Fund for Heritage) (Jones 2016). The instrumentalised economic value of heritage is often brought into play to justify radical changes to buildings or places, and symptomatic of competition even between elite groups for the heart of the authorised heritage assemblage – Pendlebury cites the case of the Park Hill Estate in Sheffield, where Historic England from around 2007 conceded the degree of intervention in these highly graded listed post war social housing blocks to support a vision of regeneration driven in straitened recessionary times by their re-use for private housing, while overlooking community aspirations for affordable housing (Pendlebury 2013).

So, while a potentially comprehensive and socially just way of understanding the significance of heritage sites and buildings, the application of values of all kinds is not a straightforward process. Further complications arise from the degree to which they are, or can be, recognised through the medium of conventional measures created primarily to implement the AHD, which have not been adapted to take wider social values into account. Nonetheless, even taking on these caveats, it is surely better to attempt to identify and action a more generous understanding of heritage than not to do so, and effectiveness in this area will be a key part of my investigation of the chosen reconstruction projects. While there are positives to be drawn from the potential for heritage to act as a point of reference, focus for symbolic healing (Giblin 2014), visual representation or an expression of identity within a post-conflict society (Armakios 2015), as a social construct it cannot stand back from the uses to which is it put. These uses may be reconciliatory or benign; socially, economically, or environmentally positive; but might also be at heart discriminatory or toxic, even unintentionally. There cannot be an entirely neutral act of reconstruction or rehabilitation, as choices regarding which places deserve to be saved inevitably result in the rejection and loss of others. Not all values can be honoured. Thus, to realise the potential of heritage to play a positive part in the practical rehabilitation of it's communities, hard work is needed both to find out what matters, and also to explain and mitigate sometimes difficult decisions on what to let go.

Conclusions

So, from the outset of organised thought by those advocating the practice of heritage and protection of historic structures there has been some reluctance to countenance anything approaching reconstruction. This repugnance has emerged from two very different sources, namely the scientific desire to remain true to the untampered physical reality of the structure and the emotional response to ruination identified by the Romantics. While they might appear to have in common the desire to deploy a light touch on damaged structures, the contrasting views of Tintern Abbey illustrate the actual divergence in likely outcomes. Additionally, while both theoretical approaches might be deployed in the context of an archaeological or memorial site, in the context of buildings with direct practical use as well as symbolic or emotional value, to people, they will not do in practice. Nonetheless, such ideas run deep, and for some the sense of risk prevails today that the product of a more interventionist approach which de-ruins or renews a damaged building will result in an overly polished, new, and meaningless pastiche. Of course that need not be the case if the values identified and recovered go beyond the traditional, material ones to include the intangible values ascribed by those to whom it has other meanings.

As heritage theory and practice grow in the acknowledgment of these wider values, as evidenced particularly by academic literature acknowledging more locally grounded responses to heritage destruction in recent conflicts, then new ways will need to be found to widen perspectives as real reconstruction projects move forward. Difficulties exist in the history of the formal mechanisms to support heritage work, nationally and internationally framed, which were generally created in response to intrinsic values, nationalistic concerns or framing the concept of universality. While recognising in theory the wider range of perspectives which should be brought to bear, they continue, unreformed, to privilege these intrinsic values. I will go on to look at this inconsistency in the next chapter, where I will investigate in a little more depth the working ontologies of heritage practice and attempted accommodations between the two.

Meanwhile, heritage practice is beginning to accommodate the reconstruction of damaged heritage for the instrumental reasons of post war/trauma recovery, renewed social cohesion and as an adjunct of practical improvements to damaged societies. The message that has emerged from writers such as Giblin is that the rehabilitation of cultural heritage needs to go hand in hand with such practical recovery and social healing.

Chapter 3 – Framing my research

Introduction

Having reviewed the evolution of ideas regarding the understanding and handling of heritage, in this chapter, in a search for an ontology of heritage theory and practice, I look at how these ideas are manifested today. A search for literature on the ontology of heritage revealed a focus on the constituent objects of heritage process, how they are categorised and described, bleeding into Information Technology (IT) considerations and the creation of thesauri for recording and categorising heritage (for example Doerr 2009). Lack of a coherent ontological framework for heritage, an under-theorised field (Byrne 2008), is attributed to the fact that heritage practice arises from a number of disciplines, and, in some cases, there is unwillingness on the part of practitioners to be thus framed (for instance, Doerr 2009, Harrison 2018, Jones and Yarrow 2018). Similarly the ontological status of historic buildings as material objects is relatively little explored (Tait and While 2009).

In considering heritage theory, I will constrast two developments in recent critical heritage theory – the identification of the AHD (Smith 2006) and a more recent (re)turn to a focus on the materiality of immovable heritage objects, although now recast as their 'thingness', a synthesis of their physical being and the meanings they hold (Harrison 2018). The Actor Network Theory (ANT)identified by Bruno Latour (Latour 2005), discussed below, if applied to heritage has similar potential to provide an account of heritage processes encompassing the complexity arising from the interaction of human and non-human factors. ANT does not, in contrast to classical heritage theory discussed above (and see for instance Smith 2006, Viñas 2011), accept heritage objects as stable entities – unchanged by time, the actions of human or non-human agents or, indeed by their entry into the stage of being a heritage object. I thus find it particularly useful for considering the unstable heritage of conflict zones which has been the object both of destructive impulses and reconstruction initiatives in relatively short order.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the origins of heritage processes of identifying, valorising and managing heritage were in many jurisdictions initially firmly rooted in an approach which claimed scientific objectivity and focused on the preservation of historic fabric. It was also underpinned and motivated in large part by the AHD with its focus on nationally validated criteria directing the choices as to what should be defined as heritage and protected accordingly (Smith 2006). These factors can be readily observed in the UK system and, despite attempts to widen its scope, in the identification

of World Heritage Sites under UNESCO processes (see for instance Meskell 2013 and 2018). In considering contemporary practice, conducted by all those carrying out heritage processes, professionally or on a voluntary basis, I will look at practice in England, which, as all parts of the UK, has its own dedicated policy and legislation. It is helpful to review this as the mature product of one of the older heritage systems in Western Europe, and the milieu of practice of a number of professional disciplines involved with heritage. I will also consider the ontology of heritage practice as manifested internationally through the interpretation and application of the system of inscribing and managing World Heritage Sites by UNESCO working with national governments.

Examination of practice is instructive in that it provides a baseline for heritage norms in non-conflict situations and thereby, a comparator for any changes of approach which may be emerging in relation to heritage which has been the subject of conflict-related destruction.

Conceptual Underpinnings: an ontology of heritage theory

The most recent developments in heritage theory have seen Harrison and others taking issue with the focus on AHD and on semiotics as neglecting the materiality of heritage items. In conceptual terms, Harrison describes a pendulum swing from focus on heritage discourse and power relations, back towards the tangible reality of heritage objects plus their overlay of human concerns, their 'thingness' (Harrison 2018). Meanwhile Tait and Wiles have noted limitations arising from adopting either a 'mainstream' focus on the iconic building or stressing the 'alternative' importance of the social and cultural meanings embedded in […] buildings' as 'conservation thought and practice embedded firmly in either perspective fails to recognise the interconnections between the physical and social/cultural/economic elements of buildings (Tait and While 2009). This development in discourse is helpful in synthesising the physical characteristics of heritage buildings and sites, which cannot easily be set aside, and the meanings attached to them; age and beauty matter to non-experts too (see for instance UK Department of Culture, Media and Sport 2017). In this context, there are other ontological conceptions which can also be used to provide a holistic understanding of heritage, including Actor Network Theory (ANT) (Latour 2009) and the concept of assemblages (Harrison 2018).

Bruno Latour's idea of actor networks describes complicated entities or phenomena resulting from series of actors/actants, human and non-human, and events coming together as a quasi-object or chain of connections and relations. He moves away from a focus on subject and object (Latour 2005). Matthew Hill in describing this cites Latour's example of Boyle's air pump, which entailed a long chain of mediating actors — material, literary, and social coming together to demonstrate scientific truths such as the weight of air and the impact that it had on the height of a column of mercury in a barometer, and which he concluded was therefore an 'event' rather than an invention. This approach, Hill concludes, allows a view beyond simply what things mean to an ontological understanding of how they came into being (Hill 2018). In this model, the material and conceptual can both occupy the same ontological space, making it a useful one for understanding the production of heritage, where materiality and meaning are combined. Also embodied in this approach is the understanding that these assemblages are only temporarily stable before being recontextualised and remade (Latour 2005, Hill 2018). They therefore present overt challenges to the notion of stability, particularly when applied to the objects of heritage practice.

With actor networks comes the idea of the black box – an analogy taken from technology, where all complex inner workings of a machine are concealed (Latour 2005). Buildings have been traditionally placed into such a black box, that is, considered as objects which are stable and clearly defined and which have identifiable inputs (for example, the architect, and the economic conditions of its production) and outputs (for example, the building's contribution to a particular style or form) concealing the multiplicity of actors, materials, and actions which comprise 'the building' (Tait and While 2009). The actor-network account of buildings, by contrast, would expose these materials actors and actions, the multiple elements which had come together to bring the building into a temporarily stabilised network (Tait and While 2009). It also then presents an opportunity to move beyond the characterisation of the production of heritage as being solely an expert-identified, rather esoteric practice, and into a more transparent area where its democratic roots are both acknowledged and valorised.

Actor Network Theory also allows for contemplation of the materials of a structure, and how they might, as 'actants' be capable of imposing certain relationships within complex networks of agency and of being reconfigured to play different roles in different relationships (Latour 2005, Tait and While 2009). Meanwhile the idea of assemblages, a related concept, similarly allows for a wider consideration of relationships which bring an object into focus, which may be longer lasting or ephemeral, but does also change over time (Harrison 2018). Such concepts more helpfully take on board the processual aspects of heritage rather than taking it as a series of immutable objects, and are capable of accomodating change.

It is helpful also to consider the concept of agency. It is easy to see how the attribution of agency to inanimate as well as living things could disconcert, suggesting anthropomorphism or animism, or could be seen to blur understanding of how and why things have ocurred through creating an omnicentric view (see for instance Lindstrøm 2015). On the other hand, attributions of agency surely cannot be taken literally as ascribing to inanimate objects will, intentionality, or the power to act on decisions, but rather can be considered a relational effect (Sørensen 2018) or an ability to act in the world as a result of processes of material interaction, transformation, and decay (Hodder 2012 , Barrett 2012).

I have taken the agency of buildings, sites and places to reside in their relational effects on people, ability to trigger human activities, intentions and meanings. Further effects would include their ability to reveal meanings which have moved beyond those original meanings invested in designing, building or changing them; that is, they may lay out a palimpsest of human intent.

They are also a physical, material presence manifesting processes of transformation such as alteration, adaptation, decay or destruction. The effects of these transformations act on the object itself and on other actors within their network and in doing so also exert a form of agency. Importantly, they may be seen as able to prompt humans to actions and decisions they would not otherwise make (Sørensen 2018). Thus, buildings reveal human agency when they are created, through their function or other reasons for existing, and through the display they embody of architectural virtuosity, perhaps, craft skill, status, economic power, etc.. However, being long lived, once left to evolve over time, they acquire their own agency through their interactions with new people with different ideas about what they are for, what they mean, and what they should look like. Thus ontological approaches which are capable of following these multiple and complex networks of meaning, form and agency as they accumulate over time can also be of value in accommodating even the most recent, and perhaps literally explosive, phases of their existence in a meaningful way.

A particularly pertinant consideration arising from ANT is the attention drawn by Latour and others to the role of disciplines of study or profession in transforming the entitites at work in the world into 'faithful and stable intermediaries' in the image of their disciplinary norms. That is, not discovering but describing them, stabilising them in a way which I understand to mean freezing them in a recognisably quanti-/quali-fiable form, for the instrumentalised purposes of that professional or academic discipline. The practical implications of this can only be a feedback loop of affirmation of established norms, and reluctance in the discipline to consider alternative approaches. A brief excursion to consider the ontology of heritage practice in relation to the built environment is therefore justified to examine whether or not something of this kind can be seen, and to understand the differences between theory and practice which, as a practitioner and researcher, one might hope to bridge. This may also exemplify the effects on heritage reconstruction choices that arise from this relatively constrained view of heritage. Many of these characteristics are repeated in some form in national heritage systems around the world, but it is the UK system in which I have developed the familiarity which has enabled me to critically appraise its operation.

Finally, ANT is implicit in the 'biography of place' approach adopted by Stig-Sorenson and Viejo-Rose (2015) in discussing the treatment of heritage following conflict. A concept derived from geography and cultural heritage studies, it is used attempt to map the complex and interconnected networks which tend to develop within urban communities, as a contrast to narrative

based on individual features, buildings or classes of material or artefact which are only reintegrated In the flow of analysis at a highly generalized level of interpretation (Rubina & Sindbæk 2020). Rather, the Biography of Place approach relies on detailed consideration of an urban sites, using the whole range of source materials in order to analyse patterns, connections and the dynamics of change. Biographies have previously been used to investigate the lives of things (Appaduri 1986), reflect approaches based on ANT, and have been used in the investigation of cultural heritage, particularly looking at post-conflict scenarios (Stig Sørensen and Viejo-Rose 2015).

The networks of meaning and events around heritage things can be explored using the ANT approach to develop contextual understanding both of the thing itself as an object of heritage production and of its own agency. Latour is clear that there is no actor without agency, and agency means that an actor has something to say for itself. An actor who has nothing to say is not an actor! For him, thick description, practiced by Clifford Geertz (Geertz 1973) is therefore enough, based on detail and more detail to allow the actors to describe the changes they are bringing about without the need for additional framing (Latour 2005).

A post-conflict situation is a particularly heightened moment when established frameworks have been overturned, new networks are in formation and flux, and certain actors have a lot to reveal. Conditions also exist where networks begin, perforce, to move outside the traditional disciplinary boxes. Particular buildings and places meanwhile, far from being inert fabric, also are exercising agency through their historical, aesthetic, material and semiotic values as networks of relationships recover from rupture, develop and shift. ANT is therefore a very useful lens through which to consider these situations, and to which I will return in identifying my research methods.

The practice of heritage in England

Particular to the common experience of professional disciplines involved with heritage both in the UK and in Europe is that they come to practice from a number of different bases of knowledge, qualifications or professional degrees (Vandesande & Van Balen 2019). However, as well as the traditional competencies relatiing to the physical preservation of built heritage, they are increasingly required to deal with other processes and disciplines not traditionally considered in conservation activities, as the concept of conservation has expanded to encompass the acknowledgement and use of broader cultural heritage values (Vandesande & Van Balen 2019). The additional skills and knowledge needed are not always available, and further work is needed to the various relevant professional standards to enable practitioners to acquire them (Vandesande & Van Balen 2019). This is borne out in my own experience of heritage practice in England including observation of decision making across a broad range of situations, and reflection on the focus on traditional heritage values of intrinsic interest and the legal and policy systems which encode these.

In England, for the purposes of practice in the built environment, heritage is identified as a canon of stable objects considered worthy of attention on account of their innate characteristics, including age and architectural virtuosity (given legal and policy expression, for instance in UK Department of Culture Media and Sport 2010 and UK Government 1990), with the objective of practice being to maintain them more or less in their present condition. For all types of heritage there are official processes for identifying which are the most important, worthy of protection, and for deciding which of their attributes may be changed or removed, and how. These two decision streams are set in legislation and carried out by bodies and individuals authorised to do so. Under the legislation the Culture Secretary, following the advice of Historic England, decides what should be listed or may become a scheduled monument, while conservation areas may be designated by local councils. Decisions on changes to items of heritage once designated are almost entirely made by local planning authorities, in consultation with Historic England in certain circumstances, and on occasion by the Secretary of State through her/his representatives, Planning Inspectors. Permission to make changes is sought normally by owners supported by specialist consultants from the private sector. Given the high numbers of heritage assets, change is permitted to allow them to remain in beneficial use by owners with an interest to maintain them for the future (Historic England 2008 & 2024 d). Contestation over the nature and degree of change which is acceptable is focused on details and individual properties, while the system

itself appears stable (Pendlebury 2013). Similar legislative approaches are followed in Scotland and Wales.

The relevant legislation either dates from the second half of the twentieth century or has its roots there – the 1990 Act is essentially a consolidation of the provisions of the 1967 Civic Amenities Act and the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act. The way in which heritage is conceived in legislation today has its feet firmly planted in that era. To take the example of the system for listing historic buildings in England, the legal and policy criteria for preservation are the traditional technical attributes of 'special architectural and historic interest' (UK Government 1990), validated by experts within an expert advisory body, Historic England. Anyone may make an application for a certain building to be listed, but these criteria must be met. While appreciation of the value of heritage for reasons outside these boundaries has developed rapidly over the past two decades, the legal/policy system has remained the same. This inevitably limits opportunities for the application of alternative or wider assessments of value. Further, the focus primarily on buildings and sites, the legacy of the twin protection systems in the disciplines of architecture and archaeology respectively, limits wider conceptions of the historic environment and the multiplicity of meaningful connections within it. Landscapes, for instance, are only designated or protected in the limited forms of battlefields or designed parks or gardens (see for instance Historic England 2023b). Neither ancient synergies between human activities and natural processes (see for instance Hoskins 1992 and Rackham 2020) nor contemporary constructs of the urban landscape (see for instance Hatuka et al. 2018) are formally recognised.

Wider interpretations of designation criteria have from time to time expanded the heritage canon by applying the historic interest criterion through the lens of social history. For instance the Brixton Market buildings, following initial rejection by the Culture Secretary and previously largely ignored by official processes (Harrison 2010), were finally listed in 2010 for their value at the commercial and social heart of the extensive Afro-Caribbean community that settled in Brixton after World War Two (Historic England 2010). Similarly, the Vauxhall Tavern was listed for its 'historic and cultural significance as one of the best known and longstanding LGB&T venues in the capital, a role it has played particularly in the second half of the C20' and as 'an enduring symbol of the confidence of the gay community in London for which it possesses strong historic interest above many other similar venues nationally' (Historic England 2015). However, cases of the expansion of the canon along these lines are few and often confined to the re-interpretation of structures designated for other reasons (see for instance Historic England 2022). The

legal, policy and political constraints of the system discourage most practitioners from alternative conceptions of heritage going beyond the well-trodden paths of traditional historic and architectural interest.

If anything, the AHD has been seen recently in England to have hardened, particularly around the issues of statues and memorials, following the casting down of the statue of slaver Edward Colston in Bristol in 2020, and exacerbated by the jury acquittal of the 'Colston Four' at the end of 2021. Although linked to a wider picture of increasing unease at the de facto celebration of colonialist and racist figures from the past through their inclusion in the memorial landscape of UK towns and cities, this action was characterised as a harmful rewriting/erasing of 'our' past (Koram 2023) rather than an expression of social values in relation to the handling of the past in the present. With the stated intention of retaining such structures in situ, planning permission is now required for the removal of all statues and memorials, whether or not they have been identified as being of heritage interest, and the maximum penalty for criminal damage to them is 10 years (UK Government Home Office 2021b). Then Communities Secretary Robert Jenrick was extensively publicised in a *Daily Telegraph* article and elsewhere as criticising the 'baying mobs' from which public statues and memorials must be preserved (see, for instance, Hope 2021), a projection of crisis of the kind by which past developments in heritage practice have been catalysed. However, unlike past, more inclusive, extensions of heritage interest and activity, this approach has gone against the grain to represent a narrowing of interest and increase of protection for items which are, by definition, the province of a privileged minority. If in the past heritage could have been said to be mirroring our widening conception of our history, it has now fallen behind, and indeed may be reflecting the increased polarisation in how contemporary society sees itself. It is worth noting however that there have been alternative responses to this issue, and in many other places, including the Cities of London and Cardiff, statues and other memorials commemorating those connected to the slave trade were removed before the legal change (Mohding & Storer 2021).

Government's 'retain and explain' reaction to the Colston event (see for instance UK Government 2021, 204) bears out the arguments from Tait and While (2009) Edensor (2011)and to a certain extent Jones and Yarrow (2013) that conservation ethics are founded on an ontology of buildings as stable, unified objects, a legacy of the classical approach. However Jones and Yarrow go on to conclude that in practice, the act of conservation is a complex one, creating a space in which the multiplicity and instability of the objects of conservation are exposed and negotiated by practitioners with

various backgrounds. In their case study practitioners were experienced in the curation of buildings, architecture, and stone masonry. They each evoke a different, and sometimes conflicting ethos – preservation, aesthetic and structural consistency, and long material-based tradition respectively – to reach an agreed solution to decay (Jones & Yarrow 2013).

Certainly those managing change are able to interpret law and policy with some flexibility, following their particular ethos in choosing what to repair or reinstate and what to keep or replace. In the English planning system, for instance, the aim of heritage decision-making is, in essence, to preserve the significance of heritage assets. This is clearly not saying that all heritage must be preserved in its current state – a building for instance may have had unfortunate changes made to it before it was listed, and there is an interest in reversing these. Minor changes may be allowed to make a building more fit for its current purpose; the numbers of protected structures mean that it is neither practicable nor desirable to fix them in a monumentalised state. Indeed, major changes may be made to provide a new purpose for buildings which are redundant following an approach adopted by Historic England called 'constructive conservation' although this is not beyond challenge nor seen universally as successful (Pendlebury 2013). The ability to take into account 'public benefits' when addressing harm at a level considered 'less than substantial' allows some flexibility to accommodate change (UK Government 2021). The real test is whether we can still understand the essence of the building: – what it was intended for, how the original architect or builder conceived it and made it, how it has withstood the ravages of time, and the meanings it holds today for those to whom it matters. All these things may still be held in the building even after the quite significant changes that may be necessary to keep it valued and in use.

However, in practice, this flexibility is applied inconsistently or not at all. The influential Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, for instance, states that 'all historic fabric is precious', and many conservation decisions are made on that basis alone. It goes on to assert that it 'stands against Restorationist arguments that it is possible and worthwhile to return a building to its original - or imagined original – form' and 'generally rejects arguments that original design or cultural associations are more important than surviving fabric' (Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings 2022), a legacy of the nineteenth-century battle against the works of the church restorers. In practice Restorationist (capital R) schemes are rare today outside the extreme circumstances of deliberate destruction or natural disaster and for all practical purposes that battle has been won. Where original design or cultural associations are favoured over surviving fabric, which may be of

variable interest or quality, the technical and philosophical arguments tend to be more complex than this standpoint implies; it is often not a matter of binary choices. Resistance to all change to fabric is an approach defiantly at variance with current theories of the nature of heritage which encompass applied values of human origin. In practice, SPAB rules are not rigidly applied.

We have to remember that, while everything dies, buildings do so on a much slower trajectory than animate life, particularly those built, historically, to last. But die they do (Younes 2008). Even the most treasured building will need to be repaired again and again over centuries, or even millennia, and one day, inevitably, there will be negligible or meaningless amounts or indeed none of the first construction material left. Happily for that building, like The Ship of Theseus (de Arbuto 2023), it will still be the same thing. To give a practical example, investigation of even the most venerable ancient building – say a typical Mediaeval parish church – will find phase after phase of changes, extensions, and alterations, often culminating with the replacement of decaying stone window tracery in the nineteenth, twentieth or even twenty-first centuries. When done well to reflect the pattern of the original work, the average observer will not notice this as an aberration or later element, but a harmonious part of the whole – she/he may even think that it is an actual mediaeval window, and where, for most purposes, would be the harm in that?

These practice-based reflections take us back to the real importance of the values and meanings ascribed to historic structures and indeed to their appreciation and perception by people, but this is still not to say that the physical aspects of the building and its materiality are unimportant. For instance, the stone window tracery installed by a church restorer may have been needed to preserve the window from complete decay and to accommodate historic glass. In recapturing the design of the original and complementing the age and design of other internal and external surviving Mediaeval features, though renewed, it is playing its role in the totality of the building. If it was installed with some scholarly reference to that which it replaced, it echoes the design skills of the fifteenth-century masons. It may reveal the intentions of the church worthies in commissioning the latest architectural embellishments of their day and sits in the historical tradition of respectful repair that has already occurred repeatedly over centuries in the same building. It may show us something of what those congregations of centuries ago might have seen as they approached for worship. If the correct replacement stone is used it will continue to speak volumes about the geography, history, trade networks, historic wealth, and social standing of the place it is in (see Buckingham in Beacham et al. 2014). Meanwhile the

worshippers of today, and the church buffs, Pevsner in hand, can still appreciate the beauty or spirituality of the space and its architectural decoration or the historical riddles of its design. Materiality is a touchstone for evocation, for imagination, and for contact with the past. In some instances it is, certainly, precious and of value in its own right; the removal of structurally sound Mediaeval tracery would be essentially unthinkable. However to assume that this is a rule universally to be applied in conservation decisions is potentially to lead to banality of decision making and preservation - or even installation (where SPAB's credo of use of modern and legible fabric for repairs is followed to its logical conclusion) of inferior matter (see for instance Kucharek 2023).

Turning briefly to the heritage practitioners, those caring for designated heritage and the many informally recognised heritage buildings and sites, they fulfil many and varied roles, including legal, architectural, planning, engineering, surveying, regulatory, fundraising, grant giving, governance, project management, marketing etc.. The organisations involved go from government, local and national, through Historic England, a Non-Departmental Public Body, to charities large - the National Trust for instance - to small, in the form of the many historic buildings trusts set up for the care of a single building. The private sector too is an integral part of this role in the form of heritage, planning, architectural, engineering, fundraising and many other kinds of consultancies. The owners of these structures cannot be overlooked either.

A brief look at two key bodies engaged with heritage practitioners further demonstrates that contemporary heritage practice in England and the UK more widely remains wedded to classical heritage theory. The Institute of Historic Building Conservation (IHBC), and Historic England are, in different ways, involved in circulating information and guidance on practice, and both influence the ways in which practitioners engage with heritage and reflect current norms of doing so.

The IHBC a small but relatively influential professional association describes itself as the 'professional body for building conservation practitioners and historic environment experts working in England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, with connections to the Republic of Ireland. The Institute exists to establish, develop, and maintain the highest standards of conservation practice, to support the effective protection and enhancement of the historic environment, and to promote heritage-led regeneration and access to the historic environment for all' it (IHBC 2023) It has around 2,800 members divided roughly equally between public, private and charitable sectors. It publishes advice notes on topical subjects for practice including legal issues

and precedents or the use of certain types of material such as thatch or lime. Although membership of the institute is seen as desirable by many employers in the field, it is not a requirement for working in this area. The Institute emphasises the role of professional people and sets out the concomitant competencies it requires for prospective members, as set out in the following table.

AREAS OF COMPETENCE:	PROFESSIONAL	PRACTICAL: EVALUATION	PRACTICAL: MANAGEMENT	PRACTICAL: INTERVENTION
COMPETENCES:	PHILOSOPHY	HISTORY	LEGISLATION & POLICY	DESIGN & PRESENTATION
	PRACTICE	RESEARCH, RECORDING & ANALYSIS	FINANCE & ECONOMICS	TECHNOLOGY

Membership Standards, Criteria & Guidelines, Institute of Historic Building Conservation (IHBC 2008).

These competencies engage traditional concepts of heritage relating to history, philosophy, legislation, and technical considerations. Skills relating to the engagement of communities with heritage, or to the societal or psychological understanding of how and why heritage can best be managed are absent from this list, with the focus entirely on activities such as understanding the history, design or construction of buildings, as a basis for understanding their values. It appears from this that such skills are not seen as part of the heritage professional's repertoire.

Historic England describes itself as 'the public body that helps people care for, enjoy and celebrate England's spectacular historic environment' (Historic England 2023c). It has statutory roles in relation to planning decisions and grant giving powers. While these roles are set out on its website, in its presentation the organisation places much more emphasis on peoples' stories as manifested in buildings and places. These are, however, firmly tied to the canon of formally designated heritage. The body's Conservation Principles followed the adoption of the values-based approach set out in Burra Charter within the UK from the early twenty first century and introduce the concept of 'communal values' (Historic England 2008). Integration of community values into conservation plans was instigated by the National Lottery Heritage Fund (NLFH), in an ethos of greater inclusiveness – following the creation of the National Lottery in 1994, much of its money had originated from the general public – and in response to changes in philosophy promoted by such international measures as the Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005). Grant applicants were required to look beyond the traditional reasons for formal protection to justify the award of public funding (Clark 2014).

The authors of the Historic England Conservation Principles state that it outlines 'a logical approach to making decisions' and offers 'guidance about all aspects of England's historic environment' and therefore to ensures consistency for the Historic England itself in its advisory role to Government. Further on, the reconciliation of protection of the historic environment with the economic and social needs and aspirations of the people who live in it is also mentioned (para 18). The document clearly distinguishes between the special interest of designated heritage, based on a narrow set of values, and the decisions made about day-to-day management which should take account of all the values which contribute to significance (Historic England 2008).

It deliberately avoids using the terminology of heritage designation, instead, identifying values - evidential, historical, aesthetic and communal. Three are congruent with national legal requirements for designation – historic and architectural (also interpreted as including artistic interest) and archaeological value – i.e. ability to yield evidence of the past. Communal is the odd one out, but it has the potential to respond to the wider meanings of heritage to people. These values, their recognition and actioning, are a key focus of the document but are concisely communicated; the overwhelming bulk of the document is given over to the re-interpretation of other guidance and statements of good practice on the implementation of the legal/policy system. It does not explain how communal values are to be applied, other than that they should be taken into account in articulating significance and in decision making, notwithstanding that they sit outside the formal remit of that process. Throughout, the role of the expert is couched in terms of interpreting, understanding, communicating, sharing and helping the seemingly passive community in a traditional top-down manner. Overall it can be seen as a successful new way of articulating traditional values, but as providing little to move practice on from the traditional ontology.

These two examples and the preceding discussion show that formal heritage practice in the UK is not in the same place as academic understanding of the processes of heritage formation and curation. Historic buildings and places meanwhile are being constantly adapted, repurposed, and re-imagined for the needs of those who own, use, and appreciate them. This is a real process, however reluctantly this is accepted and however much these objects are characterised as immutable by practitioners. Heritage objects are not in fact stable and, taking a long view, they never can be. Indeed many, as forensic examination of their condition reveals, have been subject to extensive processes of past change. They are in transit but, viewed in the normal human frame of reference appear static, moving on what is normally

an imperceptibly slow trajectory. Obviously this process can jump or be hurried along as a result of some traumatic event such as fire, earthquake or explosion. This conclusion again brings us to a place where heritage in post-conflict societies, by disrupting the normal pace of change, has the potential to inspire reflection or even, perhaps, reconsideration of what the processes of heritage management could comprise.

Ontologies of Practice - International

The international system for identifying and managing World Heritage by UNESCO, greatly influential on heritage protection globally, also began from 1972 with a focus on the heritage of elites and the products of organised religion (Rico 2021). The initial focus was also mainly on western Europe, before a conscious effort was made to expand the geographical and conceptual application of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), the reason for inscription of a World Heritage Site. These changes comprised the introduction of 'cultural landscapes' as a new category of potential World Heritage site in 1992, acknowledging the interactions of humans with the natural landscape (Gfeller 2013, Brown 2018), and the Nara document on authenticity (ICOMOS 1994a). A Global Strategy was introduced in 1994 to 'broaden the definition of World Heritage to better reflect the full spectrum of our world's cultural and natural treasures' (UNESCO 1994). This has opened up the recognition and valorisation of the heritage of less traditionally privileged groups and successfully expanded the canon of World Heritage, adding them to what remains a growing list of conventional, elite, and normally European, sites.

The World Heritage Convention was expanded in 2004 to incorporate the recognition of 'intangible heritage' taken to mean 'the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts, and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage'. Intangible heritage refers to oral traditions and expressions, including language; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and traditional craftsmanship (UNESCO 2003a). While, as a result, greater recognition is now given to what is used and valued by people and may contribute to a sense of identity, these changes have taken an essentially anthropological focus for expanding the World Heritage canon and created a new and separate area for consideration. What this does not do is redress the patchy prior identification of universal interest of tangible heritage, nor does it bridge the gap between the priorities of classic heritage theory and a more democratic idea of what is important.

More recently, the balance of power in UNESCO has shifted to favour emerging powers such as China, South Africa, Russia, and India in decision-making while governmental and politicised lobbying has reached new heights in terms of intensity and money spent (see, for instance, Bertacchini, Liuzza and Meskell 2017). Governments, or state parties, are the only bodies

which can engage with UNESCO on designation matters, and in some cases go to considerable lengths to protect a World Heritage designation. Australia, for instance, in defiance of scientific data, recently fought off a bid to have the Great Barrier Reef identified as at risk (Hasham 2015). By contrast the OUV of the WHS in Liverpool comprising the historic trading centre had been seriously undermined by insensitive redevelopment in and around the inscribed area. The UK Government did little to challenge it's at-risk status, which may have contributed to its entire removal from the list. (see Redfearn 2021 and Halliday 2021 respectively). For less affluent countries, entries on the World Heritage List have been a badge of distinction and a prospective draw for tourist income, leading to further concerns at the degradation of both the concept and the overexploited sites (see for instance Caust 2018).

Thus the system remains inconsistent in effect and complex in operation, with overrepresentation of some categories and geographies, and a continuing lack of clarity in application of the standard of OUV overlain by political complexity and contestation (Brumann 2018). Both in the UK and internationally, elite concepts of heritage, architecturally or archaeologically informed, and predicated on maintaining existing heritage objects in a stable state dominate in practice.

Countries within the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region often operate heritage protection systems which are founded on colonial legacies, and often reflect the preoccupations of former colonial powers with ancient, often pre-Islamic sites, with a consequent undervaluing of Islamic and urban heritage. Where acknowledged, the focus within cities is on the architectural monument, set aside from its urban or socio-economic context (see for instance Khirfan 2016 on Aleppo and As-Salt, Jordan). An implicit, latent, nineteenth-century anti-Islamic bias has been identified as these systems emerged from Europe into their contemporary manifestations (Rico 2021, discussing the debate over the recent re-dedication as a mosque of the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul). Furthermore, although international and national conservation systems acknowledge that the unique challenges of operating in sacred places call for adaptation of standards and practices to this type of historic resource, this institutional engagement oversimplifies how different faiths and the values that they espouse are reflected tangibly through material culture. As a result, the rich religious heritage of the region tends to be underrepresented (Rico 2021).

Internationally urban sites are also underrepresented in the dialogue and systems and in institutions, and so in MENA there may be less value ascribed to the material of urban, non-monumental historic structures of a kind which would normally be seen as special in a European context. Partly the results of

the Orientalist/Colonialist preoccupation with pre-Islamic heritage (Maffi 2009), the metropolitan outlook of planners and architects in the region, and the lack of heritage education in regional schools of architecture (Al-Sabouni 2016) this may also arise from the disappointment of those living with this heritage first-hand at its lack of adaptability to their reasonable expectations of modern living conditions (Khirfan 2016). Further dissatisfaction is likely to arise from the inadequacies of the systems set up to protect such heritage, where it is acknowledged as important, often due to their focus on preserving the tourist-orientated qualities of the urban environment and application of heavy-handed restrictions (Khirfan 2016).

The ontology of heritage practice internationally may therefore be characterised as remaining broadly focused on the heritage objects relating to elites, in this perspective defined as the representative heritage of more developed countries, with western Europe particularly dominant. Developing nations, recognising the potential benefits of World Heritage designation have begun to assert more influence in the processes, in recognition of the potential benefits of inscription, but this change has been confined to the more economically successful of these, and the motivation is not guaranteed to lead to equitable outcomes. Attempts to broaden the range of World Heritage inscriptions have been partial, and patchy in their effects.

Conclusion – epistemologies of destruction and reconstruction

How, then, can understanding of the theoretical and practical ontologies of heritage be used to inform the study of post-conflict heritage reconstruction? Past approaches to heritage production have evaluated heritage items according to their historical/archaeological or aesthetic attributes. These attributes would have been seen both as objective truths and the principal rationale for their recognition and preservation. This approach, discussed in the literature review in the context of developments such as the Athens Charter and its sucessors, embedded intellectual approaches of the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries along these lines. Discussion in more recent critical heritage literature on the nature of heritage and how/why it attracts value has identified its ability to generate human responses, create symbolic meaning, and contribute to memory and identity, leading to the conclusion that equally significant attributes of heritage items are extrinsic, generated by the human responses to them. Thus the understanding of heritage has moved towards a stance, where the reality of heritage also encompasses symbolic discourse (for instance, Smith 2020). This is the most predominant contemporary episteme/paradigm in relation to heritage in academia, and provides the context for recent examination of heritage in post conflict scenarios, notwithstanding more recent emerging interest in the materiality of heritage.

Heritage is now viewed as a complex mix of scientifically-identified and materially-based values with a significant imprint of human-generated meaning. For instance, it is hard to identify heritage buildings or places of great historic or archaeological significance which do not inspire human responses, on a personal, community or even international level. Such responses often transcend the physical and temporal facts of its existence but at the same time are anchored to them. Far from being mutually exclusive, these two kinds of value will generally co-exist, albeit in a balance which varies from one place to another. There will be situations, for instance, in which the objects of heritage attention do not have any particularly great age and/or are not generally recognised as having any special intrinsic architectural/aesthetic or archaeological merit, but nonetheless do inspire memory, affection, regard or other human responses (for example, Dewi 2017). This is unsatisfactory in terms of practice only in that there are few, if any, established mechanisms for valorising these responses if the technical attributes are limited, and thus little in the way of rules or principles for how to manage the objects of these values in order to sustain them.

In situations where items of heritage have been entirely or substantially destroyed, although the memory remains of their material and traditional attributions prior to destruction alongside any residual physical traces, it is predominantly their extrinsic, humanly applied values that remain, albeit, as it were, unhomed. Thus while such heritage may exert strong and entirely understandable claims to reinstatement, the principles and means to guide this process remain an area of uncertainty and contention. This research is intended therefore to look at this gap and look for the outlines of good practice.

Getting to grips with the complexity of heritage in a situation of sudden change or loss presents further epistemological challenges. Human-generated values attached to an object of heritage while extant may be hard to pinpoint accurately when looking back after its destruction. Feelings may be hard to identify in retrospect, as memory itself is shifting and loss may heighten nostalgic feelings and distort an assessment of values felt. These values will almost certainly have changed now their object is destroyed, and are likely to be different again if it is restored as an object which is the same, yet different. Future values may be projected onto the object in the present which are not the same as the actual values which will be applied in the future when it is restored. Can anything be knowable except the values attached to an extant heritage object in the present, to the extent that they are knowable even then? Are heritage values influenced by the availability of their object as a physical entity or can they endure unchanged even as it is transformed by time or trauma?

It might be supposed that values could be discovered simply by asking people directly, although Smith (2014) points out the potential for mutability and the complexity inherent in this too. Additional uncertainties will also arise from the difficulty of establishing the identity and location of the most relevant communities of interest and then contacting them in the disruptive aftermath of conflict. This means it is seldom done to an extent where a complete picture could be gained, and proxies or alternative sources of information must be sought.

The networks of meaning and events around heritage buildings and places can be explored using the ANT approach to develop contextual understanding both of the thing itself as an object of heritage production and of its own agency. Latour is clear that there is no actor without agency, and agency means that an actor has something to say for itself (Latour 2005). A post-conflict situation is a particularly heightened moment when established frameworks have been overturned, new networks are in formation and flux, and certain actors have a lot to reveal. Conditions also

exist where networks begin, perforce, to move outside the traditional disciplinary boxes. Particular buildings and places meanwhile, far from being inert fabric, also are exercising agency through their historical, aethetic, material and semiotic values as networks of relationships recover from rupture, develop and shift.

I will go on, in the next chapter to look at the methods and methodologies for attempting to attempting to chart these processes of change and networks of relationships.

Chapter 4 - Methodology

Introduction

Having set out the conceptual underpinning and framing of my research, I will now move on to consider how they inform the modes of enquiry and tools I have used. Throughout, the focus is on the built environment – buildings, sites, areas, cities and their quarters – immovable heritage which has been identified as important through national and international legal and policy systems or by their communities of proximity or interest. Items of heritage interest such as museum objects or archives present a different range of challenges and questions as well as being largely outside my professional experience and I will not cover them here.

I wished to focus my research on live reconstruction projects focused on urban, non-memorial sites in an area which had recently experienced conflict and widespread damage and destruction. Cities within the MENA region with active projects relating to recent or ongoing conflicts presented an opportunity to do so. The choice of this region and the sites to be studied determined the practicalities of research and the nature of the evidence available, presenting challenges in terms of data-gathering, not least considerations of safety which prevented me from visiting any of the projects or study areas. For example in Iraq where conflict has recently or scarcely died down and the risk of terrorist reprisals remain a possibility (UK Government 2024) visits to reconstruction projects and direct interviews with project participants were not possible. I discuss below the alternative data sources I made use of to overcome these practical disadvantages.

In looking at live reconstruction projects responding to conflict-related destruction and damage, I considered that an approach influenced by ANT, and focused on attempting to identify the complexities and interconnections of heritage in a network of affect would be the most fruitful. In this chapter therefore I examine the practicalities of doing so, and particularly the potential of case studies for responding to complexity. I also set out the practical difficulties arising from distance, danger and the limitations imposed on the interviewees engaged in the projects relating to the information they were able and prepared to discuss or share. In the face of these constraints and limitations I supplemented the information available through analysis of published project materials, and through observation of the projects through sources external to their management structures as well as through images and maps derived from a number of sources, and I set out below the rationale and methods for doing so.

As post conflict reconstruction is still a contested issue between heritage practitioners, this is an area of practice where normative standards have not been established. As discussed above, most analysis and critique of heritage affected by conflict up to now has been retrospective, and focused on conflicts which happened some decades ago. Contemporary examination of the effects of more recent conflicts has focused mainly on monitoring the extent and nature of physical destruction and on the underlying reasons for it. There is also more written regarding aspects of heritage such as its creation, recreation or suppression in theory; and analysis of memorials, monuments or monumental landscapes in relation to matters such as memorialisation, political agency and material authenticity. Less has been analysed or discussed in relation to the practical aspects of responses to conflict, both in material and social terms, and still less attention given to non-monumental heritage in the form of historic urban environments or buildings in contemporary use. Therefore, there is potential value in capturing the greater breadth and complexity of urban heritage settings both in terms of the activities and experiences they give rise to and the heritage and societal needs in play when they are reconstructed with a view to resettling dispersed and traumatised populations.

I originally intended to follow an approach based on evaluation methlogy in order to create a bespoke tool for charting the effectiveness of reconstruction projects in achieving their heritage and social objectives. However, as the project based evaluative material was not accessible, this was not possible to realise in full. This is also explained below, as is the use to which I put my work on evaluation in identifying the interview themes.

A methodology emerges

Heritage objects and processes, values they inspire and the valorisation and practical application of those values in practice is a complex reality, thus calling for research in depth and a range of research methods (Fulton et al. 2013). I therefore chose a qualitative methodological approach in order to collect individual perspectives and experiences as a way of understanding the scenarios of post conflict reconstruction. This also had the advantage of providing flexibility as the process of data collection and analysis gave rise both to new ideas, but also revealed some dead ends on the routes I originally planned. Heritage processes are the result of social constructions of meaning and knowledge. Immersive exploration is therefore a way to identify the multiple perspectives that may prevail within them and, as I set out below, case studies also presented themselves as an appropriate method.

Given the shifting nature of the objects of enqiry in this research, and the absence of any pre-existing hypotheses to be tested, an approach based on inductive reasoning was used in order to describe, understand and evaluate the changes ocurring to heritage things as they make the transitions from extant to destroyed to reconstructed, and to identify and analyse the frames of meaning of those involved in these processes as played out in the study areas. By inductive reasoning I mean using a body of observations from which broad gneralisations or principles may be derived at a certain level of probability (Blaikie 2007, Climenhaga 2020). I have identified no existing hypotheses relating to the effectiveness of urban post-conflict reconstruction in terms of recovery of heritage and social values. I have also identified that it is an area of practice which is new in terms of occurring at any scale while overtly acknowledging that reconstruction is a core aim of the activity. I have not therefore been able to develop a hypothesis of my own which could be tested by deductive reasoning, that is, providing a premise from which to draw conclusions (Climenhaga 2020). To use that approach would fix my analysis along certain paths, with the risk of leaving other relevant avenues of investigation untraveled.

Use of Case Studies

In the social sciences case studies are identified as empirical enquiries which look into and describe complex contemporary phenomena in depth and within their real-life contexts, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. (Groat and Wang 2002, Yin 2009). They offer value in following chains of activity over time, rather than enumerating their frequencies or incidences, which would be more appropriately dealt with using surveys (Yin 2009). They are also capable of dealing with contemporary events, based on direct observation of these events including interviews with people involved in the events alongside a wide range of sources of evidence, and where the relevant behaviours cannot be controlled (Yin 2009). Robert Yin also identifies that case studies are potentially exploratory, descriptive or explanatory, or a combination of these characteristics, with the potential to throw light on situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes (Yin 2019).

It was my intention in this research to investigate contemporary events in context, with a degree of complexity engendered by the lack of previously defined boundaries. The contexts of any reconstruction projects investigated would be highly significant in determining their parameters and approaches. The outcomes, while clear in some respects, say, the reconstruction of a certain building or place, were likely to be intertwined with other, social and community objectives dependent on context, and therefore predictable neither in their definition or attainment. Thus case studies were a more relevant method for my research than using one based on histories or qualitative measures such as survey.

Case studies need not be seen as samples, generalisable to an entire population or universe, but can be generalisable to theoretical propositions (Fulton et al. 2013, Yin 2019) or may be conducted for the intrinsic interest of the particular case (Groat & Wang 2002). In reviewing the practical constraints placed on my research by distance and risk management (below) it becomes clear that examination of reconstruction projects would not be able to extend to sufficient numbers to function as a sample, so, again, the use of case studies a looking in depth at the projects and their contexts, and triangulating from a number of sources, was an appropriate method to optimise the data and opportunities available and to see if phenomena were repeated in different scenarios.

Design of the case study is important in identifying the correct strategy for data collection (Yin 2019). For the reasons I have set out in previous chapters and having concluded that contemporary post-conflict reconstruction has been little reflected on, I did not start with a proposition to test but chose an exploratory approach reviewing the design and conduct of such projects. Notwithstanding, there was a rationale and direction, which was to reveal whether such projects could successfully reinstate heritage values, assuming that heritage values comprise both the traditional, intrinsic qualities of fabric and design, and the social and community values placed on the heritage by the communities with which it was most closely associated. The 'unit of analysis' (Yin 2019 p.29) was therefore the project itself and its performance in relation to its own internal logic – its objectives and project design – and its effects on those most closely affected. Practically, in identifying potential case studies I focused on a number of active projects involving some degree of reconstruction and located within the MENA region, and identified from sources such as the V&A Culture in Crisis Portal (Victoria and Albert Museum 2024), the British Council's Cultural Protection Fund (British Council 2024), the UNESCO World Heritage Cities Programme (UNESCO 2024 c), and the Aga Khan Development Network Historic Cities Programme (Aga Khan Development Network 2024). There were further accessibility issues to deal with as not all provided direct or indirect contact details. However, I was able to establish contact with the Amedi and Mosul projects.

These two projects included heritage structures and sites of a degree of heritage interest which suggested that their recovery would require careful consideration. For instance a study area of relatively low heritage value, where the conclusion might be that damaged buildings could be appropriately replaced entirely, would have presented little relevant substance. Mosul and Amedi while not on the World Heritage List have been added to the tentative list as a result of their recent damage. It is revealing to note that damage seems to have been largely the cause of their addition to the tentative list and that they might not have been advanced towards World Heritage status so rapidly, or at all, had this been otherwise.

Mosul had experienced great physical harm from conflict, damaging a high proportion of the built fabric. The extent of the damage was such that it was not possible to resume activity in parts of the city without significant rehabilitative intervention through rebuilding/repair/replacement. In Amedi, the physical damage was been less severe, but the effects of conflict had led to problems of neglect and abandonment which had, in turn, made rebuilding works necessary if buildings of heritage interest were to be secured for the future.

The focus of the projects studied was on physical restoration of key buildings and the re-engagement of the local community with these buildings or the historic area in which they sit. In both settlements the physical works were also associated with projects seeking social re-integration, education, skills development and community engagement. In Mosul, the intervention was one which affected a significant proportion of the damaged city and aimed for at least partial resumption of normal activities. As the area of damage was on a city or sub-city level and the area to be rehabilitated a large one, it was being tackled through a series of separate but complementary projects to deal with different categories of building within the historic core, with consequent variations in approach.

While involving multiple parties, both projects had a primary lead, which was a consideration of practical relevance in identifying potential interviewees. Having looked at my rationale for using case studies, I will next set out the strategy for data gathering, including the use of interviews, which was engendered by this choice.
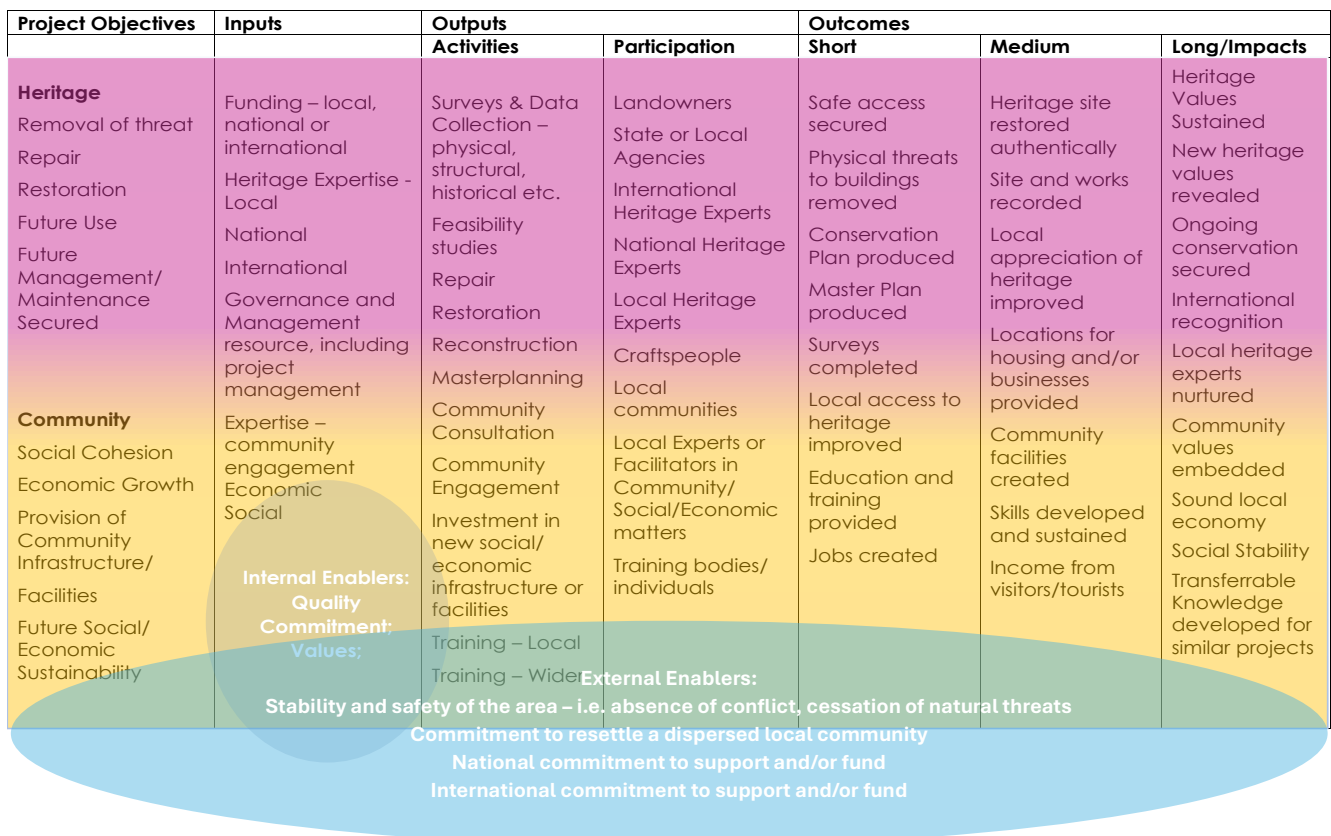
Data Gathering

Taking into account the above considerations, I followed an approach based on the collection of data through the the cumulative identification and analysis of themes in relation to the reconstruction projects. This was built up from successive interviews with project participants, discussed below.

I had originally developed an evaluation methodology, using standard project management approaches for the systematic assessment of outcomes of completed projects or programmes. Evaluation is an established approach in the UK and international fields particularly among heritage funders, to demonstrate the success of grant-funded work, particularly in response to a desire for quantitative measures of success (National Lottery Fund, 2017, W.K. Kellogg Foundation 2017). It is based on the creation of a bespoke assessment template; use of the template to identify indicators; and measurement of the success of a project against a set of defined criteria. I had considered that, if feasible, this would provide a template capable of drawing comparisons between differing projects. However, I found that an evaluation methodology was unsuitable due to the unwillingness or inability of project participants to share relevant information. Furthermore, reflection on methodological approaches helped me to realise that identification of an evaluation methodology and assessment of the projects against it would be closer to a deductive analytical method against an existing hypothesis, which, as discussed above, I had concluded would be unsuitable.

However, as part of creating an evaluation methodology, I developed a Logic Model. This is a schema for analysing and describing a given project, set out in the form of a conceptual map of how the activities lead to outcomes (Belcher and Claus 2020). Normally in the form of a diagram or chart, it is the overarching articulation of the assumptions and enablers related to the work, explaining, inter alia, why it is assumed the project activities will lead to the desired outcomes (Kellog 2004, Heritage Lottery Fund 2017, & Noble 2019). My logic model is set out below.

Fig. 1: Logic Model for Evaluation of Case Study Projects

Project Objectives	Inputs	Outputs		Outcomes		
		Activities	Participation	Short	Medium	Long/Impacts
Heritage Removal of threat Repair Restoration Future Use Future Management/ Maintenance Secured **Community** Social Cohesion Economic Growth Provision of Community Infrastructure/ Facilities Future Social/ Economic Sustainability	Funding – local, national or international Heritage Expertise - Local National International Governance and Management resource, including project management Expertise – community engagement Economic Social Internal Enablers: Quality Commitment; Values;	Surveys & Data Collection – physical, structural, historical etc. Feasibility studies Repair Restoration Reconstruction Masterplanning Community Consultation Community Engagement Investment in new social/ economic infrastructure or facilities Training – Local Training – Wider	Landowners State or Local Agencies International Heritage Experts National Heritage Experts Local Heritage Experts Craftspeople Local communities Local Experts or Facilitators in Community/ Social/Economic matters Training bodies/ individuals	Safe access secured Physical threats to buildings removed Conservation Plan produced Master Plan produced Surveys completed Local access to heritage improved Education and training provided Jobs created	Heritage site restored authentically Site and works recorded Local appreciation of heritage improved Locations for housing and/or businesses provided Community facilities created Skills developed and sustained Income from visitors/tourists	Heritage Values Sustained New heritage values revealed Ongoing conservation secured International recognition Local heritage experts nurtured Community values embedded Sound local economy Social Stability Transferrable Knowledge developed for similar projects

External Enablers:
Stability and safety of the area – i.e. absence of conflict, cessation of natural threats
Commitment to resettle a dispersed local community
National commitment to support and/or fund
International commitment to support and/or fund

This logic model is based on a number of assumptions drawn from consideration of heritage theory and the rationale and direction of the study in seeking to identify whether reconstruction projects could successfully reinstate the full range of heritage values. The logic followed started with the desirable objectives of recovery and reinstatement of both historic fabric and its role and meaning for those communities which whom it was most closely associated. Identification of likely inputs, activities and participants to achieve this followed on from these objectives and was based on my own experience of heritage projects supplemented by examination of published examples of reconstruction projects. The outcomes identified as desirable were those which would be likely to fulfil the project objectives, and were divided into short-, medium- and long-term outcomes, depending on the immediacy with which they could be achieved and the duration of their effects. In this way I was able to produce a generalised template for projects of this kind. While it could not be used in direct evaluation of the individual projects, it was of value in identifying themes and directions for investigation and formed the starting point for interview questions.

Compiling this Logic Model drew me to four broad lines of enquiry as follows: -

* To examine emerging practice by comparing the chosen strategic and operational approaches of the leading project organisations including any conservation philosophical frameworks applied to the task.

* To look at the practical measures whereby the following were sought: -

  – Recovery of heritage values and revealing of new values;

  – Securing the sustainable future conservation of the heritage place or structure;

  – Development of transferable knowledge and skills in restoration work.

* To examine and identify good practice in wider social/economic terms in relation to heritage, including the practical measures for securing effective and early engagement of local project partners to understand the values they ascribe to the heritage and aspirations for the heritage and social or economic outcomes of the project; and in terms of outcomes, practical approaches taken to:

  – Embed local values in the completed project;

  – Achieve social and economic objectives.

* The extent to which the authenticity of heritage structures can be sustained in projects involving extensive repair or reconstruction. In particular, I was interested in identifying the extent to which the involvement of those practicing traditional construction crafts and trades was able to contribute to the authenticity of the repaired or reconstructed heritage.

Interviews

Widespread use is made of interviews in qualitative research, particularly in the form of semi-structured interviews which follow a set of questions or topics but allow flexibility to pursue particular themes and distinguished from the more rigid, structured approach and anthropological unstructured approach (Seidman 2006, Adhabie & Anozie 2017, Yin 2019). Interviews with individuals are recognised as allowing for greater depth of exploration (Adhabie & Anozie 2017, Yin 2019) and as allowing for exploration of the views, experiences, beliefs, and motivations of individuals on specific matters (Seidman 2006, Gill et al. 2008).

While face to face interviews have normally been seen as the most advantageous (Adhabie & Anozie 2017), due to the practical restrictions on meeting project participants in person remote online interviews on Teams or Zoom were deployed. Interviews making use of remote techniques are becoming more accepted in research as being capable of eliciting good quality information (Opdenakker 2006). This was successful, allowing for visual as well as audio contact, and particularly as the use of these platforms had become increasingly normalised during the Covid pandemic. Using these platforms also had the advantages of being able to record the interview to complement my note taking and allow more concentration on the interviewees and their responses, and to facilitate transcription of the interviews.

I sought and was able to contact interviewees from each project who were willing to spare the time to be interviewed. The participants were project authors and leaders who were able to provide information on the practical aspects of the projects; the principles of the projects, particularly in terms of the character and extent of local engagement; understanding of the value and meaning of heritage both inside the project and by local communities; and the degree to which authenticity was regarded as a guiding principle of the work of the project.

For the Amedi Project I was able to secure interviews from two participants; John Darlington, Project Lead and Director of Projects at the World Monument Fund, and Jala Makhzoumi, Project Consultant and landscape expert. Four project participants were found who were willing to be interviewed in relation to the Mosul project. Three were representatives of UNESCO in differing capacities; Maria Acetoso, Senior Project Manager, and Nuria Ruiz Roca, Assistant Project Manager, working on the UAE funded projects to restore the major religious buildings of the Al-Nuri Mosque and three churches; and Jemma Houston, Project Architect in the EU funded

project to restore a number of houses and smaller religious buildings. Rohit Jigyasu was a representative of the ICCROM training project working alongside UNESCO and focused on the running of building apprenticeships and training of architectural/building professionals in conservation concepts and techniques.

I conducted semi-structured interviews in order to retain flexibility in the lines of inquiry followed. I sought details of the respective project approaches to heritage reconstruction, in terms of how and why things were done, following the themes identified from literature review, research framing and the creation of a logic model. The interviews followed a largely consistent structure based on these themes, pursuing themes in varying degrees of depth depending on the role and specialisms of the interviewee. Interviews were transcribed, and the transcriptions open-coded to identify key themes based in individual exerpts, with new themes added successively as new interviews were conducted. The responses of interviewees on a particular theme were then compared and contrasted as new data was added. In this way the data which emerged was able to direct and qualify the analysis and conclusions drawn.

The disadvantage of seeking information from leading project participants in conflict zones which cannot easily be visited has been that they have been hard make initial contact with. Secondly, as the projects were in full operation at the time, the time they were able to offer was constrained by work pressures to the one-hour time slot requested. Despite this, with their good will and willingness to share some aspects of their project work, it was possible to derive a richer understanding of the issues involved and progress of works, with insights which could not be gathered from published sources alone.

Other Data – the collection of bricolage

The exploration of a complex phenomenon using whatever materials are to hand has been identified as another route to gaining multiple perspectives (Denzin & Lincoln 2000, Fulton et al. 2013), while the use of multiple sources of data to converge in a triangulating fashion has been identified by others (Groat & Wang 2002, Gaber & Gaber 2004). Given the practical disadvantages outlined above in relation to first hand investigation of sites and the limited numbers of interviews available, I therefore made use of a variety of sources of data in compensation for these shortcomings. These include making use of published secondary sources, remote surveying information such as satellite imagery and photographs in addition to interviews with project participants. These are discussed in more detail in this section.

Documents:

A variety of documents relating to the projects were available online, some giving a great deal of detail regarding the project, such as the supplementary materials published by UNESCO in relation to the Mosul project. Some others, which might have been of utility were, as mentioned, withheld by interviewees. Those not produced by the organisers of the projects were able to provide alternative perspectives, while those that were, taking into account their potential reporting bias, were nonetheless useful for obtaining factual details, including maps and photographs of the project sites and structures, and revealing the ways in which the project organisations viewed their own actions. I therefore reviewed published documents, websites and pages, newspaper articles, statements and other announcements relating to the projects, triaged to identify those of greatest relevance. They were used to augment and test the information I had gained through interview and observations, bearing in mind the intentions behind their production.

(In)direct observations:

Direct observations are of value in ascertaining the direct context of the case study (Yin 2019). Part of the professional practice of managing historic buildings or areas is the exercise of powers of observation and the ability to 'read' a place in terms of both the fabric and the effect it has on those experiencing it, to make an assessment with no intermediary, using the buildings or sites as a primary source of evidence. That was not possible in relation to the case study sites.

In the search for ways better to understand the physical reality of the case study areas, I turned to photographs, maps and other visual materials available online. John Gaber and Sharon Gaber (2004) note the potential for the use of photographs to go beyond their illustrative value to provide empirical evidence if used methodically to provide a visually understandable representation of the research subject, capable of allowing contemplation and analysis if informed by theory and relating to the research topic and if allowing the understanding of spatial and causal relationships to other variables in context (Gaber & Gaber 2004).

I have therefore used visual tools such as photographs and maps as a partial substitute for direct observation to provide a detailed visual resemblance of the places of study. Visual images were collected from published material online, and I made use of online tools such as Google Earth and Streetview, including both high-level mapping photography and more detailed survey photographs of sites or buildings to understand the context of the case study sites and the condition of sites on the ground, cross referenced against other information to add complementary value. Historical photographs, where relevant examples were available, enabled a view of the conditions of buildings across time in order to map changes. This was of use, for instance, in the understanding the clumsy restoration of the Mosul Gate in Amedi. These images were used not as metaphor or illustration, but to convey information regarding the project areas, capable of interpretation.

Unlike the photographs discussed by Gaber and Gaber, however, the images I have used were not created by myself, but by others. As with all photographs, however, they are social and technical constructions and cannot therefore be entirely neutral. As with the use of secondary documentation, therefore, I have borne in mind the potential for bias in the creation of images and have mainly focused on visual mapping or survey evidence and have focused on images of buildings or places to avoid the risks of misinterpretation or potentially exploitative othering (Gaber and Gaber 2014) of the people of the project areas; their relationships to the sites have been gained, where possible, by other means.

Biographies of place

The theoretical ontologies identified in the previous chapter, and in particular ANT, have been used to encourage detailed descriptions, including following trains of information and thought, and seeking a view of the process of change in the round. The complexity of the recovery of heritage in post conflict situations arising from physical challenges and the multiplicity of agents of change and their motivations mean that while an ANT based approach cannot necessarily chart or predict networks of action and effect comprehensively – indeed what could - it can attempt a dense, three-dimensional picture, perhaps the most that can realistically be aspired to. ANT has the advantage of being able to evaluate and represent an event such as destruction as a happening with causes and meanings to the actors involved rather than merely the absence or loss of fabric. It can also reveal the agency of the building as an actor which has led other actors to desire and chose its destruction as well as its reconstruction. A richer understanding of processes and networks derived in this way can support decision making, not least by charting the potential for and outlines of new networks or processes.

In my account of the case study locations I have therefore followed a ANT-inspired biography of place approach, discussed in the preceding chapter, to allow the sites and buildings as well as the agents of post-conflict reconstruction to speak out. The biography of place approach (Stig-Sorensen and Viejo Rose 2015) is a useful narrative method for charting the evolution of the building or site prior to conflict and during conflict-derived changes and can be a useful device for understanding change. Finally, it is an approach that provides a buffer against preconceptions – for instance that a UNESCO-led project will inevitably be entirely top-down in nature – and a means of identifying and accounting for the uses of heritage to reinforce other, often political, agendas.

The biography of place for each case study has been compiled using secondary sources and project documentation. I have also used research documents such as the city profile studies drawn up by UN Habitat, and publicly available historic archives, photographs, or other documents. Visiting the case study areas would have been valuable, and the inability to do so is regrettable.

Putting theory into practice through the use of toolkits

The practical output from this research should be capable of responding to the complexity and mutability of heritage as it is conceived by people and in situations of flux. Therefore, rather than the rigidity of a set of rules or principles, I have chosen to look at the possibility of a toolkit mechanism, providing the flexibility to diagnose a particular situation and select the measures which will serve it more effectively. In broad terms, a toolkit is a package of measures intended to support practice in a given field, across a range of disciplines.

Toolkits are used in various academic and professional disciplines including particularly healthcare, but also IT and social sciences (for instance 'YALSA Toolkit Creation Guide' n.d.; Young Adult Library Services Association, American Libraries Association n.d.; University of California Berkeley 2019; Thoele et al. 2020; Salbach et al. 2022). They are noted, particularly in clinical practice, as a response to patchy implementation of recommendations derived from research, and a means of translating theory into practice (YALSA Toolkit Creation Guide' n.d.). They are also identified as having value in facilitating wide-spread adoption of a particular good practice (Yamada et al. 2015).

While toolkits are used in different contexts they nonetheless exhibit commonalities in their purpose, their creation, implementation, and content. The metaphor deployed in the term 'toolkit' signals a series of practical measures or recommendations – the tools – brought together within a defined framework – the toolkit – for their convenient deployment on a given task. It also implies an exercise of prior preparation and understanding of the nature of the task, and tested knowledge which brings certainty that these are indeed the best tools for the job. The tools in the kit may take a variety of forms, including templates, educational materials, guidelines, interactive tools etc. (Yamada et al. 2015), however they are consistently practical in intent. They may include documents (Thoele et al. 2020), which may focus on evaluation, policy and procedure, and finance (University of California Berkeley 2019, Thoele et al. 2020) and potentially a wider range of other resources such as visual reminders, including posters, audiovisual tools, and electronic tools such as apps, intended to facilitate knowledge transition and facilitate behaviour change and all with a carefully defined purpose and rationale to support what can be characterised as a complex intervention (Salbach et al. 2022).

Synthesising these varying approaches (see Appendix 3), three fundamental phases of activity in preparing a toolkit may be identified as preparation, implementation, and reflection/refinement (Thoele et al. 2020 and University of California Berkeley 2019). The latter phase is different from evaluation, which is the freestanding exercise of taking a step away from the toolkit and reviewing its compliance with objectives, rather than an integrated part of the toolkit's operation. Toolkits must also be underpinned by the policies and principles which inform them and fiscal and funding tools which set out their fiscal strategies, sources of funding, and funding streams. These should logically be part of the early preparation stage given their essential contribution.

My conclusion from the foregoing is that a generalised toolkit to support all potential reconstruction scenarios is not realistic at a certain level of complexity. It is not always desirable either, as a toolkit of this kind would tend to be top-down in character and lacking the strengths gained from reflection and input from implementers and project partners. It would not be likely to capture the possible range of post-conflict situations, be able to adapt to evolving conditions or be repeatable in future scenarios. For these reasons the three-step process described by Thoele et al. which incorporates project partners input and feedback to promote engagement and ownership of the practice would be more relevant (Thoele at al. 2020). Flexibility, grounding in practical implementation and engagement of project partners are themes with potential value in the field of post conflict reconstruction.

Caveats include that basing a toolkit on a case study method lacks scientific rigor and may limit the generalizability of the results to broader populations in that would be challenging to replicate the exact methods or achieve the same results (Thoele et al. 2020). It is accepted that this would be the case if the intention was to create a toolkit to apply uniformly across a range of scenarios. However, examination of case studies in order to identify an approach to developing toolkits, with ideas of the kinds of materials which they might contain, could be capable of informing the development of individual toolkits tailored to the particular circumstances of a reconstruction project. Furthermore, as Thoele et al. are working in the healthcare setting, with greater emphasis on quantitative rather than qualitative results, this is not considered to be a deterrent to developing an approach to toolkits for reconstruction projects.

Their second major caveat was that the investigators in their studied case were invested in the success of its implementation, which could introduce bias during data collection and data analysis (Thoele et al. 2020). However, the possibility of bias in the analysis of toolkit implementation from within the

process is acknowledged but confirms the needs for a robust and standalone evaluation framework. Secondly, in the case of reconstruction projects, external indicators may be used to provide additional perspectives and balance to the understanding of implementation success.

I will next go on to look at existing toolkits used within relevant areas of heritage practice, at a variety of levels and scales, in order to understand how the theoretical aspects of preparation, content, communication, implementation, and review, discussed above, are manifested in this practice. I will seek to identify similarities and any significant differences and any characteristics of obvious applicability to the implementation of heritage reconstruction projects in post-conflict damaged urban areas.

The Use of Toolkits in Heritage Practice

The disciplines discussed above have developed a theory behind the use of toolkits, including with reference to implementation science[1], and have therefore provided valuable insights into the rationale for the construction and use of toolkits. Turning to the use of toolkits in heritage practice, I searched online using the term 'heritage toolkits', 'heritage conservation toolkits' and 'heritage toolkits theory of change'. I then narrowed down the search among those I was able to find to focus on toolkits or other implementation strategies relating to the restoration, repair, or management of physical change to built heritage and historic sites. I found little literature relating to the theory of development and use of toolkits in heritage practice of a kind equivalent to that seen in healthcare, and it appears that the term is on the whole used unreflectively. It is deployed in a variety of contexts, and measures thus badged exist in the ownership of a number of heritage related bodies at differing levels and with differing roles. In order to apply a consistent comparison across the range, I assessed them against the characteristics discussed above, recognised in other academic and professional areas and in the field of implementation science, in order to establish whether the term has been used deliberately to identify an implementation framework containing some or all of the identified features or is more loosely applied to what may turn out simply to be 'how-to' guidance or, as observed, a list of documents. I was also interested to establish whether there was other implementation guidance which could, with justification, be badged as a toolkit, but had not been. The results of this exercise are set out in full in Appendix 3.

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[1] Implementation science is 'the study of strategies to promote the uptake of evidence-based interventions' and relates to healthcare practice and policy (Wilson and Kislov, 2022).

Where heritage toolkits in scope were identified, many of them focused on activities broadly related to the conservation of built heritage, such as labour market research, managing volunteers, or communications, rather than to the core activity of restoration and management (Heritage Volunteer Organisers Scotland and Museums Galleries Scotland 2017; Institute of Conservation, Historic England and Chartered Institute for Archaeologists 2020, Historic Environment Scotland and University of Stirling 2021). This is understandable in an increasingly under-resourced field, where competition for resources is keen, and where heritage professionals are often required to extend their range of activities. For core conservation practice toolkits may be of value in ways similar to that of other fields through either extending the boundaries of heritage practice by those already well versed in it, or by enabling those with no previous experience to enter into it on a specific path. A good example of such a toolkit was that produced by the Institute of Historic Building Conservation, which included a set of short briefing papers intended to guide heritage practitioners in novel or complex focused issues, or to point to sources of information for wider but less familiar areas of practice (Institute of Historic Building 2023).

My search also yielded rather different overviews of heritage practice. Araoz, for instance, mentions the 'professional toolkit' and the doctrinal foundation on which the heritage conservation community has relied for decades, by which he means the various international charters giving the broad-brush strokes of heritage practice (Araoz 2011). This conception is not unique; Emerick uses the term toolkit in the same way to denote the underlying heritage protection system (Emerick 2009 in Waterton and Smith 2009). Similarly, the ReConHeritage Iraq Toolkit has an aspirational focus on features which might improve the fundamentals of the national heritage protection system, rather than refining or extending professional practice.

In the UK, an example coming closest to a genuine toolkit was that produced by The Heritage Trust Network, a charitable organisation supporting the establishment of local projects to recover buildings at risk. Their toolkit for setting up and running a historic building project, covering the successive stages of project delivery provided a clear pathway for progressing through the stages of the project. It contained no reference to change management or implementation, but this is perhaps explicable due to very practical focus of the toolkit in an established field, that of rescuing buildings at risk. There is no mention of consultation with the toolkit audience, but this audience is large and changing constantly, and mainly consists of bodies and individuals who are new to the field of work, rather than experienced practitioners

taking on a new field – a notable but legitimate difference from the healthcare toolkits examined above (Heritage Trust Network 2023).

Examples of partial toolkits can also be identified. For instance Historic Environment Scotland, a UK Government Non-Departmental Public Body (NDPB) provides examples in their 'Community Hub' for non-professionals seeking to engage with the historic environment (Historic Environment Scotland 2023). This contains information packs, guidance documents and links to organisations providing relevant advice, many loosely badged as toolkits. As with the HTN, whose toolkit was also listed on this advice page, the intended audience was again almost entirely those entering a new field, heritage, rather than those familiar with the field taking on a new activity within it.

Exceptionally, the 'Social Value' toolkit aimed at existing practitioners is based on research (Historic Environment Scotland and University of Stirling 2021). Rooted in social science, this was very thorough in guiding users through the process of identifying and engaging communities with a relationship with a certain place and the processes of information gathering and assessment. Again, a clear pathway was provided. However, primarily research focused, this took users to the point where this information had been gathered, interpreted, shared and reflected on – translation into practical change was not covered.

I was thus able to identify a small number of implementation strategies relating to built heritage in UK and international practice which appeared to be toolkits. I also found some apparently similar implementation frameworks with the potential to be considered as toolkits but not badged as such. I also looked at toolkits relating to urban design and architecture, which are numerous, and while straightforward in many respects as means of embedding or expanding good practice, the areas of practice they deal with are much broader than the core heritage activities and very specific focus of heritage practice on which I have been focusing, and, again, there were a small number of examples of application of theory to their creation (for instance Dovey 2016). I therefore concluded that they were beyond the scope of this research.

International heritage practice yielded similarly mixed results. Of the toolkits created or supported by UNESCO. 'Enhancing Our Heritage Toolkit: Assessing management effectiveness of World Heritage Sites' is significant, intended for natural World Heritage Sites but said also to be applicable to cultural heritage. Intended to support the development and improvement of management frameworks, including monitoring strategies, by those

responsible for the conservation of World Heritage Sites it provides worksheets and advice for with generic planning tools for assessment and implementation of practice to be applied as appropriate to the given local situations, which, given the global applicability will vary widely from site to site. It is, inevitably, top-down in nature, having been produced by 'a small and dedicated team of specialists' on behalf of UNESCO. While some pre-publication consultation with representatives of nine World Heritage site managers (Hockings et al. 2008)– these represent a small proportion of the 250 natural world heritage sites inscribed at the time of writing (UNESCO 2023). There are no mechanisms for feedback from other project partners, no stated mechanism for review and refinement by the authors, nor an evaluation framework.

As representing the approach to such a fundamental activity relating to WHSs this raises the question of whether toolkits should be used to implement core business, effectively a substitute for project planning and staff training. In doing so it also raises the issue of specificity. The needs of the managers of such a diverse set of assets in relation to resources, training, and support from national institutions, including governments, are likely to vary from site to site, and in some cases, to be very large. Half of natural world heritage sites are under-resourced, and many are under threat from nationally planned developments and infrastructure (UNESCO 2023). Can a toolkit be enough to respond to such variety and to make up for the lack of investment at national level? The answer would appear to be that it could be of help in places where more significant interventions to fundamental activities are not needed but can be only a sticking plaster in places where they are.

Another UNESCO product is the Historic Urban Landscape Recommendations (UNESCO 2011) referred to by others (Xihui Wanga et al. 2021) and by UNESCO (2016) as toolkit, although this is something of a misnomer. It does indeed point the way to four categories of tool, but these are so high level and generic as to be of limited practical use and the recommendation, even as unpacked through a series of related documents and web pages (UNESCO 2010, 2011, 2013, 2016). It reads more as a statement of principles. The attempt to apply the recommendations at a practical level in the city of

The 'Circular models Leveraging Investments in Cultural heritage adaptive reuse (CLIC) Project Toolkit has been created by the CLIC consortium funded by the European Commission with aim to develop and validate innovative funding models for the adaptive re-use of cultural heritage sites as part of movement towards a circular economy (European Commission 2022). While bringing together a great deal of information in the form of a database of 124 relevant projects, it lacks a clear pathway through to implementation

and does not reach out to potential beneficiaries in a manner likely to engage or support them or indeed provide tools with which to turn these examples into practice. Indeed, most of its literature is internally focused, referencing the processes behind compiling this information. As, now, a closed project, which is not to be further updated, it is not strictly a practical or working strategy. The amount of data and analysis suggests that it has the capability to form the basis of a more responsive and operational implementation toolkit, but this is not the case at present.

The ReConHeritage initiative is a collaboration between the University of Leeds, Research England and the Global Challenges Research Fund also involving universities in Kosovo, Iraq and Lebanon (ReConHeritage 2020). It presents a direct response to cultural heritage damage during conflict and seeks to promote dialogue and involvement with young people in the three study areas in order to engage them with the process of recovery. The initiative is fleshed out in the three country toolkits with varying degrees of success in relation to the aims of engaging youth in cultural heritage protection, even if youth is taken to mean, more narrowly, students and young academics. The toolkit for Iraq, for instance, is very focused on the higher levels of the existing academic, governmental and academic establishment through the creation of committees, academic scholarships etc.. Again, these are scarcely tools, more like the normal machinery of heritage protection, albeit, it is acknowledged, in need of a significant upgrade – for instance through the creation of building conservation courses in the architectural schools of Iraq. Products not badged as tools in this toolkit appear much more like tools for extending professional practice; 3D modelling and sharing of experiences via social media for instance appear measures that might successfully realise the aims of this sub toolkit and the overarching project. The Lebanon toolkit in contrast had identified a number of tools with potential to be transferable to other scenarios, including use or development of digital platforms, infrastructure and services to heritage research, real world support and knowledge exchange and partnership and collaboration work. However, these are identified but not developed or made available (ReConHeritage 2020).

The ReConHeritage particularly illustrates a common lack of clarity in heritage circles as to the role, form, and value of toolkits and particularly their practical and outward facing potential. It presents a collection of pilots and aspirations, the record of past research with some potential to illustrate transferable strategies but without exploring or delineating the pathways to that practice. While entirely worthy, the failure of the collaboration to engage institutions or organisations outside those already involved is perhaps

revealed by the visitor count at the bottom of the introductory web page; for an issue of global interest affecting many countries today, 932 visitors seems rather a small number (ReConHeritage 2020, accessed, 29th April 2023).

By contrast, the CURE Framework (UNESCO, World Bank 2018), created by UNESCO and World Bank in response to natural disasters and conflict in urban areas, provides a roadmap for putting culture, tangible and intangible, at the heart of city reconstruction and recovery after conflict. It brings together economic development and the management of complex social, spatial, and economic transformations, while addressing the shortcomings of current reconstruction and recovery processes and seeking to enhance their effectiveness and sustainability. In practice it draws together existing frameworks and tools for reconstruction and recovery in urban settings, knitting together people-centred and place-based approaches into integrated policies. The framework also highlights the importance of setting up effective institutional and governance structures, a risk management strategy, and a communication and engagement strategy, particularly so in the context of crisis hit cities which are often already underfunded, badly planned, riven with inequality, and suffering the consequences of poor management and funding. Poor urban development strategies and economic crises mean that trauma often hits places characterised by longstanding urban decay, excessive building density, substandard housing, dilapidated public facilities, inadequate infrastructure, major social disruption, and urban poverty.

In this document, the operational guidelines set out principles and approaches in a roadmap for action, also referencing existing more practically based strategies. Among those are the Post-Disaster Needs Assessments and the Recovery and Peacebuilding Assessments, integral to putting the principles into practice, and produced jointly by the World Bank, the European Commission, and the United Nations (UN) as a common approach to post-disaster and post-conflict management. In its provision of a roadmap and the headline tools for following it, this document could therefore be seen as a high-level toolkit although not badged as such (UNESCO, World Bank 2018).

The review of these and other heritage toolkits (discussed in greater detail in Appendix 3) has shown that in heritage practice products as varied as advocacy documents, implementation strategies and research findings are being badged as toolkits in both UK and international spheres. Some of these are not in fact toolkits in a meaningful sense; the ICOMOS C20 toolkit for instance is simply a list of documents (ICOMOS Scientific Committee on the Twentieth Century 2023). Others are, or are at least partially so, suggesting

that there will always be some blurring of the boundaries between project management, advocacy, and practical support. Nearly none of the examples found has been compiled with any obvious reference to implementation science. Many do not provide the practical and flexible tools for practitioners to follow through into practical actions, while some simply present the results of a research initiative, focused inwards on existing participants and case studies, rather than outwards to engage with new collaborators. For some, however, there is the potential to create practical support if they were to be referenced to pre-existing practical strategies, in the way that the UNESCO/World Bank recommendations are.

Where relevant heritage toolkits have been identified, they normally contain some element of translating theory into practice, often coupled with an additional concern with promoting consistency or managing change. However, for many the focus on research and establishing of principles means that their emphasis is principally on the initiation and setting up phase, leaving support for implementation relatively thin and practical tools to support implementation in short supply. In turn these limits opportunities to develop transferability of practice or robust tools capable of adaptation for different scenarios. This is a missed opportunity; while it is important that toolkits should be bespoke to their context, this does not mean that they should need to be wholly reinvented every time.

Nonetheless, there is enough substance in the identified examples to inform the development of the structure and outline content of a fully realised toolkit for a heritage reconstruction project designed with project partners in mind and intended to support them in the achievement of change. I will next go on to consider the possibility for and potential applicability of a toolkit in my area of research incorporating the lessons from implementation science and more broad use of toolkits while learning from existing heritage toolkits. Of particular interest in the latter group are those which have addressed directly issues of post conflict reconstruction in areas which are the subject of my research.

Use of Toolkits in Post-Conflict Reconstruction Projects

As identified above, toolkits may be useful in rolling out new practice, supporting consistency in existing practice and in managing change. They have the potential to support the familiarisation of heritage practitioners and others in the practical application of unfamiliar, theory-driven approaches to practical challenges, providing worked examples and tools for developing bespoke responses to a given situation, while seeking consistent delivery of outcomes. Meanwhile, although the desired outcomes of a heritage restoration project are likely to include a return to something akin to a pre-

existing situation, ironically, a great deal of change will normally be needed to achieve this. This change will include activities in areas beyond the reconstruction of historic structures, to encompass improvements to sanitation, townscape, social and economic conditions, not to mention the array of practical measures sharply focused on critical issues such as site safety and security. In incorporating physical renewal the end product, therefore, will be different from what preceded it in significant ways while still accommodating with heritage values and objectives. Management of change, incorporating a wide range of project partners, could therefore be an important element in a toolkit for such projects, providing worked examples and the means to develop bespoke responses in order to optimise outcomes and lessons learnt.

## Developing my own toolkit for post-conflict reconstruction

Having analysed existing theory and reviewed a number of toolkits in heritage and other disciplines, I was able to identify a number of core desirable characteristics for a toolkit designed to fulfil the potential aims of extending practice, supporting consistency of practice or managing change, and doing so with the capability to respond to feedback and changing circumstances. These are explained in detail in Appendix 3 and set out in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Toolkit Core Characteristics

Preparation Phase: -	
Purpose	What is the toolkit for? Are objectives defined?
Audience	Who is it for?
Field of Practice	That is, is it for established heritage practitioners extending their range of activities or for newcomers to the field?
Academic Underpinnings	That is, has any research been applied to the toolkit and its formation and use – in contradistinction to any academic research concerning the subject of the area of practice.
Consultation	Were representatives of the potential audiences for the toolkit given an opportunity to comment on its content and likely effectiveness?
Implementation Phase: -	
Tools – collated	Is the toolkit based in a grouping of pre-existing resources? This does not necessarily undermine its value as an implementation tool but may mean that it could more accurately defined under a different term.
Tools – created	Are the tools bespoke to the implementation objectives and prepared as part of the development of the toolkit?
Terminology and Definitions	Are these specified in the toolkit to support its consistent application?
Underpinning Principles	Are any principles such as legal, processual or philosophical adduced as informing the toolkit and influencing its implementation in practice?
Flexible/Fixed	Is the toolkit encouraging or enabling flexibility in its use, depending on context, or does it chart a more fixed course through a sequence of actions?
Review Phase: -	
Review	Is review mentioned as an integral part of the use of the toolkit and a potential source of refinements to its features and operation?
Evaluation	Is an evaluation plan or other approach mentioned as a means of checking whether the use of the toolkit has led to successful outcomes against the objectives?

A logic model can be used to inform toolkit development by providing the underlying theories and logic used in taking a particular approach or path (University of California Berkeley 2019). Therefore, I looked at my own theory of change through the lens of the three-stage toolkit structure discussed above – comprising preparation, implementation, and review/refinement (University of California Berkeley 2019; Thoele et al. 2020). I sorted the components of the theory of change into two groups – those most closely related to translating theory into practice and consolidating good practice, and those most closely related to management of change. The groups include those aspects of a potential reconstruction project directly or indirectly related to heritage matters. This exercise enabled me to identify the areas of a given heritage reconstruction project which would beneficially be supported by toolkit content. The results are set out in Fig. 1.

Fig. 1: Simplified Logic Model combined with possible toolkit coverage
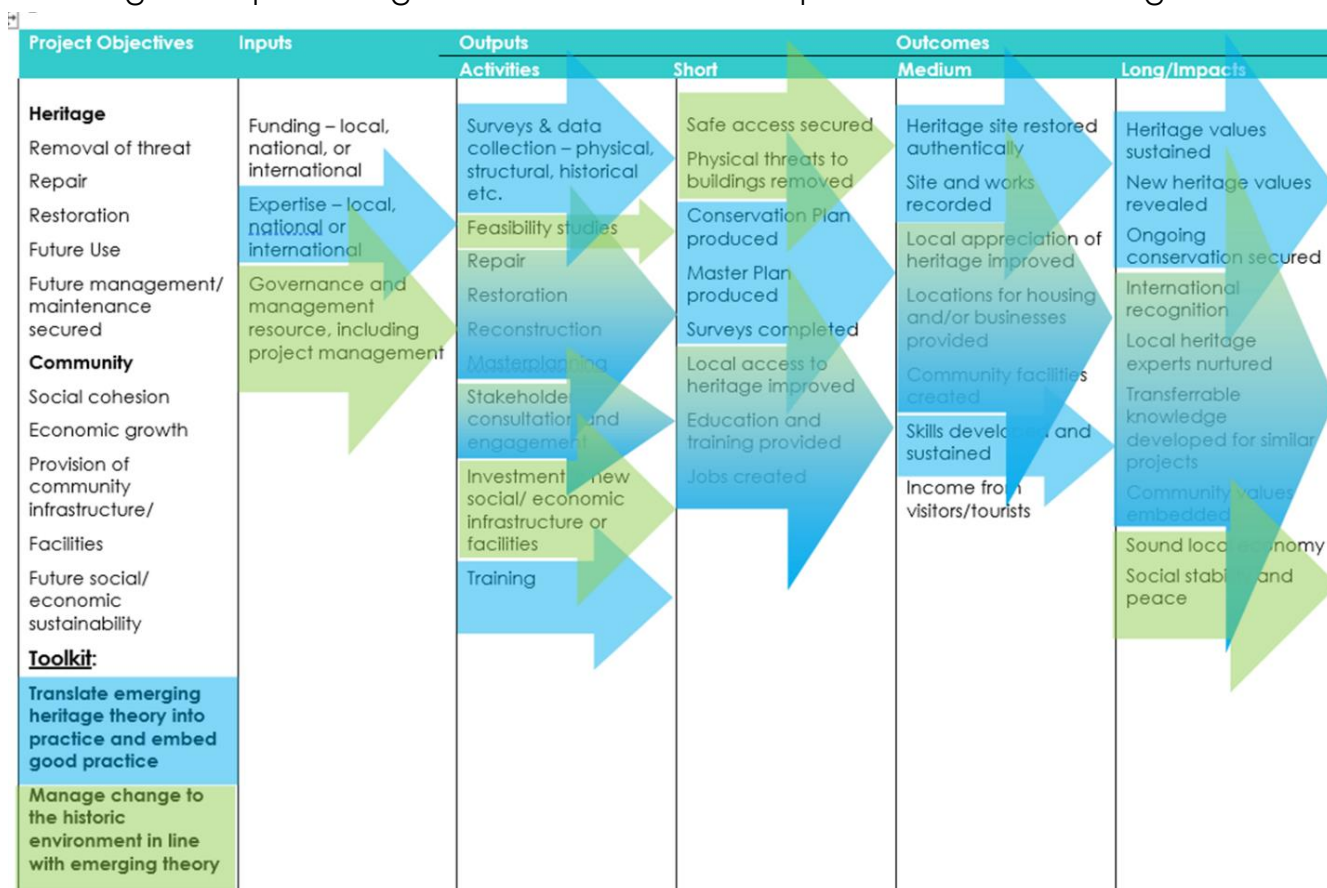
The Heritage Reconstruction Toolkit (HeRT)

The proposed toolkit is thus based on a presumed scenario characterised by a number of features:

- Reconstruction of a historic area or site where a high degree of damage has been experienced during armed conflict.
- A project making use of multi-disciplinary professional teams
- Project focus on reconstruction in an historic urban district
- Project focus on deriving a full understanding of the heritage/social values of the site through engagement with all relevant project partners and communities.

At the heart of the toolkit is the identification and instrumentalization of heritage and social/community values to support the implementation of sustainable and well received reconstruction. It is pitched at a practical level, including practical tools to support work on the ground.

The function of the toolkit is to translate heritage theory into practice by enabling the identification and actioning of heritage values including those traditionally ascribed to historic places on the basis of their age, historical, functional, or aesthetic qualities and those ascribed to them by the people to whom they have meaning. The two areas of value are part of a continuum of understanding but are treated in different sections of the toolkit as they require different approaches to ensure that they are respectively fully understood and appropriately actioned. The toolkit also seeks to support consistency in this area of heritage practice by setting out a range of tools to support heritage or related specialists who may be expected to expand their practice in new activities, and to work in an environment with which they are developing familiarity.

Finally, the toolkit is intended to support effective and sustainable management of change in the historic environment and in heritage practice through supporting the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the reconstruction project. The toolkit will enable project participants to develop measures to do this by providing individual tools which can be adapted to the details and needs of the project. It provides information, examples, case studies and links to sources of information and templates.

In developing bespoke elements for the project a three-stage process is recommended including preparation, implementation, and reflection and refinement, to be carried out in discussion with the project participants and project partners who will be implementing and affected by the toolkit. The

elements of the toolkit were identified through analysis of the likely needs of the different phases of a possible reconstruction project.

On further analysing the toolkit phases and likely tools, set out in Table 2 below, it is also clear that they can be grouped under six headings, indicating a possible toolkit structure. These are: -

- – Toolkit Design and Evaluation
- – Identification and monitoring of heritage values
- – Training Programme
- – Communication/Dissemination Plan
- – project partners Engagement Plan
- – Site Manual

This analysis was used to inform my practical toolkit for heritage reconstruction, set out in Chapter 6, which has been informed in detail by the results of the case studies.

Table 2: Toolkit Components:

Toolkit Phases:	Toolkit Design and Evaluation	Heritage Values and Heritage Impact Assessment	Site Manual	Training Programme	Communication / Dissemination Plan	Stakeholder Engagement Plan
Initiation	Toolkit set up document, including statement of objectives and evaluation criteria Baseline survey	Advice on producing a statement of heritage values Methodologies for survey and data collection to help identify heritage values Templates/advice on producing a conservation plan or heritage sensitivity map Heritage Impact Assessment	Practical Principles and Guidelines for site work Practical supporting information for site work: - o Gazetteer of properties or sites within project o Structural and architectural surveys o Plans and maps o Method statements o Site handbook o Sample works on site	Induction training package for project participants Induction package for project stakeholders	Information/ publicity/learning packs for external interested parties	Advice on planning designing and running effective community engagement
Implementation	Masterplan/Project Plan with review milestones and informed by heritage values and objectives	Survey and archive material collated and made accessible Interim reviews of heritage outcomes and lessons learned	Updated practical tools, incorporating sanitary and utility improvements as relevant	Interim or refresher training for project participants Additional training for heritage practitioners	Communication Plan and materials for sharing information and feedback on progress with local community and other stakeholders Sharing of training materials and lessons learned with heritage practitioners	Stakeholder Engagement Plan Interim reviews of social, economic and community outcomes
Review	Review of project outputs and outcomes identified to date	Review of heritage values of site to assess how they have changed or been reinstated during progress to date			Lessons learned and useful information, to be packaged for sharing with community, stakeholders and other heritage practitioners	Feedback to stakeholders
Evaluation	Toolkit evaluation methodology against baseline information				Legacy Publication and Dissemination Plan	

Conclusion

Having considered the theoretical underpinnings of my methodology and practical considerations, including the particular methods for data collection that they engender, as well as identifying a need for supporting measures to turn new or emerging heritage theory into practice and manage change, with a toolkit as on possible way of supporting this transition, I next turn to the detail of the case studies, beginning with Amedi.

Chapter 5: Case Study – World Monument Fund Amedi Project

Introduction

Amedi, in north Iraq, is a small town which has experienced the aftermath of the 2003 – 2011 conflict in the form of direct and indirect damage to the town centre, social and economic restructuring, and the associated damage, neglect and decline of its historic environment. Actions under the project examined addressed these issues through the lens of urban planning, design, and community participation. They included formally analysing and providing solutions to problems in the historic environment supported by site-specific studies and design recommendations, and exercises in local consultation intended to encourage co-authorship and attempt a participatory approach to reconstruction. The intention of the project was to identify exemplar solutions capable of informing practical work both in Amedi and the wider region (World Monument Fund 2018).

The Amedi project is led by a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO), the World Monuments Fund (WMF), and funded by a quasi-autonomous NGO the British Council (sponsored by the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office). It presents the opportunity to study an NGO in action in a reconstruction context. The contribution of NGOs in post conflict situations is often vital, as they are able to bring flexibility, institutional connections, and expertise to bear in a situation where such factors may be in short supply (Bojicic-Dzelilovic 2002). It also provides an opportunity to consider the use of external and foreign expertise in such projects.

As a case study it also casts light on the role of heritage during a long-term process of societal reconstruction after conflict; this is an area where direct damage has been slight, and so the usual immediate priorities of removing unsafe structures, providing shelter etc. have not been a factor. However, issues such as the sustainable economic recovery of the region and the psychological wellbeing of its inhabitants, also relevant, are a significant focus of the project.

In this chapter, therefore, I will begin with consideration of the town of Amedi and its heritage, as affected by the various conflicts in Iraq. I will then look at the particular responses to change put in place by the project, how effective attempts at public engagement have been and some of the results of that engagement. As discussed previously, it has not been possible to visit Amedi, therefore limiting my ability to view the town in any detail or to conduct any

interviews of my own in order to check local responses. My research has therefore focused on analysis of the project documentation to complement the information gained from interviews with project participants and supplemented by my own analysis of photographic evidence and maps. I have also used my professional judgement to analyse the published outputs of the project in the light both of the stated practical approaches and stated objectives of the project. In addition, the interviewees revealed responses from local people, some of which contradicted expectations, and which suggested lessons for future projects along similar lines and ideas which inform the contents of the toolkit, discussed below.

Biography of place

Background

Amedi[2] is a city located in Kurdish Northern Iraq, less than 20 km from the border with Turkey, as the crow flies – the extremely mountainous terrain in the vicinity requires a rather longer journey of over 100 km to the Ibrahim Kalil border crossing (measured on Google maps). Surrounded by scenic peaks, the topography of the town itself is also dramatic, as it occupies fully a sheer-sided, oval plateau set some 100 m above the valley floor, and over 1, 000 metres above sea level (Sissakian & Fouad 2011).

The picturesque village of Amediye, Iraq in 2009, U.S. Army photo by SGT Daniel Nelson and in the public domain. Available at: http://www.dvidshub.net/image/173606/us-soldiers-take-part-kurdish-labor-day-celebration and created 1st May 2009. (Accessed 8th June 2020).

A compact town in a strategic but peripheral location, Amedi was drawn into the ambit of the empires of the Medes, Persians and Assyrians as they rose and fell in and around the Fertile Crescent, and to whom, as a naturally well-fortified place, it would have been particularly attractive (UNESCO 1992 – 2023). While the claim that 'Amedi' is a name with Assyrian origins are disputed, three figures carved in relief by the steep staircase leading to one of the town's monumental gates strongly suggest a period of Parthian

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[2] Known as Al Amadiya in Arabic, and also spelt phonetically in other ways.

occupation (Bahrani et al 2019). Certainly, Arab historical sources indicate, when the Seljuk citadel at Amadi was built by Emir Imad al Din Zengi in the early twelfth century, the town had already been occupied for many centuries and it went on to be the capital of the Bahdinan Emirate from 1376 until 1845 (Bahrani 2019).

As a compact settlement where overspill into the surrounding land was not easy, its built fabric has been successively and regularly rebuilt leaving relatively few buildings with high heritage value, as traditionally conceived, through their age and monumental qualities (Darlington 2020). These include the remnants of the Mosul gateway entrance to the town, the remains of a sixteenth century school, and the Seljuk mosque as well as Nestorian churches and a Jewish shrine. Until the departure of most of the town's Jewish occupants in the mid-twentieth century it had a mixed population; indeed, around 30% of the town today are Christian (Ismail 2015). However, the town has a distinct spirit of place which can be identified in its unique combination of characteristics including its topography and history, alongside the extensive survival of traditional dwellings and commercial buildings, albeit in some cases hidden or unrecognised due to later alterations or accretions (Darlington 2020). Observation of maps and aerial photographs suggests that the town retains its traditional street patterns, likely to be of considerable antiquity. These include the long bazaar traversing the plateau diagonally between the gates, and its densely packed urban morphology with buildings set around small, closed courts (UNESCO 1992 – 2023). As a settlement continuously occupied since at least the mid-second century BC, it also has considerable archaeological potential, which remains untapped (Darlington 2020).

Image from WMF, 2019, Appendix 'CPF Amedi Talk Nov 2019' p 31.

Another distinctive characteristic is the presence within the town of small pockets of garden attached to nearly every house, and normally containing a pomegranate and a fig tree (Makhzoumi 2020). This was noticed by Dr Jala Makhzoumi, who has acted as an adviser to the project, and whom I interviewed. She realised that this distinctive feature had gone unnoticed prior to her involvement, and that traditional conceptions of landscape as pertaining to vistas and significant views would tend to overlook these more domestic features. Not considered heritage as such, these trees were a very important physical manifestation of the intangible heritage of the area, including the production of pomegranate molasses and fruit leather. She noted that when the small garden space had been lost to one house due to development, the occupier had instead planted her tree in the public garden nearby, such was the importance of having one. The size of the plots is such that houses do not have space for a courtyard garden, and so the trees are often planted to the front of the house, where, often set alongside rose bushes, they also provide the space for sitting out and social interactions (Makhzoumi 2020).

Amedi has been on the tentative world heritage list since 2011, nominated as a World Heritage Site, where it is described thus: - 'one of the oldest cities in the world and one of the most important historic cities in North Iraq ....' (UNESCO 1992 – 2023). Points made in the nomination include its age, the interesting history arising from its liminal location, and extraordinary topography as a small city fitted into an area of less than 1 km^2 on the flat hilltop plateau with steep sides.

A long period of economic stagnation, followed by crisis arising from the Iraq war and subsequent civil conflict, including the rise of Daesh, has seen the neglect of buildings and infrastructure and loss of younger residents, who have moved out to find opportunities elsewhere (Darlington 2020). In a region, Duhok, characterised by relatively high levels of unemployment and large numbers of refugees and Internally Displaced People (IDPs), Amedi has some of the highest (Duhok Governorate 2016). However, there is also now a thirst for change, manifested recently in unauthorised development, while the creation of a new shopping centre on the outskirts of town has seen the beginnings of decline in the traditional bazaar area (Darlington 2020, WMF 2019). This trend has been exacerbated by a lack of intervention or guidance from the municipal authorities.

WMF 2019 Appendices 24 p. – various views of Amedi.

Heritage does not form a strong draw for visitors coming to the area for the cooler summer temperatures and picturesque scenery (Darlington 2020). Development of hotels, restaurants and holiday homes has been focused on the nearby modern town of Sulav, to which around 90% of visitors are attracted by its waterfalls and other natural charms and local food specialities such as tahini and fruit leathers (Darlington 2020). While this has had the advantage of leaving Amedi itself relatively unscathed by rapid, unplanned, or widespread redevelopment, it has also meant that inward investment has been limited, and that recognition of the value of the town's heritage has remained limited (Darlington 2020, WMF 2019).

Sulav, downloaded from the General Directorate of Tourism Dohuk website. Available at: http://duhoktourism.org/place/sulav (Accessed 7 November 2020).

The small grants application form to the British Council submitted by the WMF indicates that that during the years of conflict against Daesh the town has welcomed a transient population of refugees and Internal Displaced People (IDP) from different areas and communities, including Syrian Kurds, Yezidis and Christians from conflict zones in Iraq, and that they have been accommodated in some of the deserted traditional buildings and in former tourism facilities of the city (World Monuments Fund, 2018). The re-use of deserted traditional buildings to house displaced people, a welcome humanitarian action, is, however, likely to be temporary with no objective of the long-term rehabilitation of these buildings or revival of tourism activities.

Challenges in the aftermath of conflict

While direct damage attributable to the recent conflict is limited in Amedi itself, the surrounding area has been bombed by the Turkish authorities and there has been damage to infrastructure in the region due to this, the actions of Saddam Hussein and, more recently, through actions targeting Daesh (Darlington 2020, WMF 2019). However, the relative lack of direct damage has to be viewed in the context of the wider implications for Iraqi society of the conflicts of early twenty first century. These include general disregard for heritage in government and municipality-led schemes for regeneration and improvement of infrastructure (World Monuments Fund 2019), and a sense of unease among local communities, discussed below, arising from the displacement of local communities as a result of previous heritage-based projects (Darlington 2020).

In the case of Amedi, the culmination of neglect and underinvestment over a long period, exacerbated by conflict, has caused attrition to the historic environment. The sixteenth century Qubahan Madrassa, for instance, for all that it appears to be an archaeological ruin in the photograph below, was in fact in use until 1961 (Clancy 2017). The surviving monumental, gated entrance to the town, the Mosul or Bahdinan Gate (the Zabari Gate had been demolished in the 1930's) was partly demolished or damaged in the 1970's, and the haphazard nature of its reconstruction examined below attests to a certain lack of care or consideration to its reinstatement. This gate is due to be restored, again, under the auspices of Columbia University.

Qubehan school at Amêdî, Duhok, Kurdistan, Federal Iraq, 2012, dated 26 May 2012, Mikael F. Available at:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dibistana_Qubehan_a_Am%C3%AAdiy%C3%AA_2012_3.JPG#filelinks and reproduced under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license. (Accessed 7th November 2020)
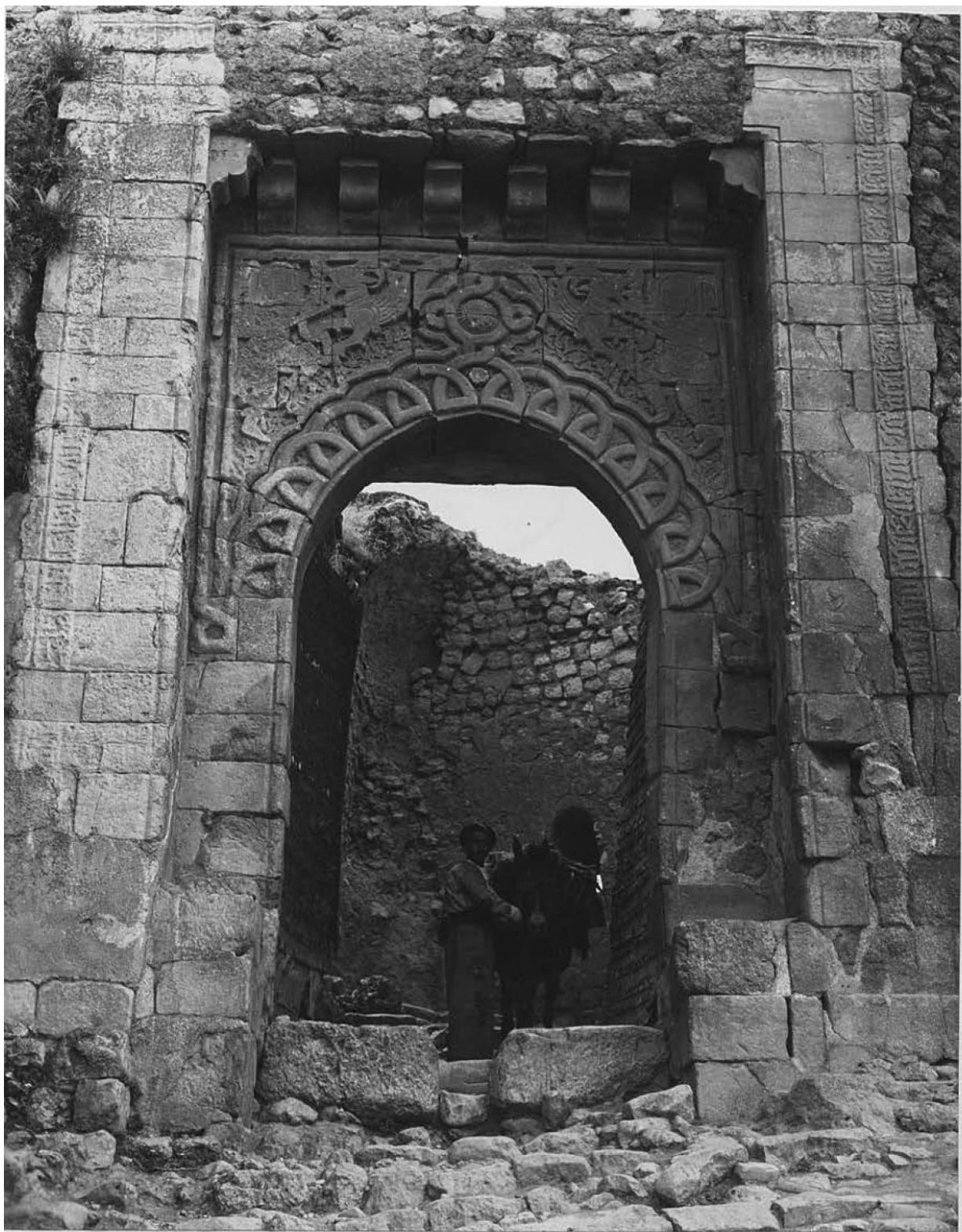
175. ʿAmādiya: Bāb al-ʿAmādiya.

Mosul Gate Amedi – before restoration. Image taken from Al-Janabi 1975, p. 205.

Mosul Gate Amedi, after restoration. Note that the blocks in the spandrel to the arch have been replaced in the wrong order, although the carved images make the correct order all too evident. Image taken from Clancy 2017.

A small number of the local people approached as part of the WMF project were ambivalent regarding heritage, repeating an assumption that restoration and promotion of the town's heritage would necessitate the removal of residents (WMF 2019). This misapprehension may have arisen from the treatment of the citadel at Erbil, entirely depopulated in 2007 to facilitate a restoration programme which has been slow to make provision for the return of its inhabitants (Darlington 2020). With this phenomenon, the museumization of recovered historic urban quarters through the removal of local residents and businesses, as a precedent, this concern is understandable and may have unhelpful effects in relation to post-conflict restoration of heritage here and in other places.

Other examples of problems apparent in photographs of the town include a make-do-and-mend approach to interventions and repairs along Bazaar Street, and the careless application of utility infrastructure such as telegraph and electricity cabling.

WMF 2019 Appendices – street scene within the Bazaar.

The projects taken on under the Amedi project include one focused on the Kitani House, and on three traditional houses of the early twentieth century, exhibiting local characteristics such as an inner private courtyard space and shared use between domestic accommodation and commercial units. These abandoned sites and the evidence provided in the grant application statement indicate a process of abandonment of traditional family houses in the town centre in favour of modern dwellings created out of town, with the former left to decay (WMF 2018 & WMF 2019).

A further risk to heritage is the evident desire for change, development, and economic renewal in the town. The severely constrained plateau-top means that careful planning is required to achieve these aims without unconsidered or hastily executed works which would result in harm to heritage assets. Loss and damage caused by redevelopment have already affected significant historic structures, and the ancient street pattern and views from and into the site are equally susceptible to harm in this way (WMF 2019).

Finally, those heritage professionals who continue to practice in Iraq, in diminished numbers, have experienced a period of isolation due to the conflict in the country, during which they have lost touch with developments in thought and practice (Darlington 2020). This risks leaving them under-equipped to deal with the first two challenges. The problem may partly be due to an inability to access the resources, career development and support to take on the enormous challenges of the post-conflict environment, a phenomenon also observable in similar situations in countries such as Yemen

(Darlington 2020). This is also compounded by a lack of suitably educated and trained professionals to work on heritage projects; for instance, Marwa Al-Sabouni (2016) also points out the limited training available in historic architecture.

An abandoned street in Amedi. Downloaded from the WMF website. Available at: https://wmf.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/01-Large.jpg (Accessed 7th November 2020).

Project background

The Amedi project was set up by the World Monuments Fund following the placing of the town on the 2016 WMF 'Watch List', a biennial list of cultural heritage sites selected for their historical significance and threatened status. The list is intended as a rallying point for remedial action (World Monuments Fund, 2023). The project was facilitated by a grant of £100,000 from the British Council's Cultural Protection Fund in 2018. The grant required a local partner in the project, in this case, the Faculty of Spatial Planning and Applied Science, University of Duhok (World Monuments Fund 2019).

The overarching objective of the project was to develop a masterplan for the city involving local communities, municipal authorities, and the Iraqi government, and to form a model for heritage conservation for other small historic towns in the region. It aimed, in the process, to train local authority staff in the delivery and implementation of masterplans and to train local students in the production of design proposals for urban planning issues involving heritage structures. The development of transferable methods and capacity in the region by these means was seen as a key element of the project (Darlington 2020).

The approach focused holistically on the settlement rather than individual historic buildings or archaeological sites, and including living heritage (WMF 2019). Landscape, such a significant part of the unique character of Amedi, was also brought into consideration with the involvement of Dr Makhzoumi. The project team was multi-disciplinary and included professionals from neighbouring towns, with the intention of disseminating the project approach. There was also a clear focus on wide engagement from local community members and local students (WMF 2019).

WMF 2010 28 – project participants at work.

The three study sites

The project team chose three key sites within the historic town for the preparation of conservation management plans (CMPs), documents which explain why a site is significant and how that significance will be retained in any future use, alteration, development, or repair, and are intended to inform future alterations, repairs or management proposals (see for instance Clark 2001). These were the Kitani House, an ancient structure in ruins; a group of three houses from the early twentieth century representing the more recent heritage of the town; and the bazaar area at the heart of the settlement. The areas were studied, and CMPs for the sites drawn respectively by three groups of participants, including graduate and post-graduate students from the Planning Department of the University of Duhok and professionals from various planning authorities.
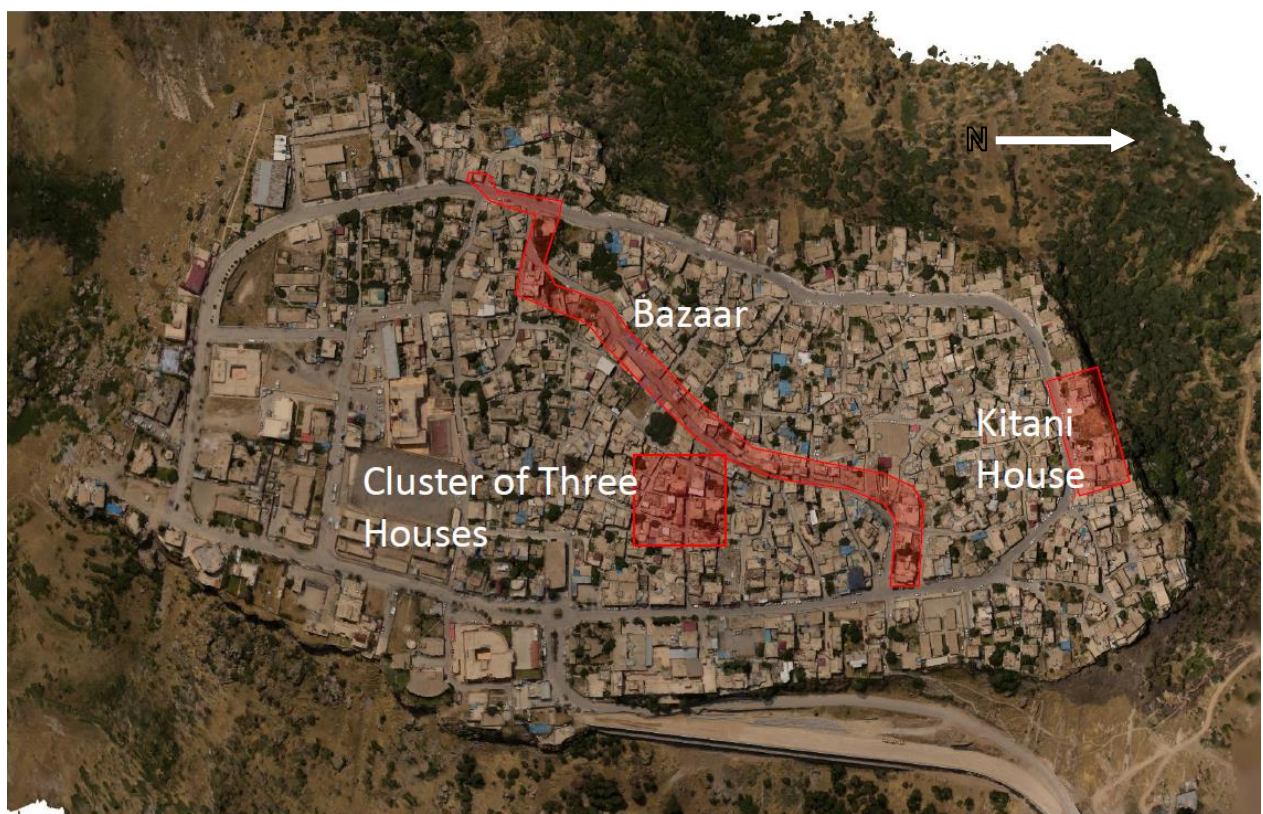
Aerial view of Amedi, identifying the location of the Case Study Sites, WMF 2019 Appendices (plus my north arrow).

According to Darlington, the intention was for these detailed design proposals to be incorporated in a masterplan in order to demonstrate a methodology capable of being replicated for other, similar heritage sites within the town (Darlington 2020). Further sites were to be identified by participants from Dohuk University in a broad-brush characterisation exercise also set out within the masterplan. The three exemplars were chosen carefully to represent around 80% of the issues arising from different strands of townscape character and current problems (Darlington 2020). Thus, they

include an historic property, three more recent but traditionally designed properties – a significant element in the character of the town – and an area of traditional streetscape with significant use values (Darlington, 2020).

A further phase of the project was intended to follow on with the creation of design proposals suggesting what new and complementary development could look like in the context of the town, being careful to apply what Darlington described as a 'Middle Eastern sensibility', mentioning the involvement of architects from the region who are employed by Donald Insols, the firm selected to take this phase forward. Although this phrase can be seen as ambiguous, I take it to mean that the intention is to identify proposals which arise from and sit comfortably in their context, rather than imposed or alien solutions based on a western European approach.

The plans follow established practice[3] in comprising the following elements: -

 – a baseline understanding established through research and mapping leading to an assessment of significance;

 – identification of the potential impacts of change, including vulnerabilities and opportunities; and

 – identification of actions, policies and guidelines intended to sustain significance and realise future potential.

The assessments of significance are made against four commonly recognised heritage values (e.g. Historic England 2008, ICOMOS 2011, Mason 2002); historic, evidential, aesthetic, and communal. The project designs were published in the annexe to the Evaluation document (WMF 2019) and further information provided within the body of this, which allow a detailed understanding of their content.

I have reviewed the published CMPs in the light of what I can understand from them in relation to the photographic and mapped evidence available on the town, and to their own stated objectives. I include these reflections below.

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[3] For instance a similar approach is set out in the UK Government 2021, Ch 16, Conserving and Enhancing the Historic Environment, paras 184 – 202; amplified in documents such as Welsh Government/CADW 2017, Heritage Impact Assessment in Wales. Internationally, this approach is summed up well in ICOMOS 2011, Guidance on Heritage Impact Assessments for Cultural World Heritage Properties, Section 2.2 and Appendix 1.

Site 1: The Kitani House

This is a historic complex dating originally from the twelfth century and including residential accommodation and a madrasa. It is currently unused and derelict, with original materials including good quality stonework robbed out in places, strewn with rubbish and debris, and overgrown with vegetation. It appears to be symptomatic of the trend of abandonment of traditional houses within the historic town.

Gateway entrance to the Kitani House: WMF 2019, Appendices, p. 35.

The CMP is well illustrated with plans and three-dimensional drawings, however, in the Assessment of Significance, the values are generically stated, and no specifics are given in regard to how they are manifested in the complex. The issues and actions identified in the plan focus largely on the physical condition of the site, and there are perhaps missed opportunities in terms of identifying new uses for the complex. While the house would undoubtedly be attractive to visitors and tourists it will be essential to identify a sustainable use which involves local people in order to avoid the musealising effect mentioned above.

Of the case study sites, this has the most potential to combine restoration and community benefits; there are many examples of converted traditional houses, riads, caravanserai and other structures within the MENA region providing visitor accommodation on the one hand, and employment in premises management and hospitality, while work to repair and convert it could provide opportunities for training and development of local people in aspects of the physical conservation work.

One issue raised in this study is the lack of formal designation status for this complex, notwithstanding its considerable age and historical interest, although this is no unexpected given the local focus on a few, monumental structures (Darlington 2020). While this might provide protection from deliberate damage or demolition, however, it would not necessarily guarantee repair or prevention of decay given the more deep-seated economic issues experienced in the town and as suggested by the condition of the Mosul Gate.

Site 2: The Three Houses

This group sits a short walk to the north of the bazaar, and dates from the early twentieth century, although the houses follow traditional design forms, incorporating features such as enclosed courtyards, stables, commercial units facing outwards to the public realm, and separation of private and visitor spaces internally. This case study offers an opportunity to address under-appreciated heritage, that of twentieth century historic buildings which are often undervalued due to their relatively recent date, even though they can form an integral part of many historic urban centres contributing to its character and a contextual backdrop for older structures (Marsden & Spearrit 2021).

Some amplification of the heritage values is given in the study document, particularly in relation to how the buildings represent historic forms of their time. However, the communal values identified in the document reflect those at the time of their construction rather than addressing how they are viewed by today's residents of Amedi, which would be valuable in informing options for their future use. Their historic value may not, for the reasons given above, hold much weight locally, but their contribution to the townscape, memory value and potential for beneficial use to today's residents may give them values which support proposals for their rehabilitation; this is an aspect of their significance which should ideally be explored.


Illustration of the Three Houses: WMF 2019, Appendices, p.73

These properties are protected by some form of regulation restricting development – although this is unlikely to be a designation on heritage grounds – and according to the WMF study it is a control honoured more in the breach than in the observation (WMF 2019 Appendixes, p.65).

New uses including public uses as a café and space for elderly people, and residential use are proposed, which do present the opportunity to re-integrate the buildings into the life of the community.

Site 3: The Bazaar

The bazaar area lies at the heart of the town and was chosen for its manifestation of intangible heritage values in terms of its plan form and function, as relatively little historic fabric was considered to have survived there, although it is punctuated by important historic buildings and spaces along its course.
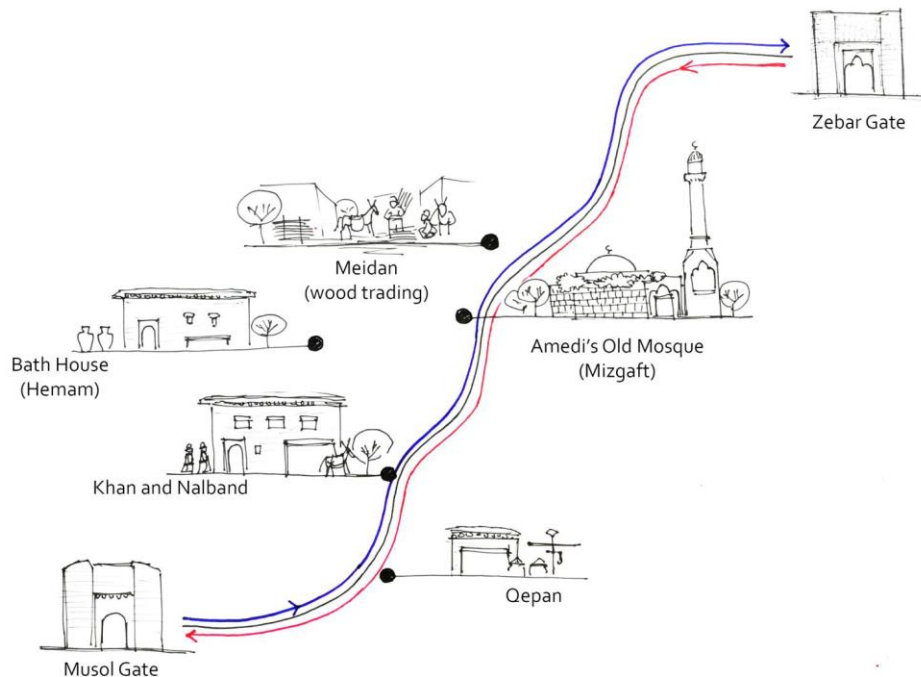
WMF 2019, Appendixes, p. 78.

This study has taken a different turn in analysing the subject area, identifying a typology of typical shop/residential units along the street and an analysis of the materials manifested in it. It identifies opportunities for localised environmental improvements through the removal of untidy services, and improved lighting and signage. It is again very well illustrated but, apparently, the study has not unpacked any understanding of the values attached to the area. As the stated testing ground for developing an approach to identifying and sustaining communal values, this study would have provided the greatest opportunity to identify ways to integrate local values into the proposals for improvement, had they been identified.

This is an omission of some significance within the context of the project itself, particularly so for an urban landscape which is the embodiment of the multi-functional spaces comprising streets, alleys and small squares within a traditional settlement where social and economic interactions are commonly carried out (Makhzoumi 2021). As such it is a significant manifestation of the intangible values of a traditional settlement - a landscape framing which spatializes and contextualizes abstract discourses and anchors them in a

specific place and culture (Makhzoumi & Al-Sabbagh 2018). In such a place, notwithstanding the variable qualities of the buildings, careful handling of the space itself could enable the validation and strengthening of the spirit of place.

A shopkeeper with a display of tahini, part of Amedi's food heritage, from Teller 2019. Photograph by George Azar.

Assessing the Amedi Project

An evaluation report was produced for the project, assessing achievements against the stated objects and activities. These objectives and project activities are listed as follows in the Evaluation Report: -

OBJECTIVE 1	Cultural Heritage will be better understood, identified and recorded
Measure 1A	Collect existing documentation of historic buildings of the town and make available to stakeholders
Measure 1B	Prepare an assessment report of the built heritage of the town and make available to stakeholders
Measure 1C	Run a workshop to understand traditional urban planning and landscape protection for 15 trainees
Measure 1D	Prepare a Conservation Plan for at least one building
OBJECTIVE 2	Cultural Heritage will be better managed
Measure 2A	Oral and written interviews gathered from local stakeholders who live in or around Amedi
Measure 2B	Urban guidelines and recommendations are prepared and submitted to the local authorities
OBJECTIVE 3	Local staff and/or volunteers will have developed skills
Measure 3A	15-20 local experts will develop skills through working with experts to research and prepare documentation on the historic environment and stakeholders of Amedi
Measure 3B	15-20 local experts will develop skills through working with experts to develop the guidelines and recommendations
OBJECTIVE 4	More and a wider range of people will have engaged with cultural heritage
Measure 4A	At least 10 students and 10 others will participate in awareness-raising activity in support of Amedi's historic and cultural heritage
Measure 4B	A report will be prepared on the results and recommendations of the awareness-raising activity
Measure 4C	WMF and WMFB will use social media and other communications channels to raise awareness of the project locally and internationally.

WMF 2019, p. 5.

At the time of interviewing participants, the project was at a stage where most of the actions were completed. For instance, the systematic collection of information on the historic elements of the town, its part digitisation, and its safe storage in the University of Dohuk was achieved and was clearly a breakthrough benefit which will support future planning and rehabilitation (Ismael 2017). The objectives reveal the intention to secure effective community engagement in a broad sense, as well as engagement of specific groups such as local experts and students in particular activities, thereby fostering skills development. Engagement of students and young professionals was successfully achieved.

While many of the objectives are quantitative and measurable, there are also desired outcomes in terms of increased awareness of and engagement with heritage more broadly, with the hope of arresting decline of the historic environment of the town. Those changes would be a necessary driver of renewal and physical rehabilitation which is not top-down and, importantly for the community, does not involve the musealising process. Changed outlooks or greater appreciation of heritage could be investigated through a resurvey of the communities but has not been feasible in this case as a follow up grant was not given. A further obstacle to understanding the outcomes of the project arose from restrictions and delays imposed by the Covid 19 pandemic.

Tracking forwards from the project objectives and actions, a number of possible outcomes could be anticipated and flagged for potential further investigation were the opportunity to arise. The project has successfully followed a more inclusive approach to heritage, embracing the whole place, rather than individual historic assets, and incorporating the value of landscape, viewsheds and intangible heritage, including community values. This follows an academically desirable approach (see for instance Duval et al. 2019). However, the next stage would be to understand whether this approach could gain traction in the region, which was an aspiration for the project (Darlington 2020, WMF 2019).

Landscape was clearly identified as important following engagement with local people, although this was an unexpected outcome (Makhzoumi 2020). Just as heritage may be viewed as a collective cultural construct, so an understanding of landscape too goes beyond the physical facts on the ground, to embrace intangible culture and human relationships with what is around them. In this case landscape was appreciated at scales varying from appreciation of the huge geographic realities of spectacular scenery and views to the value placed on tiny domestic gardens (Makhzoumi 2020). These are factors which would benefit from being reflected in any published masterplan or follow-up activities through, for instance, reflecting the significance of urban gardens and highlighting the importance of their retention in redevelopment or reconstruction schemes. Another key issue to be reflected would be the treatment of views, and the issues of power and control over vantage points, protecting the availability of and accessibility vistas out from the town to its mountainous setting which could otherwise be lost to development or privatisation of public spaces.

Inspiring those with the ability to effect change is at the heart of a project intended to pilot new ways of working. Further research in this area might therefore focus on the changed understanding of planners and project partners from other Iraqi historic towns in the region, and their degree of agency as well as willingness to make changes within their own work setting. Tracking of any measures taken or intended to be taken, for instance through similar planning frameworks published for other towns in the region responding to similar challenges to those facing Amedi would help to establish whether this idea had begun to take root elsewhere among heritage and planning professionals.

The production of a masterplan for the town, a principal objective of the project was also delayed by the pandemic. Should it be possible to complete, it's implementation would be possible to track, as it is to be owned by the Municipal authority and likely to be available online[4]. It would also be translated into Kurdish for greater reach and credibility within the region (Darlington 2020). However, at the time of completing this dissertation, it had not yet been published.

The 'lessons learned' section of the Evaluation Report points out the need for persistence in championing the value of the historic environment as an economic benefit to places such as Amedi. It also notes that while enhancements to the historic environment will help the town to prosper, local champions of this view are crucial. It also concludes that 'planning documentation is valued but works best when the results are brought to life by being put into practice'. Restoration of the Mosul Gate area planned by Columbia University is cited as an example of demonstrating the benefits of the planning framework. It is also suggested that other practical benefits might include future investment by the British Council in improvements such as a town trail and gardens, although a follow up project relating to gardens has not been successful in securing British Council funding (WMF 2019 and Darlington 2020).

In general terms these observations reflect conclusions drawn elsewhere (e.g. Giblin 2014) that heritage-based projects are best appreciated when they lead to tangible outcomes which provide practical improvements to the quality of life of local people. Bearing this in mind I would go so far as to suggest an ambitious outlook is needed for the actions after the project, promoting not just environmental improvements but the provision of residential accommodation and jobs from the rehabilitation of historic properties. This, again, is an issue which could benefit from further

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[4] It was not available when a final online check was made during March 2024.

investigation, particularly bearing in mind the outcome of early participant exercises, which revealed among local project partners a desire for basic improvements to the current infrastructure of Amedi and increased of employment opportunities. Efforts by the WMF to engage local businesses in this process were thwarted by the pandemic but remain an important area for future work. In other respects, practical outcomes stemming from the project will be important future milestones for checking in with local project partners, and in a situation where a formal survey would be less likely to be effective, informal methods of follow-up to establish resident and business appreciation of the project would also be necessary if any further work were possible (Darlington 2020).

A significant issue raised within the project documentation is the need to understand how the possibility of rehabilitation of sites and areas within the city is viewed by local project partners, and whether the (mis)apprehension that this is not compatible with local use has been, or can be, dispelled simply through careful handling. The suspicion of heritage rehabilitation projects might be an unexpected factor for western NGOs and would sensibly be anticipated and prepared for in similar projects to this one. An approach to the heritage in the town which does not isolate old structures from the life of its inhabitants will enhance the view of heritage as something to be embraced in the future of the town rather than something viewed with suspicion and could be a critical aspect any reconstruction works to the case study buildings. A successful change of outlook is likely to arise from co-production of ideas leading to practical responses to the tangible and intangible values expressed locally and to real practical challenges relating to the liveability of older places. In the case of Amedi the planned, but currently unfunded, Phase 2 of the project would have followed this approach through the restoration of public garden spaces within the town in response to the high value placed by local people on outside space as a place to take the air, to meet and socialise and as a respite from the otherwise very dense urban nature of the town.

As well as addressing the importance of local views, an impressive list of communication activities involving the project's desired audiences is listed in the Evaluation Report, including local heritage authorities and regional heritage professionals, WMF and its trustees, UNESCO, potential donors, the international media, and general audience in the UK and elsewhere (WMF 2019, p. 4). Selective survey of representatives of key regional, national, and international bodies might also enable an understanding of the traction the project had achieved or, indeed, help to identify lessons for future activities along the same lines.

A point was made in the report that 'throughout the project there was a constructive debate around the balance between a local desire for expert-led drafting of the plans versus an approach which required local authorship combined with expert facilitation', an evident tension between the project protagonists and their local project partners (WMF 2019 and Darlington 2020). This appears to contradict the common expectation that local people will want to take the lead in such exercises. Reasons for this might lie with the common experience of western experts parachuted into projects in countries such as Iraq to dispense advice and then depart (Darlington 2020). This could understandably create a lack of confidence in local ability to produce plans or other technical documents, and an accompanying perception that western-generated ideas are superior (Darlington 2020). There may also be a culture of deference to experts, perhaps all the more evident in a situation where public engagement is a relatively young practice, and top-down approaches have been the norm. Project participants in the case of Amedi were persistent in seeking local engagement, including through the involvement of local students in the process (Darlington 2020). This also suggests that local participation is not a given and is something which has to be practiced and nurtured, that 'capacity-building is a key to 'participatory governance' (Makhzoumi & Al-Sabbagh 2018).

Tourism may have a future role in promoting economic improvement following measures to increase the celebration and improve management of heritage in the town but will need to be carefully handled. At present there is nowhere within the town to stay, in contrast to the hotels and bed spaces restaurants and shops of Sulav. However, development of tourist infrastructure to encourage and support a massive increase in tourism based on heritage has the potential to harm heritage by over-exploitation. Nonetheless, given the strong tourist infrastructure in the vicinity, perhaps a more manageable start might be to tempt visitors up the hill to look at the historic town centre, a diversion seldom made at present. The case study properties and others like them could prove instrumental in this kind of initiative. However, the potentially severe aftereffects of the cessation of any tourism in the face of a pandemic-related lockdown in the area during 2020 have yet to be understood (Arab News 2020).

Finally, it is important to acknowledge the issue of scale in evaluating this project, which is relatively small, with only c. £100,000 in funding. This is focused on engagement, training and capacity building in relation to the creation of the Masterplan for the town, rather than on the physical rehabilitation of buildings. Compared with many post conflict investment schemes involving major reconstruction works, this is very small indeed. It is

important therefore not to put too much weight on a relatively small intervention. On the other hand, by taking on a strategic approach and acting as a potential seed to grow beneficial practice in other similar settlements, its impact may be of greater proportion than its relatively modest size might imply, and it may be capable of inspiring future changes of approach as outlined above. Certainly it started very positively in that direction, but it was not possible to build on that start due to the lack of funding for a second phase, which could have taken on some of the follow up activities discussed above.

WMF 2019 p. 26 – View from above the Mosul Gate

Conclusion

In the case of the Amedi project, key principles underpinning the methodology were the holistic approach to the town, consideration of natural resources and landscaping alongside the human-made environment; the masterplanning approach; and the involvement of local project partners. These all follow current good practice, and are likely to be productive, although practice does evolve, and understanding of cultural contexts matures over time.

The reception of the project among local communities has been generally favourable, with an overall mixed but generally positive reception to the idea of their involvement in project design and some reservations over a heritage-focused approach. These reservations highlight the possibility that good practice, as identified by outsiders, may jar with or even surprise the community most closely related to the project area, and may even be rejected (although this did not quite occur in the case of Amedi). This is a caveat for future projects based on co-production models.

What Amedi demonstrates is the effectiveness of persistence and seeking a diverse local audience to secure practical local engagement in different forms. In Amedi this diverse audience included students, generally younger people setting out towards a career, and so perhaps more receptive to new ways of working. It also demonstrates that the matter of making a difference to the everyday experiences of residents – in a positive way – will be a key consideration in achieving successful outcomes.

The Amedi projects confirms the ability of NGO leadership to bring to bear wider perspectives and new connections in practice in the project country, specifically from the country of origin of the organisation. These can be to the benefit of local professionals in reconnecting them to the mainstream of thought and practice in their field after a period of disconnection. The practice embodied in a project such as this has the potential to be seen as good practice, globally applicable. However, this must be caveated; the transformation following modernist principles of rupture and renewal of some traditional Middle Eastern cities after the mid-twentieth century, for instance, provides many examples of what was believed at the time to be global best practice, imposed in cultural contexts where they are now recognised as sitting uneasily (Moosavi et al. 2015).

The WMF has demonstrated the flexibility of NGOs in choosing to work in a small town and a less high-profile area. The point is made in the grant application that national and international bodies have largely focused on high profile and major historic cities. It therefore made sense to engage with

a place which may be less well known but equally important in terms of cultural heritage, in order to avoid duplication of resources and maximise coverage. As such places will, as in the case of Amedi, be smaller, it may also be the case that the proportionately smaller budgets available, in comparison to national governments or behemoths such as UNESCO, may still be able to make a significant impact.

The choice of local partners is important. In the case of Amedi, the primary partner, the University of Dohuk, was able to provide links to existing and emerging professionals, a conduit to local communities, intellectual and technical underpinning for projects, and a growing track record of experience in working in partnership in such projects. In addition, it is a body with sufficient authority and critical mass of similar project work to have set up ready-made committee structures with the influence and authority to deliver project outcomes. The Amedi Steering Committee included the Governor of Dohuk, and a number of relevant General Directors in the Governorate; a representative of the Council of Ministers; and the local Mayor and Director of the Municipality. Authoritative agency at both strategic and operational levels is essential for effective project implementation.

The subjects of the Amedi project, and in particularly the Three Houses Case Study flags up the likelihood that spirit and authenticity of place can reside not just in or more ancient or special buildings, but in the more normal, even recent, heritage which acts as a backdrop to everyday life while still respecting more traditional forms and functions. This issue will recur in my other case study looking at Mosul, where rehabilitation of houses forms a significant element.

A further point may be drawn out in relation to landscapes. Landscapes are a stated constituent for the Amedi Masterplan and may be taken to include not just the spectacular views and scenery of the town's mountain setting, but the more intimate spaces of streets, alleys, squares and small gardens within the town as the mise en scène of many aspects of daily life beyond their ostensible function. It is not clear from the information sourced whether, particularly in the case study relating to the Bazaar area, the importance of the streets has been followed through into the practical outputs of the project, although the role of gardens has been recognised by local participants. Notwithstanding this, the multifunctional character of urban streets and spaces, and their role as a medium of social interaction is important to recognise in projects of this kind.

Amedi therefore highlights a number of issues relating to the set up and operation of reconstruction projects including developing local capacity; the careful deployment of international expertise, balanced by capacity building within local professions and academia; the need for sound governance and involvement of local partners; and the need, in a complex global context, of providing transferable outcomes. In terms of the heritage objects involved, it also demonstrates the need for the acknowledgement of wider forms of heritage than simply the monumental or ancient, including more recent buildings, and the role of urban landscape and spaces in creating value for local communities. In particular, it highlights that community values in relation to heritage may not be positive or be easy to predict. If heritage structures are to be recovered and reintegrated into society in order to reestablish value for society then real and beneficial outcomes for that society will be necessary.

In terms of informing a potential toolkit, clear pointers include ensuring that landscape and natural values and the setting of historic buildings or places are addressed in any assessment of values. It also highlights the need for well planned community engagement, taking in diverse audiences using appropriately targeted measures, and with sufficient flexibility to probe further or revisit issues if unexpected turns are encountered.

In the next case study, concerning the UNESCO-led projects in Mosul, I will look at some of these issues in further detail, and through the perspective of much larger scale projects, where considerably larger sums of money and greater international partnership working is involved.
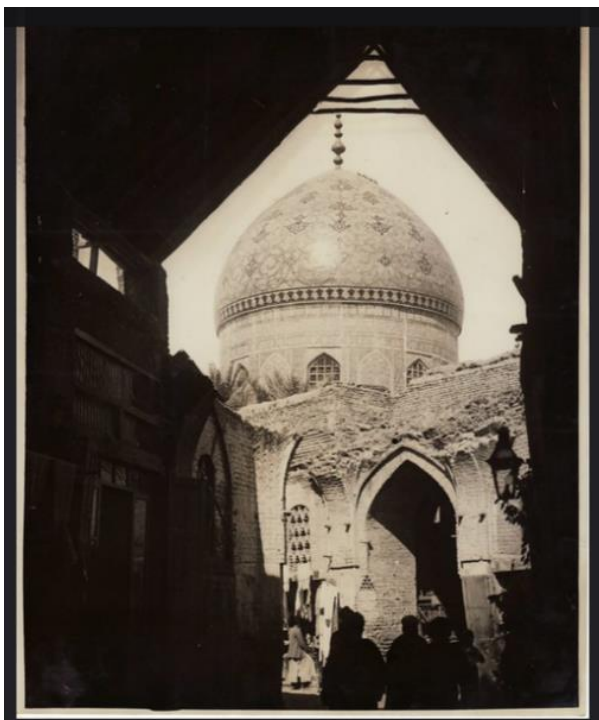
Amedi Mosque. T. J. Bradley. Available at:

https://www.flickr.com/photos/jones_in_chester/12564882023/in/album-72157641061121185/

Chapter 5: Case Study – the 'Revive the Spirit of Mosul' Initiative

Introduction

Mosul, one of Iraq's largest and oldest cities was subject to waves of extremism and sectarian and ethnic violence following 2003, culminating in its takeover by Daesh in 2014 (UN Habitat 2016). The destruction of urban fabric both by Daesh and due to the fight to liberate the city was extensive, the need for reconstruction correspondingly so. This case study provides an opportunity to analyse a major UNESCO initiative, a flagship project for that organisation in what it describes as an 'iconic' city (UNESCO 2020 (i)). The scale of the 'Revive the Spirit of Mosul' initiative is great; under this umbrella sit four major projects, with contributions from, respectively, the governments of the United Arab Emirates, Germany, Flanders, and from the European Union. They have been established to rehabilitate or reconstruct a number of buildings of importance to the heritage and cultural life of the third largest city in Iraq. There is a considerable budget, totalling over US$74m (UNESCO 2020 (i)).

The programme was launched in early 2018 by The Director General of UNESCO, Audrey Azoulay, as a flagship initiative in response to the three years of genocidal terror and destructive iconoclasm conducted by the Daesh 'caliphate'. In addition to loss of human lives numbered in the thousands, innumerable artefacts, monuments and buildings from both pre-Islamic and Islamic periods were destroyed with sledgehammers, bulldozers and improvised explosive devices (IEDs). These years of chaos and destruction left a brutalised population, and a number of important heritage buildings destroyed in deliberate acts of zealotry and propaganda.

In the face of this severe physical damage there were significant elements of reconstruction involved in the projects making up the Initiative, including the near total reconstruction of the Al-Nouri Mosque complex and other key buildings. The projects are connected by three overlying strategic strands: - heritage, strengthening and improving education provision in the city, and the revitalisation of its cultural life. All three strands are stated to be working to prevent future radicalisation and repeated conflict through promoting peace and community reconciliation. The potential benefits of these actions highlighted in UNESCO's presentation of the Initiative online include the future psycho-social and economic stability of the city through the discouragement of violent extremism and provision of opportunity and hope to younger citizens (UNESCO 2020 (i)).

The heritage reconstruction projects may be summarised as follows: -

Project	Reconstruction of the Al-Nouri Mosque and Al-Hadba Minaret, Al Saa'a and Al Tahira Churches	The stabilization, restoration and rehabilitation of the Aghawat Mosque Complex	Historic urban reconstruction projects in the old cities of Mosul and Basra	Protection of Religious Heritage as a Tool for Reconciliation
Partners/ Donors	**UNESCO** **UAE** **Iraq**	UNESCO Germany	UNESCO European Union	UNESCO Flanders
Budget	**US$50.4 m**	**US$ 513,699**	**US$ 22,858,000**	US$ 250,000
Other aspects	The city's historic gardens and other open spaces and infrastructures, building of a memorial and site museum also mentioned as part of the plan.	The project includes skills development and job creation components.	Rehabilitation of urban landscapes, opportunities for jobs and skills development, and cultural events to be held around restored sites also mentioned.	Includes restoration and rehabilitation of the Al-Tahira Church and set up of mapping and damage needs assessment of the diverse religious heritage in Iraq.

Information sourced from UNESCO 2020 (i)

There is an obvious contrast between the Mosul initiative and the Amedi project in terms of leadership, scale, and focus. In Amedi, for instance, although a project led by a foreign NGO, care has been taken to ensure a significant element of involvement of and skills and capacity development for local students, academics, and practitioners. In Mosul the involvement of UNESCO and a series of international partners suggests the possibility of widespread involvement of foreign experts in project work; indeed, UNESCO has held an international architectural competition for the reconstruction of the Al-Nouri complex. Commitments to involvement of and development of skills in local experts are evident in the project literature but reservations were expressed regarding whether this was to be carried through in practice under the leadership of UNESCO, an organisation previously identified by its top-down approach and the primacy given to technocratic and foreign expert-led decisions (Isakhan and Meskell 2019). I explored this issue in my interviews with four with key participants in the management of the project, who were keen to dispel that assumption – further details are set out below.

The extent of local participation by non-expert local communities was also investigated through the interviews to seek insights into how it had been conducted – the methods used - and whether it had affected project decision-making or attitudes to the heritage of the project. UNESCO promised local engagement in its publicity for the initiative, but this was a very large and complex programme of works where UNESCO's track record, the greater involvement of foreign governments and agencies, as well as the higher profile and international emphasis, might have been expected to encourage drift towards a more top-down approach (Isakhan and Meskell 2019).

Benjamin Isakhan and Lynn Meskell set the scene in their early analysis of 'Revive the Spirit of Mosul' (2019) by suggesting likely approaches and outcomes. They conducted interviews with a sample of 47 Iraqis and Syrians with some knowledge of the issues which revealed complexity in responses to the general matter of reconstruction. The number of Moslawis interviewed, six, was a small one, so it is not possible from this firmly to identify a majority view regarding the destruction of the city's prominent heritage buildings. Their research does identify a wide range of responses to the prospect of reconstruction. These include support for the initiative arising from heartfelt pain at the loss; hesitancy in relation to whether a rebuilt structure could have the same power of evocation as the original; pragmatic concern that such endeavours should be accompanied with genuine humanitarian improvements; indifference to 'useless' heritage; and cynicism at what was seen as a marketing exercise on the part of UNESCO.

If, as Isakhan and Meskell identify, there is a need for heritage reconstruction projects in complex post-conflict conflict environments such as in Iraq to secure 'ongoing, nuanced and careful engagement with local populations' (2019) there are practical questions relating to how this can be achieved, and a generally supportive consensus grown and maintained. This is all the more important if, as they posit, the cost of failing to do so is a lost opportunity to secure peace and reconciliation and a real risk of further humanitarian suffering and heritage destruction (Isakhan & Meskell 2019). Thus, the issue of where the views of the local population of Mosul sit and the steps taken to establish these views were a subject within the interviews, which were also framed with reference to testing statements set out in the project literature in relation to theoretical frameworks on heritage values.

UNESCO principles in respect of physical reconstruction are not mentioned in initial project descriptions and given that these projects do contain significant elements of physical reconstruction, I also attempted to interrogate how these proposals have been reconciled with the normal UNESCO stance in relation to maintaining authenticity. Mosul, like Amedi, is on the list of

tentative World Heritage properties, a reflection of its long history and high heritage significance, but it appears that there has been some loosening of UNESCO's normal strictures against significant physical reconstruction in order to accommodate the projects here as proposed. The interviewees were questioned regarding this but expressed reluctance to divulge internal dialogues on this matter.

While some focus of the initiative was on high profile landmark buildings, mainly of a religious nature, domestic sites were the subject of activity in the EU funded project. In this, the choice of sites to be repaired was explored with Jemma Houston, Project Architect on the EU project, to interrogate whether they were indicators of wider social and economic objectives as well as the heritage values of the lead institution or, indeed, the result of practical considerations. Another factor was that of scale: this major and multi-agency undertaking clearly presented challenges of organisation and co-ordination. These matters were also discussed in the interviews, to see how oversight of project delivery could be maintained, and how they could effectively fulfil the reconstruction, educational and social objectives of the programme while avoiding overly rigid or technocratically led structures and processes.

The interviews were carried out in order to investigate these issues and other issues in relation to two key reconstruction projects funded by, respectively, the UAE and EU. I spoke first to Maria Acetoso, Senior Project Manager for the UAE-funded project to restore the Al-Nouri Mosque complex and other sites, and then to the Senior Project Associate for this, Nuria Ruiz Roca. I also interviewed Jemma Houston, Project Architect for the EU funded project to restore a number of houses within Mosul and Basra, and finally Dr Rohit Jigyasu, Project Manager at the Urban Heritage, Climate Change & Disaster Risk Management Programme Unit, International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), who was setting up a training programme to complement the practical reconstruction work. The first three were all representing UNESCO in differing capacities. The interviews were of around an hour each and supplemented by documentation extra to that publicly available online; instances of this are discussed in the assessment section.

In addition to interviews and review of project documentation, I also made use of maps and photographs against which to check the conditions on the ground. This remote approach was necessitated by inability to travel to the region which regrettably also precluded direct contact with local communities or communities of interest. I have attempted to ascertain their views and those of local people through third party reports of the project.

Biography of Place

Mosul sits 250 miles north of Baghdad and is divided into western and eastern parts by the Tigris River, with the old city lying on the west bank. On the eastern side of the Tigris, just to the north, is the monumental city mound, today called Kuyunjik, which comprises the remains of Nineveh, the Assyrian capital of King Assurbanipal from 850 BCE (UNESCO 2018). Following the fall of the Neo- Assyrian empire in 612 BCE, the focus of subsequent occupation was on the other side of the river from Nineveh (UNESCO 2018). Development around a sixth century monastery and fortress was expanded by a garrison city Al-Mawsil in the mid seventh century; the complex growth of this over the centuries saw various shifts of location for functions such as government and commerce (Nováček et al. 2021).

Situated in a liminal region, on the margins of number of major powers, early Mosul was to fall under a succession of rulers, including the Medes and Persians in the 6th to 4th centuries BCE and following Alexander the Great's conquests in the region in 332 BCE, his successors the Seleucids, succeeded in turn by the Sassanians in the third century BCE. Following the Arab conquests of the seventh century AD, it fell under the control of a number of dynasties, but continued to grow in size and prosperity, reaching a zenith under the Seljuk Zengids, who established themselves as an independent dynasty in the early twelfth century (Mansfield & Pelham 2019, Robertson 2020, Shields 2000, Tripp 2000, UNESCO 2018).

Zengid investment and improvements to irrigation created a significant trading city, known for its textiles and grain, and strategically located at the bridgehead across the Tigris on the routes between the Mediterranean and China, and the Persian Gulf and Anatolia (the name of Mosul is also said to mean "the linking point" in Arabic – UNESCO 2020). Major building projects by the Zengids founded many of the important structures such as improved fortifications and, importantly for this study, the Al Nouri mosque. (Mansfield & Pelham 2019, Robertson 2020, Shields 2000, Tripp 2000, UNESCO 2018). A flourishing architectural scene during the reign of Badr al-Din Lu'lu gave rise to the emergence of the 'Mosul School' style, which synthesized Egypt's Fatimid and local Christian Nestorian architecture and was characterised by the use of highly decorated brick facades, marble interiors, ornate arabesques and muqarnas (stalactite) vaulting. It was deployed in numbers of mausolea, palaces, shrines and churches that he commissioned (UNESCO 2020 (ii), Nováček et al. 2021).

This period of relative prominence and stability was brough to a close by a Moghul invasion during the thirteenth century. Further invasion followed by the Iranian Savafids in 1508. It then fell quickly to the Turkish Ottomans in 1538 and was to remain under their nominal control for the next 400 years with relatively little outside interference or investment (Mansfield & Pelham 2019, Robertson 2020, Shields 2000, Tripp 2000, UNESCO 2018). Even during this time of apparent relative stability under the Ottomans, the city was subject to complex overlapping power structures comprising nominal imperial rule, control of local Mameluke governors - later state-appointed bureaucrats - and competing influence from local noble families and tribes (Mansfield and Pelham 2019; Robertson 2020; UNESCO 2018).
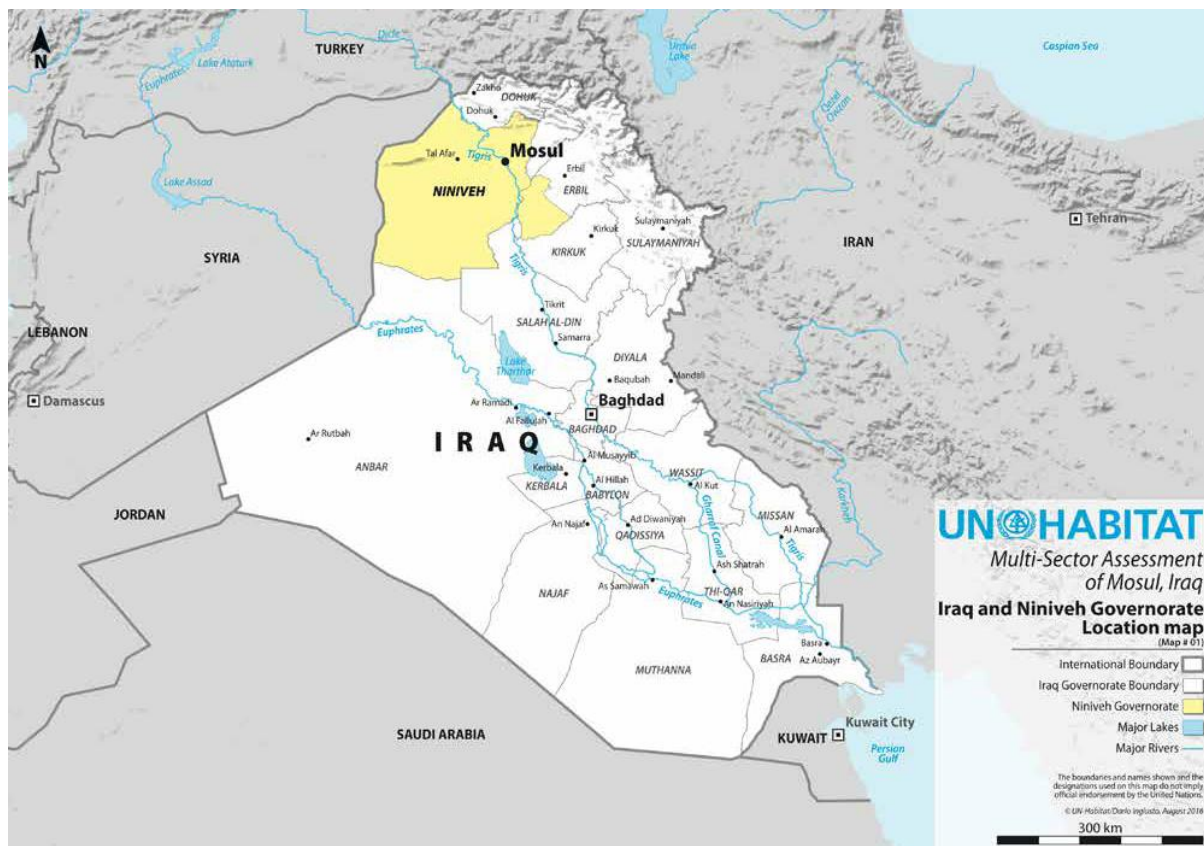

UN Habitat 2016: this shows the proximity of Mosul to Kurdish territory to the east, Turkey and Iran relative to Baghdad and southern Iraq.

After World War One and the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire, Mosul was to become a provincial capital in the newly created state of Iraq, albeit briefly contested by Turkey due to its potential for oil. The presence and exploitation of oil was to lead to further interference in Iraq by France, Britain, and the USA in the post war period and beyond (Mansfield & Pelham 2019, 223). Nonetheless, there was a tendency to view the region, indeed, and all Iraq, as something of a backwater in economic and cultural terms (Robertson 2020, 242).

The heavy hand of Saddam Hussein was to fall on the city during the second half of the twentieth century, not least due to a concerted programme of 'Arabisation' which saw the creation of new areas of housing for Sunni Arab speakers on the eastern, traditionally non-Sunni Arab, side of the city (Mansfield & Pelham 2019). The violence of the various conflicts affecting Iraq, including Saddam's actions against the Kurdish population, war with Iran, and two American invasions, formed a backdrop to the subsequent emergence of dissident and terrorist groups in a long run up to the emergence and initial success of Daesh (Mansfield & Pelham 2019). It was however, during the time of Daesh control and in the subsequent liberation of the city by US bombing that the greatest extent of damage to the city's people, infrastructure and heritage has occurred. Damage was disproportionately great to the western half of the city, the main stronghold of Daesh and focus of efforts to dislodge them. The Old City sits within this sector (Arraf 2017, Arraf 2018, Castelier & Al-Rubaie 2018, Nováček et al. 2020, Reuters 2017, Al-Saafin 2018, UNESCO 2020, UN Habitat 2016).

The heritage of the city is a legacy of its great time depth and periods of early prominence, tempered by its liminal location and decline from the high point of its prosperity in the early Mediaeval period and subsequently during Ottoman rule. (UNESCO 2018). Never a capital or the beneficiary of patronage from the most powerful rulers such as the early caliphs or the Mamelukes of Cairo, the mediaeval character of the city developed primarily as one of trade and faith, particularly under the Zenghids (Nováček et al. 2021). Although Mediaeval survivals of the early and complex landscape of faith are relatively few, significant mosques, churches and synagogues, and particularly the various Muslim shrines, tombs and cenotaphs of shaykhs, descendants of the Prophet Mohammed and of other prophets, did survive in some form up to the early years of the twenty first century (Nováček et al. 2021). Prior the destructive efforts of Daesh it contained some 486 Islamic monuments and historic mosques as well as 32 ancient churches and six monasteries (C & R Rizvi 2010, *Mosul City Strategic Development and Master Plan* progress report (phase 3), quoted in UN Habitat 2016, 77).

FIG. 18
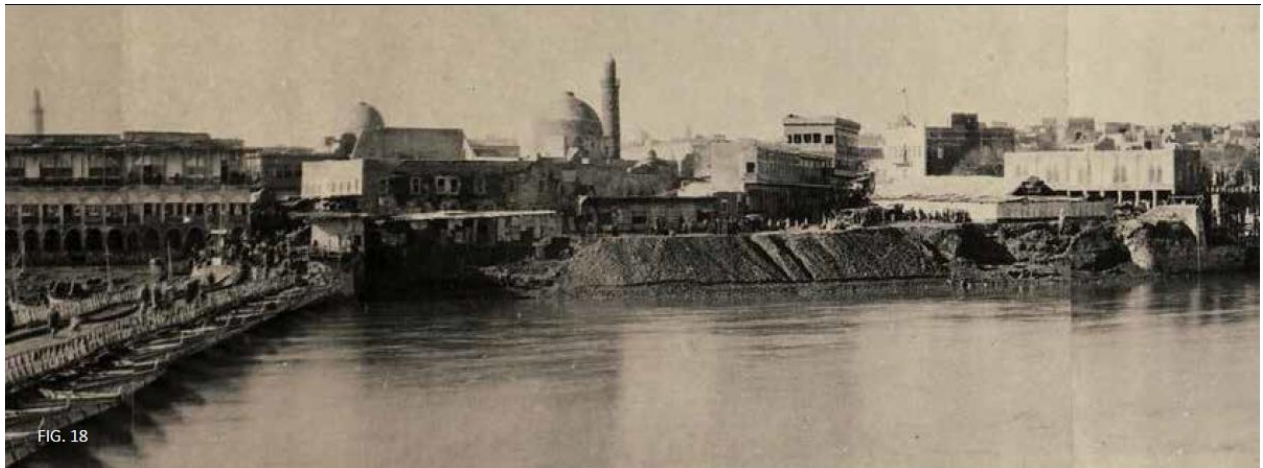
View of Mosul seen from the left bank of Tigris river, circa 1933 © Tom Jenkins Bradley posted by Edward Jones on https://www.flickr.com/photos/jones_in_chester/12564398133/sizes/k/ , sourced from UNESCO 2020 (ii).

However, Western interest was until recently almost entirely focused on the pre-Islamic past, on the results of excavations of Kuyunjik beginning in the 1840s with the investigations of the Italian Consul to Mosul, Paul Emile Botta and diplomat Sir Austen Henry Layard respectively, and continuing for over 150 years (Nováček et al. 2021). The Mediaeval structures of Mosul itself were given relatively scant regard, while the growth of the city was seen as a threat to the ancient site. The most comprehensive surveys of the city's architecture were carried out in the earlier years of the C20 by the German archaeologist Ernst Hertzfeld and subsequently by a number of Iraqi professionals and scholars, while more recently it has been limited and patchy, not least due to the repeated episodes of conflict in the area (Nováček et al. 2021). As a consequence, the historic architecture of Mosul was relatively unknown outside Iraq until, ironically, it was threatened and subsequently destroyed by Daesh and by military efforts to oust them, when it came to be considered as part of the patrimony of humankind (UNESCO 2018).

Extract from Google Earth: showing surviving urban form of the Old Town.

Satellite imagery of Mosul from the early twentieth century(pre-2014) reveals the urban structure of the Old Town, with a typically fine urban grain of houses closely packed in an intricate network of narrow and irregular alleys, the larger houses containing an open courtyard. Straight roads were historically unusual, with the long straight thoroughfares quartering the town later insertions. The east-west road bisecting the old town and leading to the principal bridge is a new commercial road, Nineveh Street, cut through the city's historic bazaars in 1916 during the British Mandate (UNESCO 2020 (ii)). The city was walled from the eighth century until the walls were demolished incrementally from during the nineteenth, ending in 1933, and traces of this may still be read in the lines of roads bounding the historic core, most clearly seen in the curved layout to the south of the city, close to the bottom of the image above. The remains of Citadel of Bashtabia thought to have been built during the twelfth century, and early point of secular control, the site of an early city square and other early structures outside the city walls (UNESCO 2018, Nováček et al. 2021) are now severed from the city centre by the urban motorway, clearly visible at the top of the image. The large open courtyard of the Al-Nouri mosque complex too is clearly visible towards the centre of the Old Town, just to the northeast of the intersection point of the straight roads.

Mosul from the air, photo by Edward Jones, taken in 1928. Accessed at
https://www.flickr.com/photos/jones_in_chester/12564288175/in/album-
72157641061121185/.
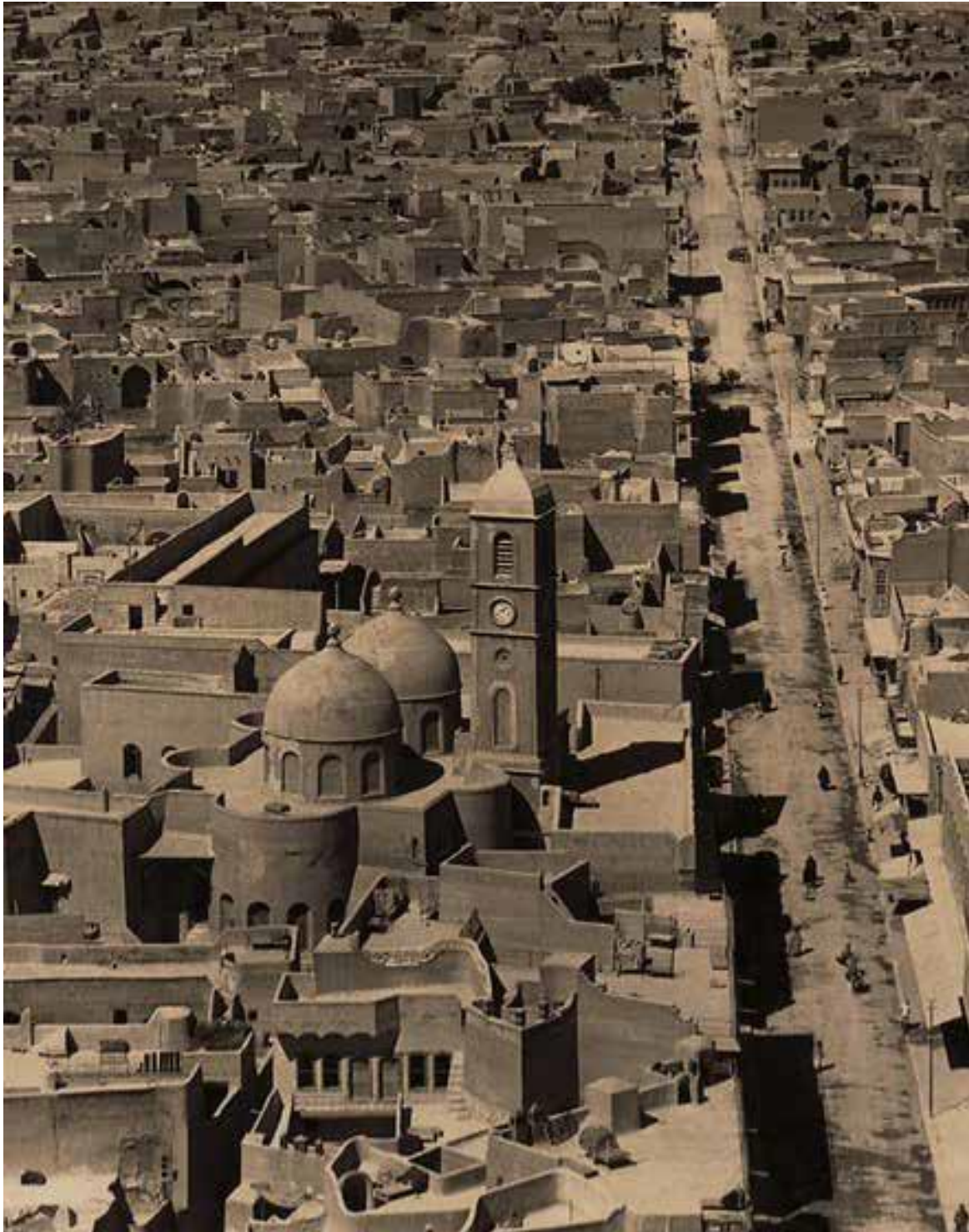
Nineveh Street in Mosul, circa 1933 © Tom Jenkins Bradley, posted by Edward Jones on https://www.flickr.com/photos/jones_in_chester/12564768694/in/album-72157641061121185/. Sourced from UNESCO 2020 (ii).

The continuity of this historic, low rise urban form is confirmed in the photographs of Edward Jones, an RAF engineer, shown above. Due to its strategic location in both World Wars, Mosul was a repeated subject for aerial mapping (Nováček et al. 2021).

In the twentieth century further road widening occurred as the city was otherwise brough up to more European norms. Following the course of Nineveh Street on Google Street View today, one can see a wide road flanked by modern buildings in concrete – the protruding reinforcing rods of unfinished storeys are visible in many places – interspersed with large, cleared sites, presumably the locations of conflict related destruction. The scale of the city centre remains relatively modest in urban terms, retaining and following the historic form seen in the aerial photographs above, with most buildings of between 3 – 5 storeys. This means that urban landmarks such as minarets and domed roofs are clearly visible, as exemplified by a tall minaret clearly visible in the centre of Nineveh Street as the city centre is approached from the east.
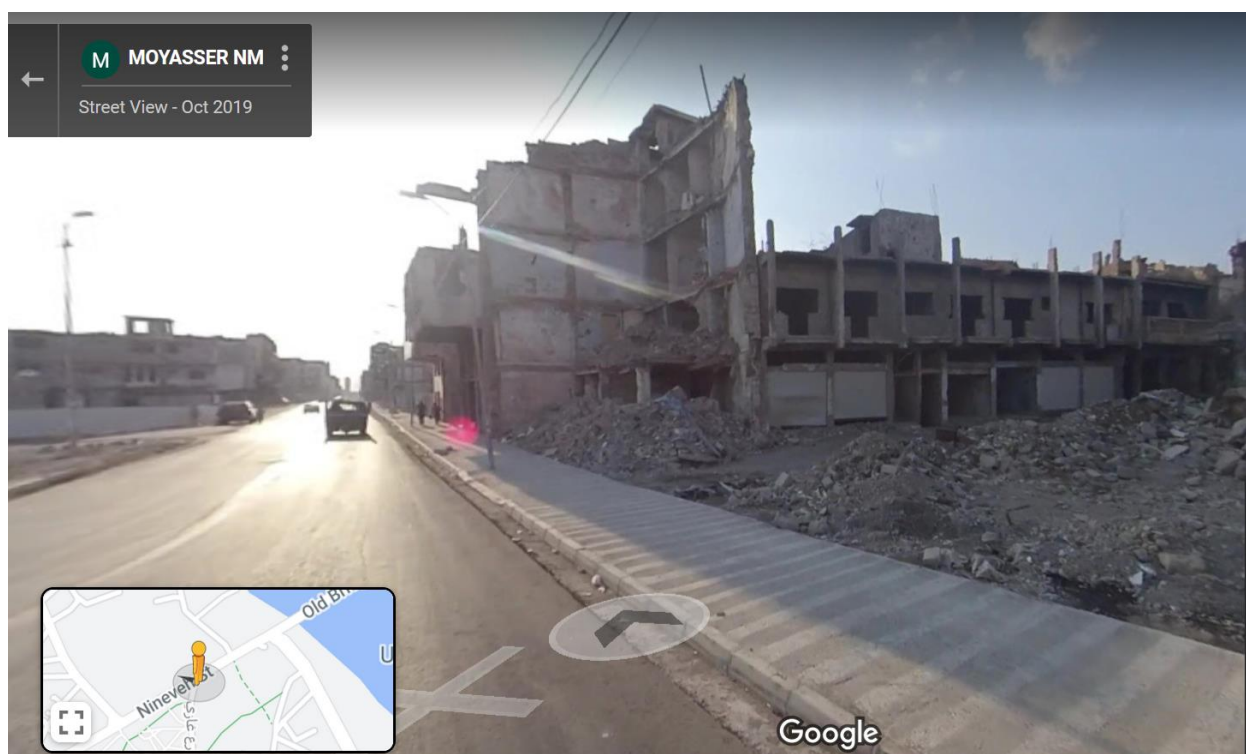
Google Earth view west along Nineveh Street, Mosul, from near the river. To the left-hand side the street can be seen stretching straight, into the heart of the old town, where a minaret is visible, while to the right is a site of demolished and partially demolished buildings. The prominent building at the centre and right of the view reveals its modern construction in a concrete frame and floor slabs, with some projecting reinforcing rods at roof level to the right.
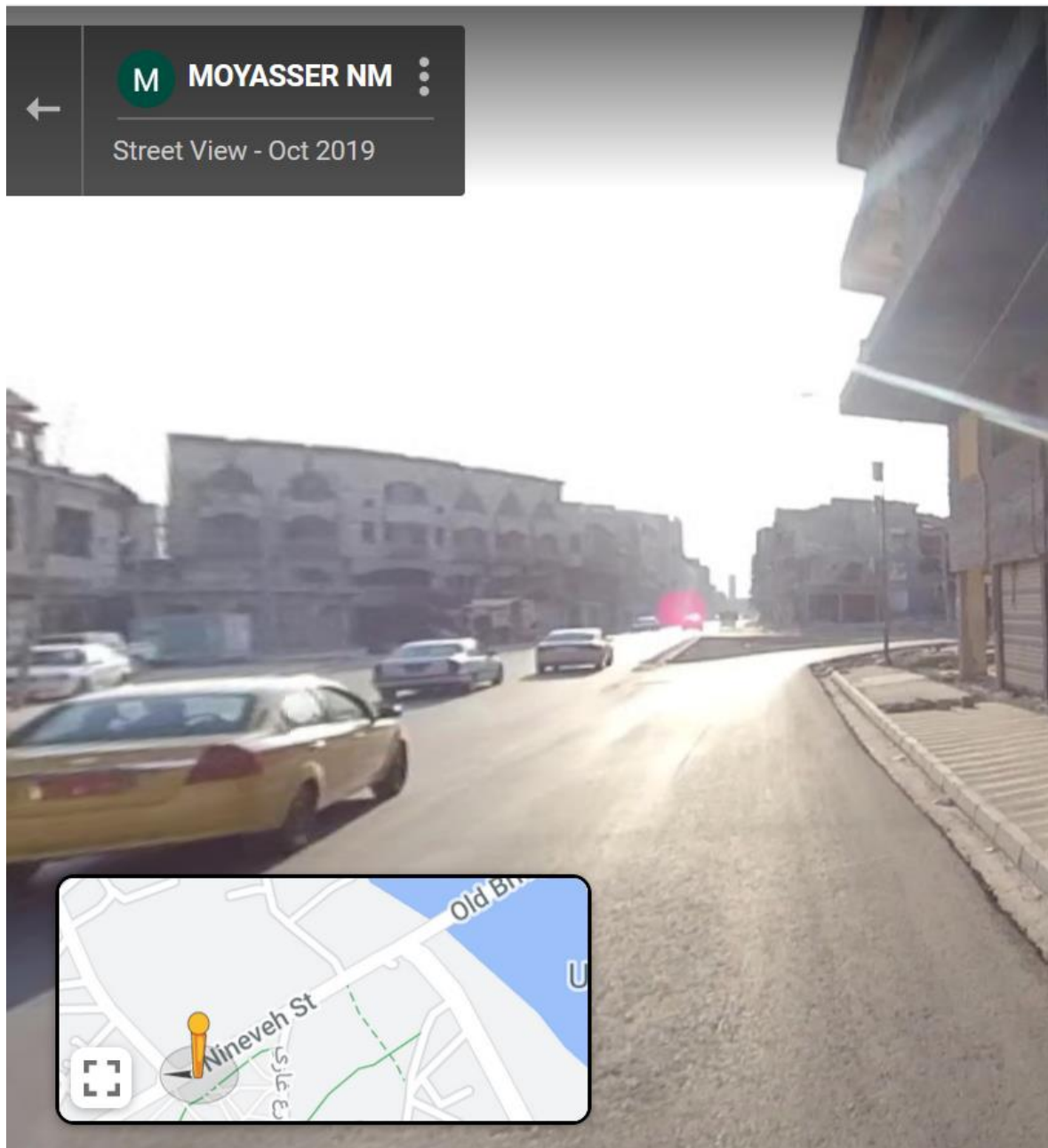
Google Earth view west along Nineveh Street, Mosul. The minaret to the west remains prominently visible.

Houses lining Nineveh Street can be no earlier than the early twentieth century, but also visible behind the cleared sites are houses, or the remains of houses, set back from the commercial frontage and often showing traditional masonry construction (conspicuously lacking steel reinforcement rods) and including features such as vaulted brick domes and arched windows. They could be of the eighteenth, nineteenth or early twentieth century, although earlier dates are conceivable.

Google Earth view of damaged and partially destroyed houses of traditional construction, south of Nineveh Street.

What is not obviously apparent from the limited Street View coverage is the riverfront panorama featuring monumental buildings cited in the UNESCO character summary included in the competition brief for the Al-Nouri reconstruction project (UNESCO 2020 (ii)).
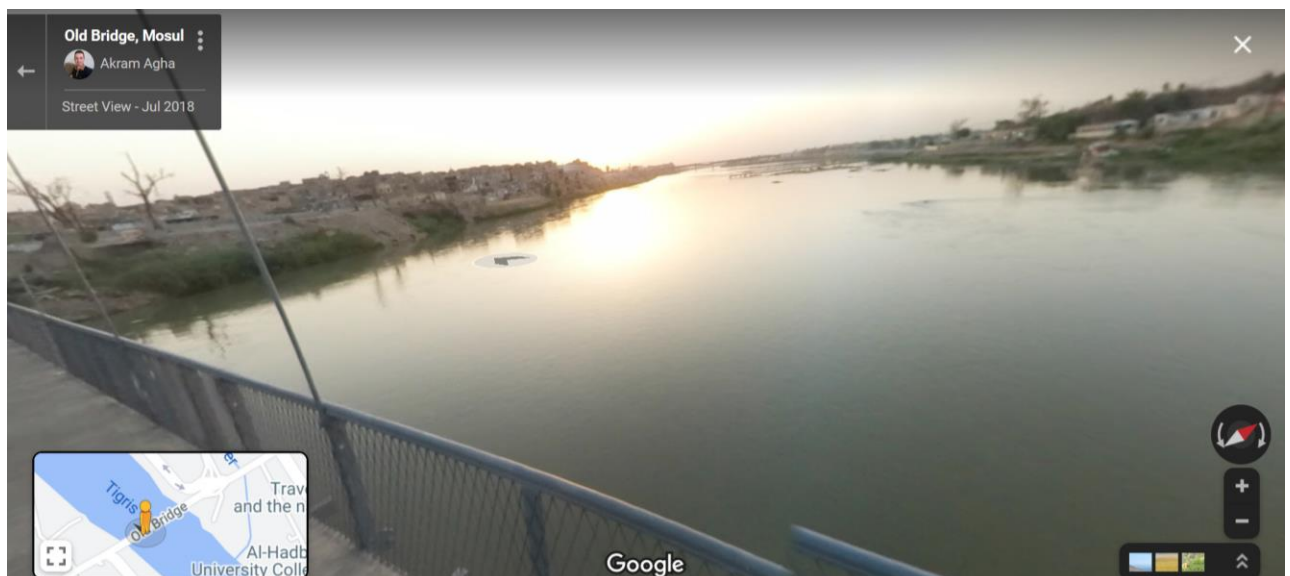
Google Earth View from the Old Bridge towards the west bank of the Tigris, to the left-hand side, showing the extent of destruction.

UN Habitat 2019.

The riverfront area is in fact one of the most extensively damaged quarters of the Old City as a particular focus during the conflict to oust Daesh and due to subsequent clearing to facilitate access (UNESCO 2019).

These pieces of pictorial evidence are consistent with the UNESCO tentative list entry assessment that the intricate labyrinth of small streets within the old city were, prior to the conflict, a very well-preserved heritage environment, little affected by modernization despite the piecemeal replacement or decay of individual buildings. At that point it had retained much of its traditional ethnic and religious heterogeneity, and a network of streets, alleyways, and cul-de-sacs which 'represented one of the best examples of the spontaneously grown pattern of cities in the Middle East' (UNESCO 2018). Setting aside the westernised assessment of the process of city formation, discussed in Chapter 2, its buildings and medieval urban plan did give Mosul a distinctive cityscape, complemented by the diversity of population represented in its various monuments, religious buildings, and cemeteries (UNESCO 2018).

Well known historic structures in Mosul are the Al-Nouri Mosque and its bowed Al-Hadba minaret ('the hunchback'). Built by Nur ad-Din Zangi in 1172 –1173, the former was intended as the principal congregational mosque for the city, although this use waxed and waned in the early centuries (UNESCO 2018, UNESCO n.d. (j)). It is at the emotional and geographical heart of the old city, at a point passed by all important routes through the city on their way to the city gates or quays, and originally surrounded by a commercial district of souqs (although this activity was later to migrate to the southern districts – see Nováček et al. 2021). An iconic structure, the date of the distinctive Al-Hadba minaret is less clear, but likely to be early (UNESCO n.d. (ii)). The minaret features on Iraqi bank notes and is closely identified with Mosul itself. It comprises a substantial cubic base and cylindrical shaft topped with a

domed and galleried lantern, all faced in decorative unglazed brickwork over a rubble structure (Nováček et al. 2021).

Iraqi 10, 000 Dinar Bank note, reverse, image sourced from ebay.com https://i.ebayimg.com/images/g/op0AAOSw-vdfxt5y/s-l300.jpg and illustrating the widespread national recognition of Al-Hadba in Iraq.

While the mosque building was largely reconstructed between 1940 and 1944, the minaret had remained unrestored notwithstanding its structural problems, which were first noted in the eighteenth century, and become more pronounced during the twentieth century (Nováček at al. 2021). The minaret and mosque were largely destroyed in June 2017 by Daesh, blown up in an act apparently bookending Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi's declaration of the new Islamic State from the pulpit at Al-Nouri in June 2014 (Stone and Farchakh Bajjaly 2008).

Other outstanding buildings in the town include palaces and mausolea in the Mosul School style and from the early Ottoman period, including numerous mosques and madrassas particularly in the southern part of the town (UNESCO 2018). A further significant element of the architectural heritage of the city is the private houses and palaces from the late Ottoman eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There is also a group of late Ottoman monumental buildings and the traditional central bazaar, with khans and qaysariyyas (caravanserai), situated on the southern edge of the Old City (UNESCO 2018).

Al Hadba Minaret seen from alleyway [probably from the north], Mosul © Tom Jenkins Bradley posted by Edward Jones on https://www.flickr.com/photos/jones_in_chester/12564790464/in/album-72157641061121185/. Accessed from UNESCO 2020 (ii).

The architectural use of local stone adds distinctiveness to the city. The term 'Mosul marble' is used as a loose categorisation which includes the rough and hard alabaster/gypsum stone of the Nineveh reliefs and statues, where it was first identified, examples of which in the British Museum show a dark honey colour (Mitchell and Middleton 2002). It also includes hard limestones, more resistant to exposure to weather than gypsum, coming from the elevated outcrop on which the city is sited. These have a greyer and more marble-like, veined or mottled appearance. It is extensively used within the city in the form of decorative motives and inscriptions, adorning doors, windows and arcades, and said to create 'an appearance of architectural sophistication that gives Mosul its distinctive character' (UNESCO 2018).
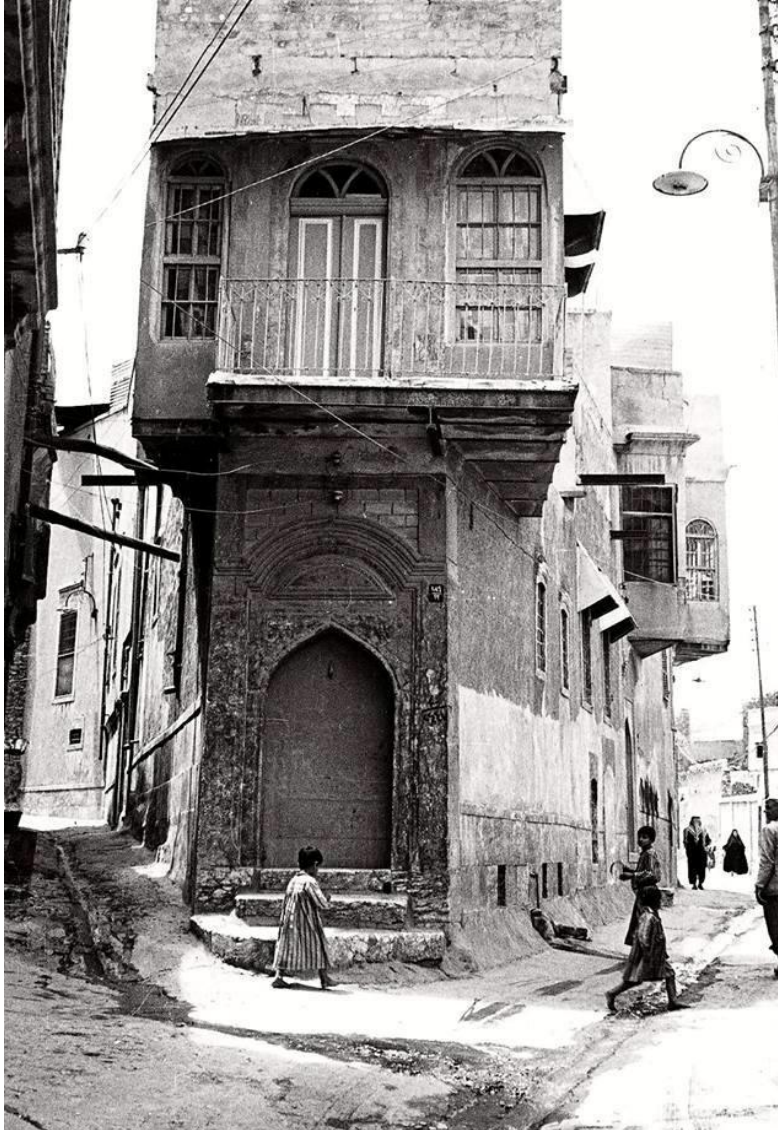
A traditional house in Mosul, 1968, displaying the characteristic jettied upper floors and ornamental gateway. Image in the public domain, created 1January 1968. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2294579370576188&set=pb.100000724427097.-2207520000.1549321748.&type=3&theater and downloaded from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mosul#/media/File:Mosul,_1968.jpg (Accessed January 2020).

Daesh harmed many historically significant sites, including damage and partial or substantial destruction to the Al-Nouri mosque and Al-Hadba minaret, a number of shrines, and several mausolea of the Mosul School (Nováček et al. 2021). UNESCO suggests that surviving structures include the unharmed Ottoman mosques in the southern part of the city and the majority of churches which suffered only light structural damage (UNESCO 2020 (i)). Many of the Ottoman houses remain unharmed while significant monuments, such as the palace of Qara Saray and the Bashtabia castle were also untouched. The survival and state of preservation of important heritage buildings within the city therefore varies (UNESCO 2020 (i), UN Habitat 2019).

The choices made by Daesh in their destructive efforts is a subject which has been much debated. Analysis in Nováček et al, based primarily on satellite imagery and analysis of Daesh statements and publicity suggests firstly that this was not simply undirected barbarism, but an organised programme. Prioritisation of the 45 architectural monuments deliberately destroyed by Daesh was ideologically driven towards much-visited tombs, shrines or cenotaphs of venerated figures including shaykhs, descendants of the Prophet and of other prophets, where there was a perceived danger of idolatry (Nováček et al. 2021). Al-Nouri was not an ideological danger in this respect, and it has been suggested that its destruction was a political decision to remove its counter-propaganda potential for those recapturing the city (Isakhan and Meskell 2019). Parallels with the 'reclaiming' of Palmyra in Syria by Russian forces as a concert arena lends this some credibility (Plets 2017). Other ideas include the performative aspects of acts of destruction by Daesh, particularly of pre-Islamic sites and artefacts, intended to provoke a particular reaction in the intended audiences outside Iraq, a palpable mirroring of the performative destruction identified by Weizman, above.

It is an irony that extensive damage was done during the offensive to re-take the city in 2017, including through shelling and use of bulldozers to clear a path through tightly developed areas (Nováček et al. 2021, Reuters 2017, and Castelier & Rubaie 2018). Estimates vary from 54, 000 (Castelier & Rubaie 2018) to 80, 000 houses destroyed (Arraf 2018, citing the UN), but the numbers in either event are catastrophically high for the resident and displaced populations. The apparent lack of care for the fabric of the historic city was a likely consequence of the kind of warfare taking place, with buildings used for cover and mined by Daesh, compounded by the dense and impenetrable character of the townscape. It highlights the need for reconstruction to begin to be planned even when the conflict is still in progress (see, for instance, Barakat 2005) although given the nature of the conflict here, this outcome would have been hard to avoid.
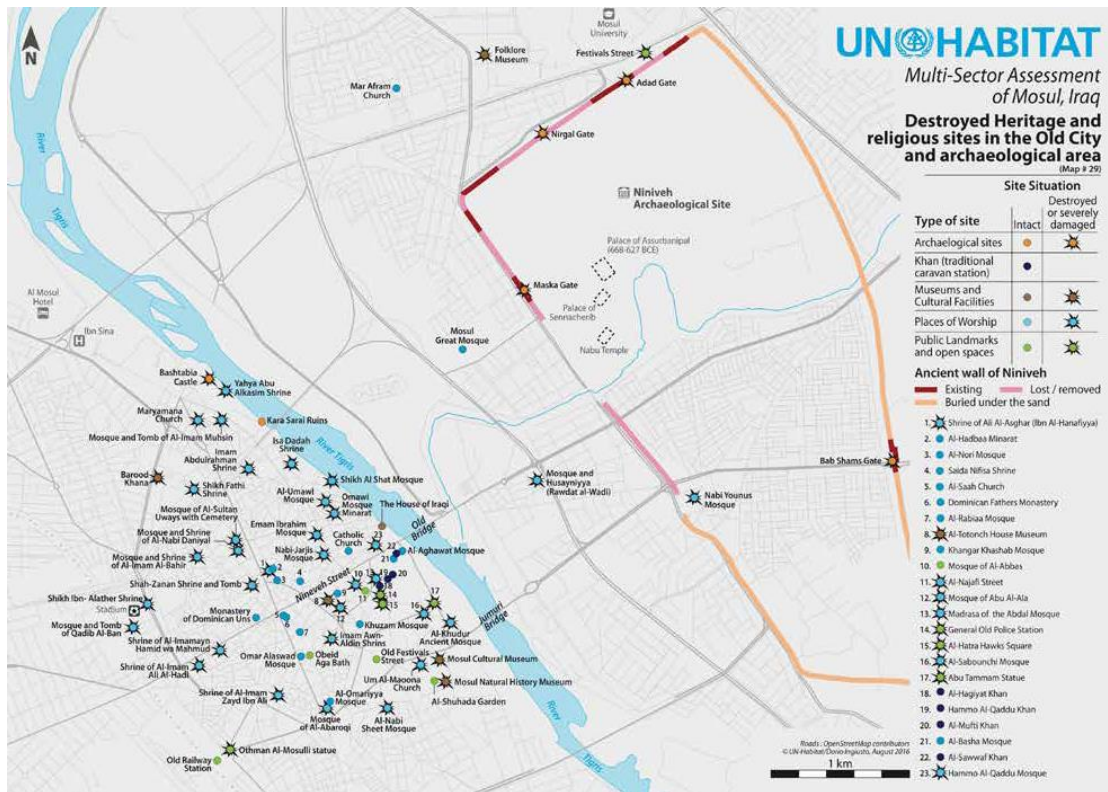
UN Habitat 2016: this map of the historic centre and archaeological area gives as good an indication as any of the extent of the city's most prominent monuments and historic buildings, many of which have been severely damaged or destroyed. At the point at which this map was compiled, the final wave of destruction had not been conducted by Daesh, and hence the Al Nuri Mosque and Al Hadba minaret are shown as intact.

Finally, a word on cultural diversity in the city prior to the conflict. Mosul is around 37 miles south of Dohuk, close to the Kurdish mountains. In population terms it is located at the northern extent of areas characterised by a predominantly Sunni Islamic population (UN Habitat 2016). While sensitivities over the collection of ethno-religious information means that exact numbers have been hard to establish the, pre- Daesh population of just over 1.5 million was considered to be fairly diverse, with around 80% Sunni Muslims, and significant minorities of Kurds, plus Yazidis, Shi'ia Muslims and Christians (UN Habitat 2016). Daesh extreme persecution of the smaller minorities, particularly Christians and Yazidis may mean that they are no longer present in the city in any meaningful numbers, although the trend of migration away from Iraq had in fact begun in the periods of civil conflict and instability over the decades prior to Daesh (UN Habitat 2016).
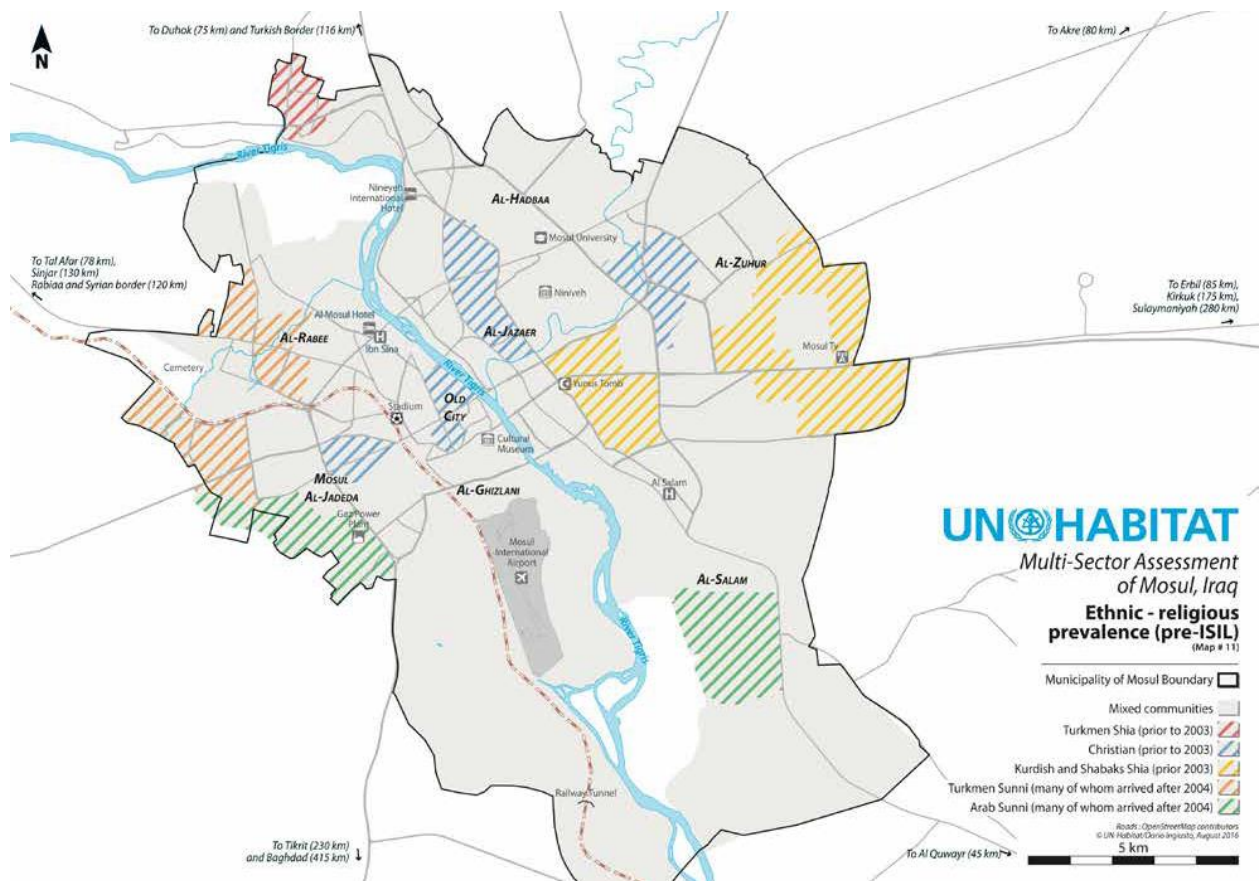
Map from UN Habitat 2016 showing concentrations of minority populations within the city. Although the city was largely mixed in population pre-Daesh, most accounts suggest the western half of the city has always been predominantly Sunni Arab.

Estimates suggest a total population in 2020 of around 1,630,000 (United Nations: World Population Prospects, n.d.). Past figures from the same source suggest no dip in population during Daesh control of the city, although over one million residents are known to have fled or been killed (UNDP 2017). Arraf (2017) suggests that as many families left, poorer or more conservative residents of the rural hinterland of the city were able, and chose, during that time to acquire vacated premises and move into the city, continuing a trend that had started over previous decades. She also suggests the majority of Iraqis believe the population of the west side of the city invited Daesh in. Their complicity, welcome even, may have resulted from the experience of hardship among the deprived urban poor and their hopes of a revived sense of empowerment (Mercadier 2021). This raises the prospect of future tensions between those inhabitants with more sympathetic outlook on Daesh and returning displaced residents with a different relationship with the city and who may be the legal owners of properties occupied by rural immigrants. There may therefore be polarised responses to reconstruction proposals, a possibility which throws the concerns of Isakhan and Meskell into sharp relief.

Assessment of the initiative

Themes identified from the published materials and interviews fall into four categories: management of the initiative, community engagement, philosophical and theoretical considerations, and the practical and physical aspects of reconstruction work. Questioning the interviewees on these in turn revealed sub-themes, discussed below.

Management of the initiative

* Governance

In practical terms, governance of the initiative is complex, not just due to the city-wide scope and aspirations, but also to other issues such as ownership and the range of project partners, including displaced persons. Religious buildings such as the Al Nuri mosque in Iraq are controlled by the Waqf, an ancient institution based on inalienable endowments of land or assets made under Islamic law for religious or charitable purposes, and normally, in modern states, brought together and administered by a government department. Thus, the Al-Nouri mosque is owned by the Sunni Waqf, with parallel institutions for the two churches in the UAE funded project, all represented in the initiative's decision-making structures by the Waqf Ministry. The latter shares legal responsibility for their repair with the Ministry of Culture, also a participant in the governance structure (UNESCO 2020 (i)).

Two committees acted as the formal mechanisms for decision making. The Joint Technical Committee included the Mayor of Mosul, Governor of the Nineveh Province, academics from the University of Mosul, ministry representatives, local professionals and experts, community, and cultural representatives. It was set up with the intention of being as representative and as locally based as possible (Acetoso 2020 & Ruiz Roca 2020). This committee met quarterly to make decisions and recommendations on detailed and operational matters. Three external experts in architecture and engineering also attended and advised this committee, two of whom were from the wider Arab speaking region. A Joint Steering Committee at ministerial level, including ministerial-level representatives of the donors, and other high- level representatives meets twice a year to ratify Technical committee recommendations and take strategic decisions over the overall direction of the initiative (Acetoso 2020 & Ruiz Roca 2020).

There was an evident need for very high-level representation from national and international bodies, given the degree of international involvement and funding and the quasi-diplomatic interactions that it set up. This could have risked drawing priorities for the projects in a different direction from those

expressed locally, although there is no evidence in the activities of this initiative that this occurred, although there was community engagement in the Joint Technical Committee, which was top-heavy in terms of representation.

* Project management and Evaluation

There was limited time in the interviews to interrogate details of project management of the component projects and participants were unwilling or unable to share project management documents. It was not therefore possible analyse the project management processes of the projects.

While evaluation processes for the initiative were being planned, there were none in place at the time, and, again, none that could be shared. This lack of available information therefore curtailed this line of enquiry and places some limits on an assessment of outcomes.

* Involvement of International Experts

The involvement of international experts has the potential to direct priorities away from those of local people. A clear decision to move away from the use of foreign experts was expressed by the interviewees. Decisions made by foreign experts who come to a city without any prior connections, dispense wisdom and then leave the implementation to a community which may not accept that approach, were, plausibly, seen as unsustainable (Acetoso 2020 & Ruiz Roca 2020). Acetoso was very clear that, in her experience gained working in countries such as Afghanistan, a colonialist approach whereby the residents of a less developed country are told how to live and behave by westerners would not be effective (Acetoso 2020).

As a result, when international experts have, exceptionally, been introduced to the projects, it is because of their particular expertise, contributing to an area where equivalent knowledge and skills cannot be found within Iraq. They are there to add value rather than substitute for local experts. Attitude was also said to be a factor guiding who is chosen, with careful attention paid to their likely interactions with local people, and their ability to work as a team – arrogance was not welcomed (Acetoso 2020).

The story of the stabilisation of the Al-Nouri remains was recounted more than once to illustrate the ethos of the project (Acetoso 2020 & Ruiz Roca 2020). The stabilisation of the remains of both the mosque and the partially surviving base of Al Hadba presented very serious technical structural challenges. A renowned Italian expert in post-disaster reconstruction was brought in to supervise this task. He gave willing attention to the reservations of the local carpenters who were building the wooden scaffolding, allowing them to try

their own approach, as they were sceptical of the effectiveness of his own proposals. After some hours of thought they returned to him and conceded that he had in fact been correct, and the situation was resolved effectively and with a good grace not often seen in such scenarios (Acetoso 2020, Ruiz Roca 2020).

Photo of the propped base of Al-Hadba, showing timber supporting structures, available at: https://www.thenationalnews.com/world/mena/first-reconstruction-phase-of-mosul-s-al-nuri-mosque-complete-says-noura-al-kaabi-1.982136#2

The careful introduction of foreign expertise was also seen as an effective in responding to the identified local and national training needs. This could have been through direct tuition, in the formal two-year training for young professionals in architecture, engineering and archaeology to be carried out by the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) starting in 2021, or through practical experience and on-the-job training gained working alongside international experts (Jigyasu 2021).

So a lesson from Mosul, as from Amedi, is that the considered involvement of international experts need not be disempowering for local people if deployed sensitively to develop, rather than substitute, their skills. It may also be necessary exceptionally where relevant national or local knowledge or skills in a particular, technical area do not exist due to displacement or disruption of education and training caused by the conflict. It requires careful choices however to avoid old, harmful patterns re-emerging. Local people in Mosul were keen to have highly qualified experts involved to enhance the status of the project and secure the desired outcomes.

Community Engagement

* ## Definitions of community and forms of engagement

All interviewees expressed a clear commitment to meaningful community-led decision making in the implementation of the initiative, albeit tempered by understanding of the breadth and complexity this brings. Identifying communities with a specific interest in place arising from personal or family history or from intellectual or political roles, with or without specific local ties, and identifying the most appropriate way to engage with various, overlapping and sometimes conflicting groups was not seen as straightforward; the community cannot be understood simply as 'the man in the street' (Acetoso 2020). The need for careful identification in order to facilitate meaningful engagement was seen as important, as how community is defined will also define the methods for how that community is reached and involved (Acetoso 2020).

Key problems in doing so were recognised in Mosul and are likely also to be present in similar scenarios elsewhere. First was the disconnection between the local community and their own heritage arising from prolonged conflict, when basic imperatives, including survival, had taken precedence. However, once these imperatives become less urgent, people will readily turn to heritage as part of their recovery process, for its familiarity, and symbolic, political, and religious meaning (Acetoso 2020). Furthermore, successful recovery of heritage can be linked to reconnection with cultural life (Acetoso 2020). However, a tendency was noted for cultural considerations to continue to be overlooked by the international donor community once the immediate needs for food, water and shelter were met, alongside a tendency to under-rate their importance for regaining a sense of identity and society; in Mosul, for instance, the variety of churches, mosques and synagogues are a tangible reminder of the multi-ethnicity of the city's past (Acetoso 2020, Houston 2021). A second problem noted was the effects of restrictions on movement, as communities lost familiarity with and connections to historic areas. Even before the conflict, there was in Mosul a tendency for young people to have lost touch with the city's early history, seldom visiting the historic core due to demographic changes and an out-migration of middle-class families (Acetoso 2020).

Defined in terms of those having connections with the historic core, communities have come (incoming recent inhabitants of the city cannot be discounted), gone, or shifted their relationships (UN Habitat 2016 & 2019). This presents challenges in identifying and reaching them. Thus, engagement was conceived by the project participants as going beyond simply consulting or

informing to encompass the skills development and educational programmes at the heart of the initiative, attempts to introduce young professionals to the old city, and creation of new skills and job opportunities. As remarked, engagement is not only about receiving opinion but changing it also (Acetoso 2020).

Thus, three prongs of community engagement were carried out, and were as direct and practical as they were consultative, comprising: -

- consultation and awareness raising activities related to projects such as the Al-Nouri project, focused on disseminating information and listening to opinions on the reconstruction process;

- capacity building at both professional and worker/craft levels through practical training, creating the conditions for the community to be more actively involved in the process; and

- direct involvement of unskilled local workers in all parts of projects such as Al-Nouri.

Underlying the entire initiative and implicit and explicit in these activities was the desire to create training, education, and employment opportunities for vulnerable youth. One lesson from Iraq in the early twenty first century must surely be that if a young population are left by conflict without skills, jobs or prospects, things can go badly wrong, so the imperatives behind the initiative are obvious. It would be too dismissive to say that heritage is incidental to this, but rather it does present convenient opportunities to meet these objectives.

* Methods of community engagement – consultation

In pursuit of consultation and awareness raising objectives, regular surveys were carried out both online and offline, including through house visits. A survey of two thousand people was carried out by the University of Mosul statistics department in early 2019. UNESCO was not involved, to avoid any appearance of bias in the results. The survey was conducted in interviews, with just under one third of interviewees female. It approached roughly equal numbers from districts of west and east Mosul outside the Old City and totalling 546, plus 314 interviewed at government departments and 104 at colleges and institutes, with 388 interviewed in Mosul old city, and 720 at the markets area (Ruiz Roca 2020). The total was roughly 2, 000, a statistically respectable sample size. The survey appears to have been based on a number of closed questions, with responses ranked as 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'don't know', 'disagree', 'strongly disagree'. It was suggested that open questions were also used, but no qualitative aspects of the survey have

been made available, and it is not clear how that information has been captured.

I was shown an early and unofficial translation of the consultation responses and this evidence is presented with the caveat that it has not been published. Highlights of the results included overwhelming support for the planned reconstruction of the city (97% agree or strongly agree) with little appetite for unplanned or unregulated change (only 28% in agreement or strong agreement with people able to rebuild their buildings without being bound by an engineering plan by competent authorities and 32% for organizations to be able to do so). There was at best ambivalence towards restoration of the city to its former state with 47% in strong agreement as opposed to 51% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing, and 79% in favour of reconstruction of the old city in accordance with modern architectural designs. Similarly, reconstruction of houses along traditional lines was less enthusiastically received (43% for and 51% against), with deployment of a modern style heartily endorsed (71%). Very little enthusiasm was shown for the use of traditional building techniques and local craftsmen (32%), with local craftsmen using advanced techniques much preferred (74%). Without access to the survey design or qualitative results, it isn't certain that what was meant by the modern style was simply the provision of modern facilities or was more a more fundamental desire for modernity in terms of techniques, materials, detailing, layout, location on plot, relation to public realm, or other core architectural characteristics.

Specifically in relation to heritage, a majority of 94% agreed that archaeological sites should be restored according to UNESCO standards, while 82% did not wish the heritage character of the old city to be changed. This apparent contradiction between a desire for the modern in the old city and on its heritage character suggests that the term modern had a particular meaning for respondees or that the idea of housing was not easily reconciled with that of heritage. In a city in which significant gentrification or tourism development have not placed an economic premium on historic houses this separation is perhaps hardly surprising.

There was a very clear rejection of the possibility of transforming the old city into a predominantly tourist area (80%) however, a majority were prepared to accept part of it being turned into a tourist area (75%). The response, and perhaps also the question itself hints at the persistence of the concept that heritage and tourist areas must somehow be separate from places where people live ordinary lives. Involvement of foreign companies in construction projects in the old city was welcomed (83% in favour) as were foreign engineers (70%) although other foreign workers were not welcomed, with 76%

against their use in such projects. The use of Iraqi companies and engineers was also supported, although with slightly less enthusiasm (80% and 62% respectively) supporting the possibility that foreign involvement need not be unwelcome and may be seen as a mark of prestige, provided there is Iraqi involvement also. Indeed, the joint expert supervision of reconstruction projects in the old city was favoured considerably (76%) in comparison to foreigner only supervision (36%) or local only supervision (43%). In social terms, there was 100% support for encouragement to the people of the old city to return, live and rebuild and 97% support for the encouragement of the return of Christians. A clear appetite was revealed for further involvement of the people of the old city in the detailed matters of its reconstruction such as development of the city's reconstruction plan (81%) and similar levels of support for their involvement with operational matters such as evaluation of offers of reconstruction and investment before approval (72%), evaluation of tender proposals for reconstruction projects (75%), evaluation of the budgets of the planned projects before their approval and implementation (66%) and of overall evaluation of projects (75%).

Specific questions were asked about Al-Nouri and Al-Hadba, and there was a clear majority in favour of reconstructing the mosque and the minaret on its original base (78%), with much less enthusiasm for reconstruction of the mosque with a new minaret in a different location (21% in favour and 74% in disagreement). Interviewees spoke of the consistency of support for rebuilding Al Hadba, due not only to its iconic status nationally but also deep affection locally. The real distress experienced at its destruction was intensified by the shock of it happening when the minaret, and the city's people, had endured so much of the Daesh occupation and it might have been felt that the end was in sight. Restoration has also involved a difficult decision on whether to restore it as it should have been, i.e. not leaning, or as it actually was. It will always be a difficult conservation decision to restore a structure to an apparently defective state, but in this case the distinctive humped curve appears to have been appreciated by residents as much as its age or design. Anecdotally, restoration to the original appearance was preferred (Roca Ruiz 2020). Both survey and anecdotal reports support the assumption that the local community, robbed of a familiar and treasured part of their environment, sought to reverse this loss as part of the process of coming to terms with the trauma of conflict.

An added complication in securing representative consultation arises from the demographic changes in the city already noted, and the significant displaced populations who may or may not return to the city at some time in the future. It was said that survey work would also include residents of

Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps with Moslawis in them, including in Erbil and Kurdistan and online surveys of former residents who had left the country, irrespective of their settled or refugee status within their new place of residence. This would be real attempt to be representative, although no details of these activities have been seen.

Beyond the use of surveys, planned activities with the local community were seen as very important vehicles for sharing information about the progress of the project and as a valuable guard against rumour and misinformation. This was particularly important when the mosque complex was secured behind high fencing for safety and security reasons, protecting the building and workers on site, and so not visible from the outside. The number of visitors to the site was necessarily limited, with the sense of separation from the local community exacerbated by restrictions on movement during the pandemic. The press were also invited to participate in such events in the interests of transparency. Events were also seen as helping to revive the social life of the city, supporting the agenda of stabilisation and anti-radicalisation. Similarly, involvement of schools and children were intended to serve both an educational and social role. Engagement of the imagination of community members was also mentioned, and the recreation of emotional and perceptual links to the site, ruptured by conflict and destruction (Acetoso 2020).

* Methods of community engagement – capacity building

Hands-on engagement was an important element of the initiative overall, intended to improve local capacity in construction education and trades through practical involvement in the reconstruction process. A training programme was developed with the University of Mosul and ICCROM which, proceeding on two tracks, provided heritage conservation training focused on post-conflict situations for young building professionals such as architects, surveyors and engineers, and skills development in construction for craftspeople and Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) trainees (Jigyasu 2021). This programme was based on a detailed needs assessment carried out with the training providers, bespoke to Iraqi circumstances, and locally delivered. TVET training was provided through the EU construction project and s to mesh with the ICCROM initiative which was under development at the time of the interviews, and whose trainees were to go on to work on the EU sites as well as ICCROM-led sites.

Projected numbers to benefit from the training programme varied depending on the interviewee between 130 or as many as 300 trainees directly involved. The numbers involved were relatively small in comparison to other training

schemes such as that run by the UNDP, but the training was intended to be less generalised (Houston 2021).

The TVET training was focused on construction skills, consisting of a course of four months followed by practical training on site supervised by contractors. Part of the training would also involve training existing practitioners of building crafts in new techniques and methodologies, including modern construction methods adapted to traditional buildings, and construction of new-build schools and a mosque (Jigyasu 2021). New crafts practices would also be developed, for instance techniques for repairing Mosul marble features in situ by filling bullet holes and cracks and then polishing, rather than simply re-carving and installing a new piece (Houston 2021). Female trainees also participated and learnt electrical rewiring and stone repair work.

* Methods of community engagement – job creation

This strand of engagement went beyond training and work placements and was identified as having the dual benefits of creating income for local people and reinforcing their positive attitudes towards their heritage through direct engagement. Almost all work on the Al-Nouri Mosque project was done by local people and was said to have created more than 300 jobs, with the potential for more created indirectly (Acetoso 2020). Ambitions to create jobs are an important aspect of the initiative aims to support the objectives of future social stability and avoidance of radicalisation (UNESCO 2020 ii)).

Philosophical and Theoretical Considerations

* Heritage Values

In the old city familiarity with the historic environment had been heightened by the frequency and closeness of daily interactions, as it formed the backdrop and scenery for normal life in places of community use, interaction and worship, for which it provided a unique setting: 'the quality of urban space has an impact on the quality of life' (Acetoso 2020). Mosul, furthermore, was historically a multi-ethnic/multi-faith city, and this can be read in the topography of the city, for instance in the distribution of mosques, churches and synagogues: 'urban heritage is basically the tangible manifestation of the society that is living there' (Acetoso 2020).

Responses to the survey and anecdotes related to interviewees by local residents showed that that heritage was still valued by residents of the old city for its familiarity and personal links, and they welcomed a chance to recover this situation through the reconstruction projects. The community was also supportive of the mixed nature of the project in terms of the reconstruction of

churches as well as mosques, with a strong desire to see the return of Christians to the old city.

Al-Nouri presents an interesting heritage scenario, as the mosque complex, excluding the minaret, is largely twentieth century. While traditional, archaeologically led values might ascribe it little interest, local feelings towards it as a place of personal and family history tend strongly to the opposite view. The Al-Hadba minaret is, if anything, seen as all the more iconic and cherished locally; one local resident is reported to have said 'I cried the day it was demolished' (Acetoso 2020). Thus the values attributed to the complex by the community call much more strongly for action on the site than their traditional heritage values alone might do. Feelings towards the site were heightened by the fact that they had survived for most of the period of Daesh occupation and then suddenly been all but entirely destroyed nearly at its end.

The houses being restored under the EU project were described as 'historic-ish', being built mainly in the eighteenth century (Houston 2021). That they are not regarded as particularly old in archaeological terms despite their age is partly, perhaps, a factor of the layers of later changes and additions accreted to what is often a traditional core built around a courtyard. However the tendency to undervalue later buildings in heritage terms reflects the tendency to disregard urban fabric following classic, colonial approaches to Middle Eastern heritage. This may also be reflected in the ambivalent responses to reconstruction revealed in the survey of local communities, although, as noted, this may also relate to a desire for improved living facilities.

∗ Past processes of urban change and new models of experiencing the city

Demographic changes in the twentieth century meant that by the time of Daesh control, the old city was inhabited largely by very poor people and the middle classes largely absent. Young Iraqi professionals involved in the training project were revealed to have had very little direct experience of the historic city centre; as representatives of the middle classes, their lives would have been focused on the suburbs (Acetoso 2020). This unfamiliarity with their own historic environment in the Old City was an additional layer of disconnection to that inflicted by the disruption of the conflict years (Acetoso 2020) and a further prompt to create the training focused on young building professionals, who would additionally have had little to no previous instruction in traditional construction (Jigyasu 2021, see also Al-Sabouni 2016).

Mosul, it was confirmed, had not experienced any kind of gentrification, based on the commodification of under-used historic houses, as occupation

levels had always been reasonably high (Acetoso 2020). So there had been no particular opportunity for this, nor a particular demand, as the city had been bypassed by the kind of elite housing or tourist pressures that have stimulated that effect in other cities (Salamandra 2004). This may change with the completion in the international spotlight of a project focused on major historical reconstruction and a pending World Heritage Site inscription.

∗ Authenticity

If reconstruction of significant heritage buildings is to be pursued, particularly the recreation of Al-Hadba, this would go against the normal UNESCO distaste for reconstruction. Reservations within UNESCO were acknowledged by interviewees, but these were in contrast to the clarity of thought locally, where the issue of authenticity in a material sense was not a concern (Acetoso 2020, Ruiz Roca 2020). It was also clear that this was not a consequence of ignorance or failure to appreciate the nuance of the situation; people locally were said to be well aware that any new structure is a copy but 'what they will say is the original is lost anyway, but we want back the memory' (Acetoso 2020). This is a clear rejection of Venice Charter-inspired notions of authenticity, and, by implication, the negative connotations of Disneyfication.

Acetoso recounted the memories of a member of the Joint Technical Committee meeting, who told her that whenever he was passing close to the minaret he thought of his grandmother and childhood weekend visits to her house for lunch. He could still recall the smell of the bread she made (Acetoso 2020). The Al-Hadba minaret has come to be a powerful symbol for local people on a very personal level, acting as a repository for the memories of their own lives. After destruction these strong personal values are seen as much more important than material authenticity following the Venice Charter approach. This strong awareness of what has been lost and what stands to be regained rather diminishes the argument that reconstructed buildings are in some way dishonest or false, an argument which, I would suggest, undervalues both the complex significance of historic buildings and the ability of non-experts to understand that significance in quite sophisticated ways.

It was less easy, however, to elicit information on UNESCO thinking internally, despite the fact that the project is so overtly at odds with the organisation's previous assertions regarding authenticity. It was suggested that there has been some evolution of the concept of authenticity stimulated by post-conflict situations (Ruiz Roca 2020), but no details were given of discussions internally at UNESCO and no evidence has been found on how the body has sought to reconcile this disparity, for instance through evidence of formal

resolutions or debates through the publicly accessible archive of Committee and other reports and papers. It is not possible therefore to conclude with any certainty whether or not the Mosul initiative represents a new direction for future such projects under the auspices of UNESCO or is an approach unlikely to be repeated.

Jigyasu highlighted the illusory nature of authenticity in many cases, where apparently ancient buildings have been subject to repeated alterations over time, some relatively recently (Jigyasu 2021). Al-Nouri is a particularly obvious example, and the traditional houses in the city which fall under the EU project were also noted to exhibit similar changes, including use of concrete (Houston 2021). It may be that the concept of authenticity is also the superimposition of personal values on a structure, but in this case driven by academic and theoretical priorities rather than direct experiential perceptions.

* Effects of conflict

Conflict may cause dissociation from a relationship with and appreciation of heritage in the obvious sense that it damages or removes that heritage physically, but also because at the same time it can damage or obliterate its symbolic significance and cultural identity. The immediate danger is that those values may not be recovered where heritage is not a priority in international recovery programmes, when compared to provision of food, water, shelter and security. However, Acetoso identified, based on experience from Afghanistan, potential longer-term effects in post-conflict situations where ongoing security concerns and restrictions mean that the ability to move around and experience heritage, for instance through family visits, is extremely constricted. Children and young people miss out on the kinds of family or school visits and exposure to cultural heritage which may be experienced, say, in western Europe. Thus, their understanding of their heritage is not internalised, and connections are not made (Acetoso 2020). Although not straightforward to resolve, this can begin to be addressed through educational initiatives as is happening in Mosul.

Practical and Physical aspects of reconstruction work

* Characteristics of traditional design and construction

The houses in the EU project generally presented a traditional form of construction around a courtyard, but, as noted above they often included modern extensions and interventions, including reinforced concrete floors. They therefore required careful unpicking to reveal their phases of construction and age, assuming the layers had not been laid bare by damage (Houston 2021). The use of Mosul marble features and the

conservation challenges it presented to traditional craft practice are noted above. These features were often painted over or covered in multiple layers of plaster, and once lost to sight, were often completely forgotten – revealing them afresh was an opportunity to strengthen the historical and architectural values of the buildings.

* Ownership issues

The role of the Sunni Waqf and other institutional owners has been mentioned, with the work to religious buildings dependent on their permission and granting access to the sites. The multiple ownership and occupation of the private houses presents a more complex picture, with absentee owners, some IDP living in camps or with host families, and some inevitably dead. Some absentee private owners had rented their houses out, even by the room where they were in a poor condition. The majority of absentee owners, in theory, intended to return once the house was completed, although some may not do so due to the traumatic associations with events which occurred during the conflict (Houston 2020).

While details of house repair works were signed off by a technical committee dedicated to the EU project, where possible owners were engaged in the planning and design stages and could chose elements such as doors and windows, handrails, decorative elements etc. in order to avoid deadening standardisation (Houston 2021).

* Hazards

The reconstruction sites were taken on in a dangerous condition, some containing unexploded IEDs or suicide belts which had to be detected and removed. This was done through a slow repeated process of rubble removal and then de-mining (Acetoso 2020). Clearance of this kind was essential before any reconstruction could be done. In the EU project, both the house under reconstruction and the adjoining house had to be cleared with great care. Bodies too were found and removed.

* Dealing with Damage

Following clearance, the EU houses were assessed and assigned to damage categories in order to identify the levels of intervention needed, or indeed whether they could be repaired rather than entirely demolished. Only those capable of repair were taken on (Houston 2021). Removal of rubble itself carries the risk of loss of historical fragments which may have archaeological value in understanding what has been lost and may have potential for re-use in the recovered structure – for example carved bricks from the Al-Hadba

minaret. A large number of such fragments were identified in Al-Nouri and were stored pending the reconstruction programme.

Surviving elements of buildings may be structurally unstable and may need stabilising. The remaining walls and dome of Al-Nouri and the base plinth of the minaret required temporary stabilisation, carried out incrementally alongside the removal of rubble prior to installation of full support structures.

∗ Damp and poor ventilation in historic houses

The use of relatively impervious gypsum plaster inside and cement renders outside had inhibited evaporation of moisture, causing damp problems in many of the traditional houses. In repair works a lime mix was being used to create breathability and flexibility (Houston 2020).

∗ Degraded infrastructure

A combination of geology and old, unrenewed infrastructure had led to subsidence and widespread failings to utilities such as sewage systems. Their location and tracks were not clearly understood, further inhibiting repairs. Water leaks too were prevalent. The installation of electricity appears to have been ad hoc in the past, and conflict had left damaged and loose wiring in many places. Pavements, where they existed, had also been lost.

To maximise the effectiveness and impact of the EU project, houses for repair had been selected in proximate groups, and infrastructure had been repaired and upgraded at the same time. The project focused initially on houses in the area around the Al Nuri Mosque, including those within the mosque complex, additionally complementing the reconstruction work there and securing economies of scale and effort (Houston 2021).

Unesco hands 100 historic homes back to their owners in Mosul

▶ Poignant ceremony marks another milestone in rebuilding parts of Iraqi city destroyed in war with ISIS

Homes in Mosul have been painstakingly restored by Unesco. Photo: Unesco

Extract from Al-Roubi, 2023.

Seeking 'Social Cohesion and the Revival of Souls'[5]: the architectural competition to rebuild the Al Nouri Mosque complex

Launched in November 2020, the international architectural competition for the Al-Nouri Complex in Mosul sought design proposals from architects or teams of architects and engineers for its reconstruction. The value in studying this architectural competition lies in the insights it gives into the way in which, and how successfully, the wishes of the people of Mosul were put into effect by UNESCO. A wealth of competition information was provided online, including detailed historic and contextual evidence, architects' drawings, and photographs. This not only allowed detailed understanding of the practical conservation issues involved, including the degree and nature of reconstruction, but also presented an opportunity to reflect on the form, content, and structure of the competition, to consider the intended impacts in terms of its production, dissemination and consumption.

The Site

The Al Nouri Mosque site has an area of approximately 11, 050 sqm, and is located in the north-eastern sector of the Old City, close to its centre. The complex was divided into two areas for the purposes of the competition, reflecting the separation between the mosque and its ancillary buildings, and buildings outside its curtilage, and their potentially different treatments:

* a "historic" area of 7, 500 sqm, representing the boundary of the complex before 2017 and housing the remains of the minaret and those of the mosque itself, the ablutions pavilions and modern WC buildings; and

* an "extension" area of 3, 500 sqm added to the site in 2019 – previously accommodating (pre- 2017) a garage and repair shop for cars and some 10 residential plots with dwellings, including three historic houses (nos. 8, 9 & 10) which were to be retained. (UNESCO, 2020 (ii))

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[5] Part of the statement by the winning architectural team, quoted in UNESCO 2021

Al Nouri complex partly cleared post-destruction, but before stabilisation. UNESCO 2020 (ii).

The project encompassed the whole site of the complex, both its historic and extension areas, as well as the narrow pedestrian alley between the two. In the "historic" area, the Al Hadba Minaret and the group of seven buildings situated on the complex's north-eastern side were not included in the project, while other existing buildings within site, including the modern toilet block, were deemed to have no historical or architectural value and were allocated for demolition, clearing space for new buildings.
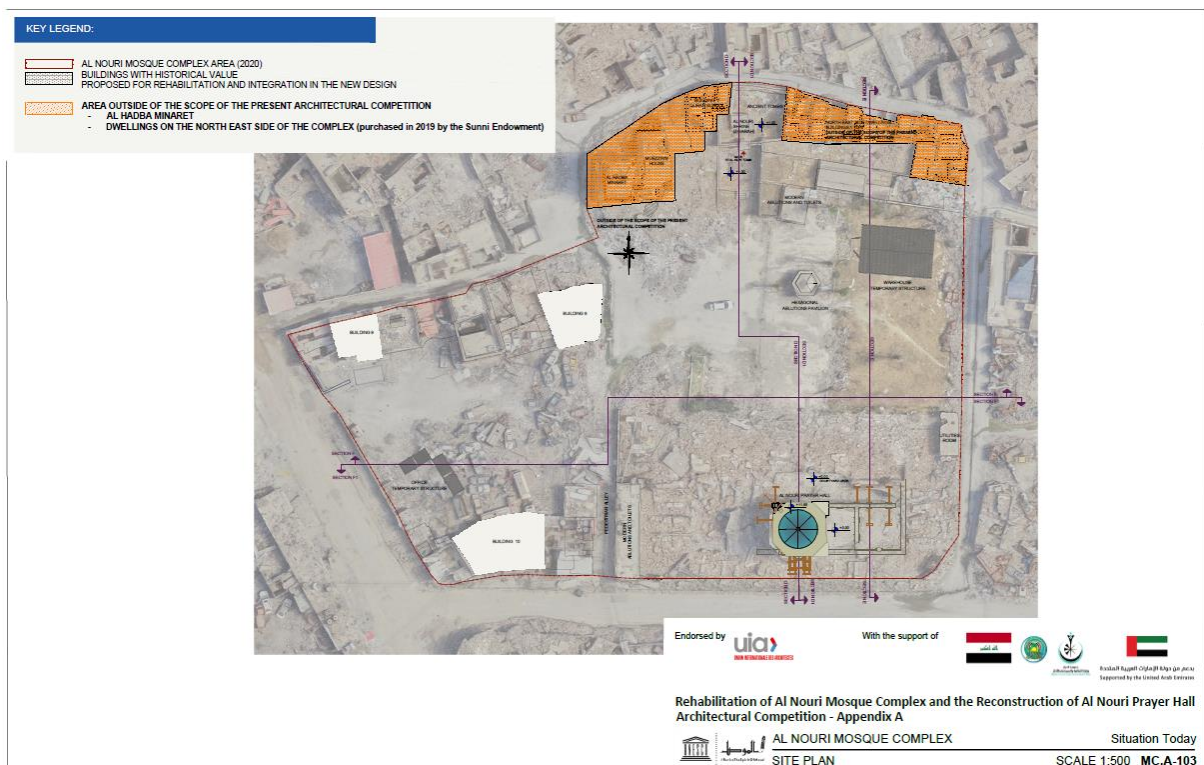
Site plan showing the historic (right) and extension (left) areas (UNESCO 2020 (ii)).

Participants were asked to incorporate in their proposals the minaret rebuilt to its former shape and appearance, using brick masonry in the historic style, and the dwellings on the north-eastern side rehabilitated using traditional materials and techniques. These aspects were already fixed, reflecting the wishes of residents of the old town, particularly in relation to the minaret (Acetoso 2020, Ruiz Roca 2020, UNESCO 2020 ii)).

The Brief

The brief consisted of a substantial technical document with sections on the competition rules, what were called 'Building Regulations' setting the parameters for future development on the site, and 'context', which includes detailed historical information and architectural analysis of the mosque itself and the city (UNESCO 2020 (ii)). It was accompanied by a number of appendices, including architectural drawings, and supplementary documents recording two rounds of written questions and answer exercises with prospective competition entrants (UNESCO 2020 (iii) & (iv)). However, the introductory part of the document explicitly set out the mission of this exercise, and is the outward face of the project, directed, very particularly, towards the world, and including forewords from the Director General of UNESCO and from Government ministers from Iraq and the UAE.

The language of engagement and participation is evident from the outset, with the introduction stating that 'Reviving Mosul is not only about reconstructing heritage sites; it is about **empowering the population** as agents of change involved in the process of rebuilding their city through culture and education' (their emphasis) (UNESCO 2020 (ii) - Introduction), to be involved in and to give support for the reconstruction works, and as the beneficiaries of the programs for capacity building and job creation. While it would be unreasonable to suggest that the local population could have sprung into the reconstruction programme unsupported, particularly in the development of relevant skills and expertise, or that they had not been extensively consulted, the documentation implies that the leadership role lay elsewhere. UNESCO held the reigns of the initiative, working with the national government of Iraq and other Governments, albeit with some local representation on the committees, but where new partners were to be invited into the reconstruction effort through the competition, they were likely to be from abroad.

On the other hand, the key decisions made on the project were based in the views of the local population, and included the facsimile reconstruction of Al-Hadba and reconstruction and re-use of the traditional houses on the site. They were an important, and in the case of Al-Hadba, totemic recognition of community feeling. Significant aspects of the site were locked in through the

use of the building regulations. However, the competition meant that significant outcomes in terms of the size of area affected and its potential role in the cultural and architectural life of the city were opened up to external proposals. The decision was to be made by an independent and international jury panel of men and women, academics and professionals, with the Middle East well represented. Nonetheless, this left no apparent agency for the local population in this momentous decision.

So the realities of the exercise were to some extent at odds with the ethos of the initiative in other respects, and some Iraqis were not slow to point this out when the competition results were announced. The internationally focused approach brought to the fore tensions between local and expert-led values and highlighted questions over where the important choices should be made. Perhaps unexpectedly the most vocal dissatisfaction has been expressed by expert groups who might normally be considered more privileged, and might indeed have entered the competition, but in this case were frustrated by the lack of a more locally driven solution to the development of the complex (Cambridge Heritage Research Centre Bulletin, 4th May 2021). The competition rules required that the winning practice partnered with a local Iraqi professional practice or educational institution of their choice in order to implement their proposals, a gesture at least towards Iraqi professionals, but involving them after the key decisions on philosophy and approach had been made and thereby depriving them of agency in the process.

The 'Mission' emphasised the message of resilience and hope, reconciliation and social cohesion attached to the initiative. In discussing the physical reconstruction works it noted that 'historical sites and monuments are not only a scientific tool of knowledge, but they also represent a powerful symbol of belonging, community, and identity ….. '; both ways in which heritage may be considered important are included, but it is clear what comes first – the historical and scientific importance which then allows the attachment of personal and communal values (UNESCO 2020 ii) – Mission). Old thought habits die hard. Nonetheless, the fact that these wider values were recognised and followed through in some practical way was perhaps confirmation that UNESCO has accepted that the theory and practice of heritage has changed, with so much recent destruction prompting a necessary evolution in institutional thought.

In other respects, the language of the brief reinforced the message of the civilizing effects of culture and cultural renaissance. Audrey Azoulet's message spoke of the 'social, cultural, and historical foundations' which remain, and building on which 'the city can drive its own renaissance' and

also improve its people's lives and livelihoods'. There is a difficult linguistic task to be carried out here in order to underpin the reconciliatory and deradicalization objectives of the mission; present and future Mosul have to be distanced from the recent past of Mosul during the period of Daesh occupation (never named, but referred to simply as conflict), in which some present citizens may have been, at least, complicit, without alienating them or indeed arousing any pre-conflict sensitivities. The appeal to the more distant roots, the foundations of the city, is both real and a metaphor, and an example of where the production and evocation of heritage can come into its own in the recreation of shared history, which is distant, safe, and separate. Presenting the prospect of better lives and livelihoods focuses on the future. The uncomfortable gap between the two is obscured.

In technical terms, the brief and supplementary documents provided detailed parameters for the Al Nouri complex in terms of floorspace, size, location and functions of the buildings to be provided (UNESCO 2020 (i) – (iv)). It's Building 'Regulations' for the complex and mosque equated to something more like a design code in UK terms and set the limits for new buildings in terms of height - two-story buildings with maximum three-story accents; use of traditional materials and architectural typologies; accessibility meeting international standards; landscaping; and the boundary treatments to the site.

These constraints might appear to fetter the flair and creativity of the competing architectural teams in imposing a degree of detailed control; however this approach is not unusual in sensitive heritage locations in other scenarios where the creation of new elements is closely bound up with the old. The difference here is that the old is to be recreated. There is clearly a desire for development which is inclusive and provides facilities to contemporary standards, but at the same time has the look and feel of a traditional group. Again, this is not unusual and indeed is often actively encouraged in heritage settings (see for example English Heritage/Commission for the Built Environment 2001, UNESCO 2005a and Historic Scotland 2010). That the regulations have allowed sufficient flexibility for a range of responses to the complex is evident in the design chosen as winner and critical reactions to it, which focus on its perceived 'modernist' characteristics (CHRC 2021).

The copious information provided reinforces the aspiration to international participation, in its recognition that not all competing teams would be able to visit or survey the site in person for security, and then Covid- related, reasons. The question then arises as to whether it is possible fully to understand the context, setting and feelings engendered by place if it can

only be experienced remotely. Experience gained during the course of 2020 in making remote assessments of development and heritage schemes, suggests that there can be limitations in appreciating the finer or more intangible aspects of the site and its environs. Patterns of activity and use, quality of light and shade, sounds and smells all contribute to the experience of place, and are not easy to assess remotely. On the other hand, however, for a part-cleared site of destruction, these qualities would have been significantly degraded. An understanding at least of the physical characteristics of the site could be derived and adequate responses in design and historic terms made as a result. However, remote assessment of a site such as this is unlikely to enable direct engagement with local communities or communities of interest, risking an inability to fully understand the intangible and associative values of the site. The realisation of this risk in the case of the Al-Nouri competition is discussed below

The invitation for international engagement was issued with the explicit aim of bringing the fullest range of insights and expertise to bear on the site (Acetoso 2020), but perhaps with multi-layered intent. As Mosul sits on the tentative world heritage list, awaiting inscription on the basis of its outstanding universal value, this could also be an invitation for recognition of this universality, validating the involvement of international actors moved, as many were, by the violent and tactically pointless detonation of the building. Pragmatically, it is a way of keeping global attention on the plight of the city in order to sustain support for the necessarily long-term process of reconstruction.

The Results

The competition result was announced on 15th April 2021, with the winning entry coming from a team of eight Egyptian architects and academics experienced in heritage rehabilitation projects. Their press statement suggests a good grasp of the intentions behind the architectural task, as they welcomed the results of the competition saying 'Our team worked with high passion to submit a project that primarily addresses the need for social cohesion and revival of souls' (UNESCO 2021). A more detailed analysis of the architecture of Al-Nuri and the competition designs in that context is provided in Appendix 6.

However, the competition results were not well received. The hostile response from the architectural and engineering community in Iraq suggests that the engagement of professionals within Mosul and Iraq more generally had not been entirely successfully accomplished. Involvement of local and national architectural and engineering institutions in setting the design and parameters of the competition may or may not have mitigated the reaction

somewhat. Critically important, however, was the reaction of the local population of Mosul, for whom the new complex was intended. There is some evidence that among the population of Mosul too the winning design was not well received and that they had joined the coalescence of architects, historians and other intellectuals in opposing it. The use of the term 'cultural suicide' may be inflammatory, but concern for maintaining the city's identity was tangible and predicted to snowball (Tarzi 2021). Criticisms that the design did not restore the mosque to its exact 2017 form appear to be applied to the whole complex, which in the winning design does take on a different form, rather than the mosque building itself as stipulated in the 2020 design brief. Illustrations from the winning scheme showing the interior of the mosque suggest that the design brief was adhered to in respect of that building itself (Cao 2021).

A small number of images have been reproduced of the original form of the award-winning design. A 3D rendering of the site from an aerial perspective looking north-east to south-west across the site shows the space between the restored prayer hall and minaret filled with a grid of pavilions covering the open space, trees and vegetation glimpsed through the gaps between them, and canopied *sahn*[6] added to the mosque. A new entrance from the south, initially following the line of the historic thoroughfare, runs through a tree lined avenue and gateway, although its path through the site is not entirely clear until it exits again, now passing by the east of the minaret. Various pools and fountains are evident, although of the octagonal ablutions fountain, there is no obvious trace. The historic houses to the north and west are shown retained, with houses 8, 9 and 10 incorporated into a number of new buildings, their functions as yet unidentified. On the face of it, it complies with the competition brief, including in the height, scale, massing and materiality of the new buildings.

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[6] The court of a mosque whether it be opened or closed, Technical Glossary of the Islamic Art Foundation - http://www.islamic-art.org/glossary/Glossary.asp?DisplayedChar=17

Aerial perspective of the winning competition entry, UNESCO 2021 ©Salah El Din Samir Hareedy & team.

A more human perspective on the winning design is possible from a second image, where the viewer is placed at ground level, looking into the site through a new western gateway, towards the viewpoint of the minaret. The largely new buildings on this side of the site rise to left and right as a set of interlocked forms in brick, pierced with simple rectangular window and door openings and relieved and linked in places with pierced screens in an unglazed ceramic. They seem to be intended to evoke the forms of the tightly packed town around them and the traditional brickwork of the minaret.

Ground level perspective of the winning scheme, UNESCO 202 ©Salah El Din Samir Hareedy & team.

It is not clear what the charge of 'modernism' levelled at the design is intended to convey. It may refer to the contemporary approach to the new elements of the site, although they would replace buildings which were not considered appropriate for reconstruction or recreation in the new scheme. Certainly, there was disquiet at the use of English for signage in the designs and palm trees, a non-native species in Mosul, in the planting schemes (CHRC 2021); while such details would normally only be indicative at this point in a design process their potential reception had not perhaps been considered. Debate regarding contemporary versus traditional approaches to design in historic areas are often polarised, but sympathetic solutions can be found and will often lie somewhere between the two approaches, able to respond to character without simply copying existing designs, in a contemporary manner but without jarring. From the few images publicly available, the winning design while not a direct copy of the traditional townscape of the area around it, is hard to characterise as assertively contemporary either.

At the end of 2020 UNESCO conducted a survey of Moslawis specifically interrogating their opinions regarding the approach to the rebuilding project as proposed. Over 700 Moslawis from east and west of the city and displaced people were asked regarding their preference for how the Al-Hadba minaret and Al-Nuri mosque were to be rebuilt. A very clear majority, 94% wished to

see the minaret positioned and decorated as it had been prior to destruction, while 70% were content for the prayer hall to be rebuilt as in 2017, with some improvements, 'provided that "the essence and main values are preserved"'; 30% preferred that it be rebuilt exactly as it had been in 2017 (Janghiz 2021). These results would therefore suggest some level of comfort with what was proposed. Still further reports however suggest that in 2021 many Moslawis were unaware of the proposed rebuilding of the mosque and some critical about the use of resource in a city still struggling with basic infrastructure (Mercadier 2021).

Evolution of the proposed design, promised by UNESCO in 2021, were carried out involving collaboration between the Egyptian team and the University of Mosul, in consultation with local experts, and involved removing some of the more controversial elements of the scheme including the controversial sunshades to the courtyard and a car park (Ditmars 2022). The designs were presented to the Mosul community in a public event in June 2022, although there is no publicly available record of this; whether public anxiety and anger are continuing to simmer (Tarzi 2021) is not clear. Full clearing and stabilisation of the site were completed by December 2021, on the evidence of satellite imagery available at the time, which showed the cleared site with the surviving structures propped. Though delayed by controversy and the archaeological discoveries, UNESCO has stated that active reconstruction works started in the summer of 2022 (UNESCO n.d.(i)) although no precise date can be found[7]. This progress suggests that a design compromise had successfully been reached. A later start was set for the reconstruction of Al-Hadba, due to structural and constructional complexities, and it was scheduled to be completed in 2023[8] (UNESCO n.d. (ii), Aldrouby 2022).

This debate reveals not only the real problems of engaging with and putting into effect the desired approaches of a large and complex city population but also the challenge of producing a contextual design by architects unfamiliar with a place and perhaps with a greater focus on the built elements than the wider context in which they sit, itself a likely product of the internationally framed design competition. However, the fact that works are now progressing following a period of reflection, adjustment, and re-consultation, suggests that some form of working consensus was able to be built through listening and responding to expert and non-expert concerns.

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[7] Completion of works both to Al Hadba and Al Nouri were said by UNESCO on social media to be mostly completed by the end of 2024, and aerial images provided support this.

[8] In fact work on Al-Hadba only started in July 2024, as revealed on the Revive the Spirit of Mosul twitter feed (now X).

Image from Google Earth, copyright @Maxar Technologies. Image date 6 September 2023.

Conclusion

Revive the Spirit of Mosul provides rich and detailed insights into major works of reconstruction in a post conflict society. Despite UNESCO's reticence on certain practical details relating to the management of the initiative and its institutional stance on authenticity, some deductions can be made on the basis of how the project has been progressed. Overall, it has moved UNESCO beyond its normal way of working; an organisation not previously celebrated for its consultative nature nor remarked for direct operational engagement with building or reconstruction projects has conducted both. The projects to repair and recover mosques, churches and houses have also turned to the more recent heritage of the city and the needs of its people, where perhaps previously there might have been a greater attention to archaeological sites such as Nineveh, outside the urban area, for their antiquarian interest. The reconstruction ethos of the initiative is couched in a more generous understanding of why historic places matter to people, which very often is not simply because of the age and completeness of historic fabric, but because such places are the backdrop to their lives. This was revealed in simple terms in the interviews with project personnel and confirmed in the use of surveys and decision making guided by the results of such surveys. Thus the Al Nouri and related projects can be seen as attempting to follow what would generally be considered good contemporary heritage practice in order to tackle a massive task.

However, a more nuanced picture regarding the fulfilment of these ideals has emerged as the project has progressed. For instance, the reaction to the Al-Nouri design contest suggest that the difficult task of bringing all potential project partners into a consensus regarding change was not fully achieved, at least initially. While direct engagement of foreign experts within the projects by UNESCO was carefully handled, the consequences of holding an international design competition had not perhaps been fully anticipated. There appears to have been some attempt to recover the situation through continuing consultation and amendment of the proposals, although it is not clear how this has been received.

The overarching objectives of the initiative have been overtly social, with reconciliation and societal recovery at its heart and heritage acting as a vector for change rather than the sole driver. The facilities and resources made available have had a direct impact in supporting cultural renewal but may also have begun to stimulate independent and entrepreneurial developments to create new cultural places and activities, particularly based around music (Ditmars 2022).

In a practical and social sense, the refurbishment of community facilities and housing has been a significant, but very small contribution to the total needs of the city. Estimates vary, but the estimated numbers of damaged or destroyed housing are in the tens of thousands, those of still-displaced people in the hundreds of thousands, and some estimates of the money required run to billions of dollars (see for instance Al-Saafin 2018 and Jenghiz 2021). Meanwhile the epithet often applied to the Iraqi authorities is 'cash-strapped' while funds that have been allocated for rebuilding are said to not to have reached those striving on the ground due to endemic corruption within state institutions (Reuters 2017 and Araf 2018). Many are repairing their houses, premises, and businesses without support, relying on loans, savings and private investments, with extensive areas of ruination untouched (Araf 2018, Reuters 2018, Castelier and Al-Rubiae 2021, Jenghiz, 2021).

Within its own stated objectives, the EU project has been successful in restoring 140 houses and allowing displaced residents to return. However, the number is tiny in the context of the overall problem, although the project was not intended to be a comprehensive answer to destruction, but rather an exemplar or pilot for future heritage reconstruction works. Beyond physical repair works the aim of the project was to set up in partnership with the Iraqi Antiquities Board good practice guidelines for reconstruction works in the old city, and exemplars for future work after the project is finished; it was recognised that major funding of the kind it enjoyed is finite, and may not be repeated, while donor fatigue has already been noted. However the palpable lack of funds and limited institutional capacity within the city, indeed the country, make this outcome less than certain in the short or medium term. There is a risk even of the project being characterised as gestural only, and discounted as an unreal example, alienated to from the struggles of the majority.

In terms of authenticity taken in the traditional sense, reconstruction of the Al-Nouri mosque and Al-Hadba minaret can only be a partial recovery of historic fabric, but this is not entirely the point. Notwithstanding the limited physical material available, the more significant achievement may come to be the symbolic expression of communal resilience and pride, as well as the respect paid to values widely shared within the city, often relating to deeply personal memories and associations. Despite the levels of destruction and the controversy of the design competition, the extent of salvage and re-use of historic materials as well as the considerably enhanced understanding based on an unexpected degree of survival of historic fabric in the mosque building will enable significant recovery of authenticity in strict heritage terms. There is also potential for knitting new and old into a sympathetically

designed facility for the city with practical value to the community, hopefully alongside full recovery of the symbolic, memorial, and spiritual value of the site, to constitute a new kind of authenticity in which its place at the heart of the community is re-asserted. Thus, while we may not be able fully to predict or evaluate the outcomes of this initiative at present, such is its size and implications for dealing with major conflict-inflicted destruction, there are signs that it may turn out to be meaningful for the theory and practice of heritage.

In our discussions of the management of the initiative and public engagement work around the reconstruction projects, it was hard to recognise the kinds of approaches which had given rise to my own apprehensions or those of Isakhan and Meskell in regard to a UNESCO-led programme. My impression from those working on the ground to implement the project was that care was being taken to create genuine community engagement. UNESCO is acting as a facilitator rather than a decision maker, co-ordinating the work of the projects in contact with local and national agencies and carrying out complementary cross-cutting events in public engagement, information sharing and cultural revitalisation. If so, this surely marks a change of emphasis from this body's earlier, more top-down and technocratic outlook on such projects.

Nonetheless, there is probably further to go both in Mosul and in future projects along these lines. There is still a tendency for the roles of UNESCO and the local population to be cast as leader and led respectively and the chance for slipping into old patterns remains a possibility. The antidote to this in Mosul may be an appetite in local people, created and fed by initial consultation and engagement, for greater and more meaningful involvement in significant decisions. The development of self-organised institutions of civic society with a focus on heritage, culture or urban planning and a desire to be meaningfully engaged would be a signifier of this and there are signs on the cultural front at least that these are emerging as people return to their city. An evaluation plan has not yet been prepared and when it is, is likely to remain confidential between UNESCO and the home and donor governments, which means that outputs such as this or the results of future surveys may be hard to access but other sources of information such as reports from on the ground give some way of filling this gap.

Running through the projects has been the notion of sustainability, that is, the ability to lay the groundwork for future actions taken by individuals or the Iraqi state to continue the work of recovering Mosul's heritage in a meaningful way and sustain the support of the local community without the help of major

donations at the current level. As noted above, outside the projects considered, the initiative for future cultural and heritage work has been and may continue to be taken by individual residents of the city rather than any state authority, with significant implications for how long it will be before the city be considered to have fully recovered from the damage. The initiative has been an extraordinary response to what were the extraordinary circumstances of Mosul and may have value in informing in due course heritage responses to the destructive impacts of major conflicts in Ukraine and Palestine, areas of similar or even greater destruction. However, as international aid for such resources is likely to be stretched thinner and thinner it raises red flags regarding the extent of what is likely to be achievable in terms of heritage as a vector of social and economic recovery and highlights the need for effective follow through in terms of capacity building and support to communities as they seek to rebuild their own infrastructure.

(Photo Sebastien Castelier/Al-Jazeera, Castelier 2018)

The initiative provides very useful pointers for the likely contents of a post-conflict reconstruction toolkit, particularly in relation to different strategies for efficient community engagement, and practical considerations for safe and effective site works. Lessons regarding the need for careful communications with a wider range of project partners are also salient.

Chapter 6 - The proposed post-conflict heritage reconstruction toolkit (HeRT)

The proposed post-conflict Heritage Reconstruction Toolkit: (HeRT)

What is the HeRT?

At any given time armed conflicts are raging somewhere in the world. Often, heritage is targeted as a way of hurting and diminishing the other side. When these conflicts die down, recovery and reconstruction of damaged heritage is increasingly forming a part of the process of recovery and reconciliation.

However, for years heritage professionals have avoided reconstruction of heritage sites in the belief that it is the wrong approach, leading to falsification of history, 'Disneyfication' as it is often known. Now, however, there is an increasing recognition that the heritage values of a place result as much from what it means to the people around it as to its age or historic fabric.

This means that the scope of post-conflict work in heritage may now include reconstruction of historic places in response to the needs of all project partners. This may be to accommodate existing, new or returning residents, returning a place to active use and avoiding its abandonment as a post-conflict wasteland. So, heritage practitioners and other buildings or development professionals might find themselves involved in a reconstruction project as an unfamiliar area of practice.

This toolkit has been developed to reflect up to date heritage ideas regarding the assessment of heritage values in all their forms, with suggestions to help you design your own toolkit so that the heritage values of your site are sustained in reconstruction works. This is to help secure a successful outcome in for surviving physical remains and how they are used in the reconstruction, and, importantly, to help reflect the needs and desires of the communities most directly affected by the works.

This toolkit, the HeRT, is a collection of resources for anyone working on or involved in a post-conflict reconstruction project, intended to provide ideas which you may find useful in developing your project, particularly if this area of work is unfamiliar. It is intended to help you in identifying the fullest range of heritage values, involving the communities who are partners in the scheme, to support co-production of ideas to inform choices you all have to make about what should or should not be restored. The toolkit translates today's heritage theory regarding reconstruction of heritage buildings and sites into practice, particularly in relation to the recognition of community heritage values. The HeRT suggests some practical solutions for doing this, passing on

emerging practice in this field, based on analysis of recent post-conflict projects in Amedi and Mosul, north Iraq. It is intended as a starting point to which the experience of many projects can be added over time, and a range of responses created for these challenging circumstances.

To add your ideas and experiences and any case studies of your own to the database and website, please contact [herttoolkit@hotmail.co.uk].

Who is the HeRT for?

This toolkit is intended for anyone working on heritage reconstruction projects in areas of recent conflict. This may include community groups and individuals, civil society organisations, conservation experts, planners, architects, archaeologists, surveyors, structural engineers, or anyone else involved at all levels and in all practical aspects of the works.

Tools within the toolkit will also offer advice and practical materials to enable project participants to engage and communicate with identified or potential project partners, including local communities, national and international bodies, other heritage experts, and those with a general interest.

Scope of the HeRT

The toolkit will cover topics where post-conflict scenarios present particular philosophical and practical challenges and is intended to support project participants in expanding and consolidating or sharing their own practice in these areas as well as facilitating the implementation of the project through identifying practical solutions.

The toolkit topics are as follows: -

1. Preparing your HeRT
2. Identification of heritage values
3. Identification of social values
4. Manual of Site Works
5. Training materials for project induction and refresher training
6. Communications and Dissemination Plan

Toolkit materials will support the preparation and implementation of project materials and completion of key activities. Toolkit materials may be bespoke for this project or will comprise links to external sources of information which achieve the same results – it is not intended to duplicate existing support mechanisms.

They are also intended to be concise and usable as a practical project manual which gives project participants sufficient information and ideas to work with, but which will not require extensive additional reading.

Content for the toolkit includes case study examples of best practice and links to existing sources of information, presentations, guides, or standards which will help in developing a toolkit for a given project. It has been compiled and organised following research on existing post-conflict reconstruction projects, current literature covering this topic, and interviews with participants of major reconstruction projects. Other toolkits covering related areas have also been consulted and may be referenced. Each part of the toolkit can be reviewed and adjusted and repeated to respond to changing circumstances.

The HeRT Process

Producing your toolkit can be done in three broad phases: -

- Preparation
- Implementation
- Review

Preparation	– Prepare your toolkit – Identify training needs for project partners – Prepare and deliver your training plan – Site survey – Prepare your site manual
Implementation	– Identify the heritage values – Identify the social values – Reconstruction decisions made – Works on site – Communicate your values and achievements
Review	– What went well? – What went less well? – What did you learn from the process? – What did you learn from the works – have new heritage or social values been revealed? – If the project is ongoing, what can you change to make it better? – If the project is finished, how would you do things differently next time?

Part 1: Prepare your toolkit

Suggested steps for developing your own toolkit: -

Step 1: Set your toolkit objectives

The objectives are there to inform the decisions you make in compiling and implementing the toolkit at every step. Objectives for a reconstruction project should reflect the specific aspirations of project partners and partner communities in terms of both the heritage works and the wider social and economic outcomes and should be based on their involvement in the objective-setting process.

Objectives might also include: -

* To support the development and implementation of the reconstruction project in ways which recognise, recover, or reinstate relevant heritage values, including social values.

* To ensure that the full range of heritage and social values are identified and respected in reconstruction works.

* To give practical tools for project participants in achieving project aims in relation to heritage values and conducting safe and effective work on site.

* To support project participants in new or unfamiliar heritage activities as necessary.

* To support consistency of application of heritage theories in the project.

* To ensure that the objectives, activities, and achievements of the project are effectively communicated to project partners and others and feedback is responded to.

Step 2: set up a toolkit oversight group (TOG) to manage the process

This should be drawn from representatives of the project partners and partner communities and, representatives of the professional disciplines involved in the project.

The TOG would: -

* act as a focus and point of contact for project partners and partner communities in representing their interests and sharing information and initiatives with them;

* agree on and produce original or new objectives or approaches, adapted to take account of changing circumstances;
* review the toolkit progress to make sure it is meeting its stated objectives;
* make any necessary changes to ensure it is successfully implemented, in consultation with project participants and partners.

Step 3: Find out what professional project participants need from the toolkit

* Survey project professional participants to find out their baseline understanding of key technical project areas;
* identify their training and development needs;
* Adjust the toolkit to support their participation.

Step 4: Find out what project partners and partner communities need from the toolkit

Contact community groups and civic institutions to find out: -

* Find out from project partners and partner communities what they understand about the project and what they need to support their continued involvement in decision making;
* how they could benefit from the toolkit; and
* where and how they would like to hear more about the project.

Step 5: Identify the resources you need

* Do you have the financial resources to support the toolkit?
* Do you have the people in the project with the knowledge and skills you need to populate and implement the toolkit?
* Can you access external experts or consultants to fill any gaps?
* Can you identify resources to meet any shortfalls?
* If not, what adjustments will you have to make to work with the resources available?

Step 6: Set up your timetable
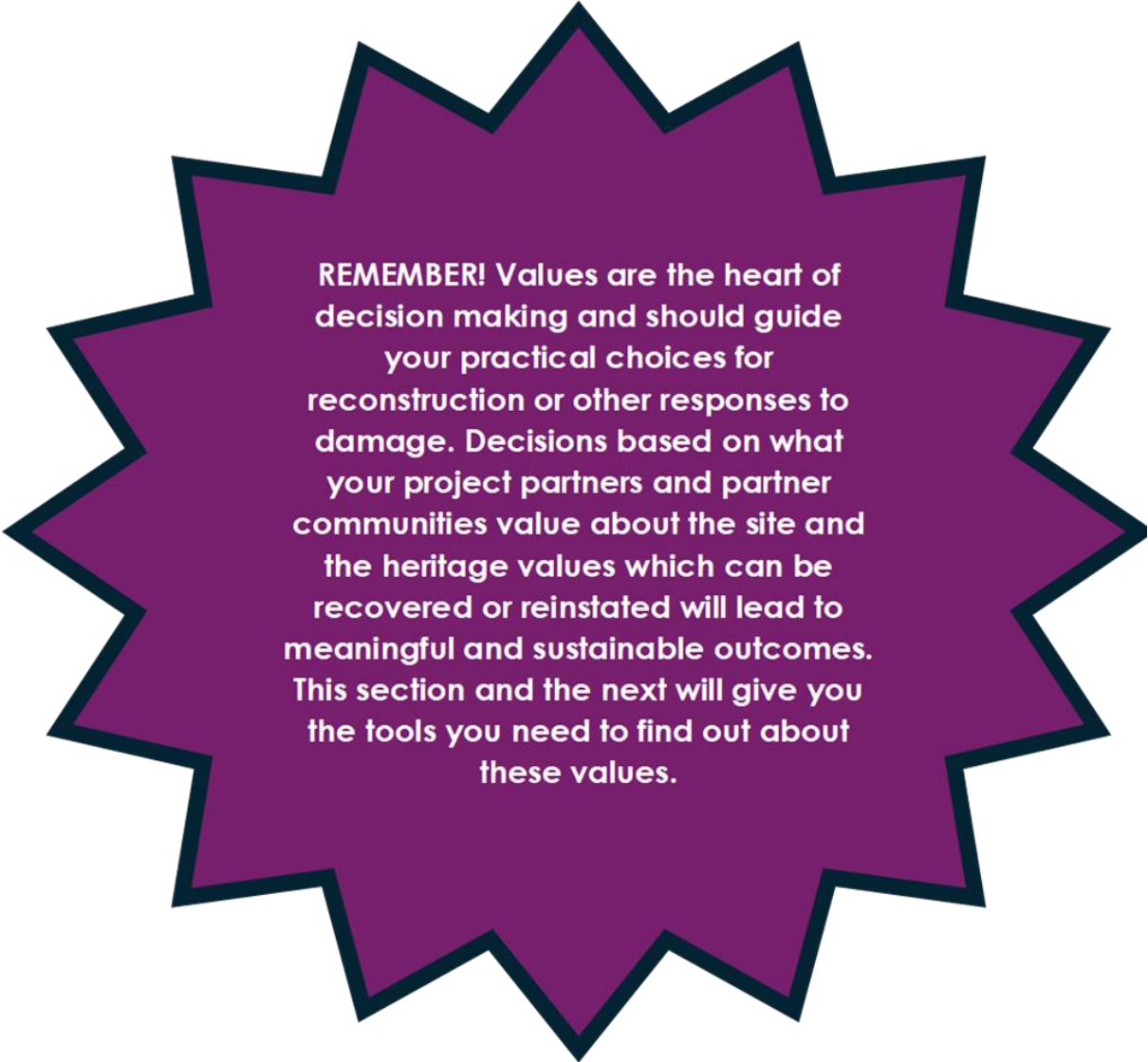
* Include regular review in order to ensure that your toolkit remains of practical use in pursuing the project.

* Review against the criteria that the toolkit materials are: -

  – Relevant
  – Current
  – Reliable/authoritative
  – Evidenced-based
  – Easy to understand
  – Adaptable
  – Support the project guidelines and national and international standards for heritage conservation works such as those set out below.

* This is your practical programme for putting the toolkit components into practice. It will relate to project milestones and targets and will also contribute to meeting them.

Resources: Standards for conservation works:

* British Standards Institute (2013) *BS 7913: Guide to the conservation of historic buildings.*
* British Standards Institute (2018) *BS EN 16893: Conservation of Cultural Heritage. Specifications for location, construction and modification of buildings or rooms intended for the storage or use of heritage collections.*
* Council of Europe (2012) *Guidelines on Cultural Heritage: Technical Tools for Heritage Conservation And Management.* Available at: https://rm.coe.int/16806ae4a9.
* ICOMOS (2003) *ICOMOS Charter- Principles for the Analysis, Conservation and Structural Restoration of Architectural Heritage.* Available at: https://www.icomos.org/en/about-the-centre/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/165-icomos-charter-principles-for-the-analysis-conservation-and-structural-restoration-of-architectural-heritage.

REMEMBER! Values are the heart of decision making and should guide your practical choices for reconstruction or other responses to damage. Decisions based on what your project partners and partner communities value about the site and the heritage values which can be recovered or reinstated will lead to meaningful and sustainable outcomes. This section and the next will give you the tools you need to find out about these values.

A word on values: Values – the constituent parts of cultural significance of places - have become the dominant concept guiding practical and academic responses to heritage. Sustaining and strengthening values is the common frame of reference for a wide range of heritage actions. Understanding of values has moved beyond the historical, aesthetic or archaeological characteristics of a place to include its importance for people, its social or community values. All values are important in decision making, and social or community values are quite rightly considered part of the full range of heritage values relevant to a site. However, practically there may be a variety of activities necessary to collect information on the full range of values. For the purposes of this toolkit they are divided into two main streams – heritage and social – for clarity. In practice however there are likely to be significant overlaps between the two.

Part 2: Heritage values for HeRT

Action: Step 1 – Collect data and assess heritage values.

Stage 1 – plan your data collection:

* You will need to ensure you have planned the survey and data collection you need to identify heritage values.
* Identify the different kinds of data needed to understand and contextualise the different elements contributing to heritage values, and how they can be sourced.
* Different data may be necessary for the various stages of the life of the project site – i.e. before, during and after conflict damage or destruction.
* Carefully select what you need; time spent collecting unnecessary data is a waste.
* Think about the quality of the data you can collect and how relevant it is to identifying heritage value, rather than how easy it is to collect.
* Make use of data already collected for the project – this might include elements of site survey and archival research, mapping, and creation of GIS layers, all of which can support the identification of the heritage values of the site.

Stage 2 – assess the baseline heritage values.

* These are the heritage values of the site prior to damage.
* Identification of relevant baseline data is important to allow an understanding of what has changed.
* This may not be easy, particularly if the physical evidence of the site, archival material, or people who know the site have been lost as a result of the conflict.

Stage 3 – assess the effects of conflict.

* What heritage values have been lost as a result of conflict?
* This assessment is likely to be based on survey of the condition of the site at the time the project begins.
* The Damage Assessment Process at Fig. 1.2 provides a framework for doing this. It will help identify heritage or community values which have been eroded or lost due to damage or destruction.

Fig. 2.1 A Data Collection Plan

Stage 1: Baseline

The historical, geographical, architectural, urban, economic, social, and other characteristics of place which mean it is valued, and how it was valued prior to damage. Sources identified below should be used to inform an assessment of heritage values in the Heritage Values Chart at Fig.1.3.

Potential sources of information:

* Statement of OUV
* Decision reports from the UNESCO World Heritage Committee
* Nomination files
* World Heritage Advisory Body evaluation reports
* Periodic and reactive monitoring reports
* National heritage assessments and policy
* Local heritage assessments and policy
* National, Regional or Local archives
* Historic maps
* Townscape studies
* Archaeological studies
* Antiquarian studies
* Literary sources
* Journals
* Site Survey and observation

Engagement with and survey of stakeholder communities is also essential to identify the full range of values – see Part 2.

Stage 2: Effects of Conflict

The extent of damage and its effects on the heritage of the project area should be charted. This may be expressed as a percentage of fabric destroyed or damaged or creating a narrative value using the Damage Assessment Tools in fig. 1.2.

This will provide a snapshot of the condition of the building or site at the time of greatest damage, if possible, in order to chart change over time and enable an understanding of the dynamic nature of the condition – that is, whether the heritage asset is stable or in a process of decline or improvement.

Action: Step 2 – Assess the Damage

The building or area can be assessed using the process set out in Fig 1.2 below, with qualitative and quantitative values applied to give a picture of the extent and nature of harm and an idea of future deterioration or risk and the needs arising therefrom for action. These values can be used to support decision making on which buildings it is possible/ desirable to recover, and which have gone beyond help. The process set out below is based on Historic England's Heritage at Risk methodology, adapted to look at wider sites.

Fig. 2.2 – Damage Assessment Process

Condition Assessment Table

For buildings: -

1. Largely standing and good
2. Largely standing and fair
3. Largely Standing but poor
4. Partial destruction
5. Total destruction

For sites: -

An overall condition category is recorded, which may relate only to the part of the site that is at risk and not the whole site:

1. Optimal

2. Generally satisfactory but with minor localised problems

3. Generally satisfactory but with significant localised problems

4. Generally unsatisfactory with major localised problems

5. Extensive significant problems

Occupancy/Use

Occupancy (or use) is noted as follows, where it can be identified:

1. Occupied/in use

2. Part occupied/in use

3. Vacant – capable of occupation/use

4. Vacant – not capable of occupation/use due to damage

Priority Category – Buildings

Priority for the need for action is assessed on a scale of 1 to 6, where '1' is the lowest priority, and '6' is the highest priority for a site which is deteriorating rapidly with no solution to secure its future.

For buildings, structures and sites the following priority categories are used as an indication of trend and as a means of prioritising the need for action:

1. Repair scheme planned or in progress and (where applicable) owner, end use or user identified; or functionally redundant buildings with new use agreed but not yet implemented.

2. Under repair or in fair-to-good condition, but no user or owner identified; or under threat of vacancy with no obvious owner or new user (applicable only to buildings capable of beneficial use).

3. Slow decay; solution agreed but not yet implemented.

4. Slow decay; no solution agreed.

5. Immediate risk of further rapid deterioration or loss of fabric; solution agreed but not yet implemented.

6. Immediate risk of further rapid deterioration or loss of fabric; no solution agreed.

Trend – Sites and Areas

Trend for historical areas or sites may relate only to the part of the site that is at risk and may be used to identify priorities for action. It is categorised as:

1. Improving significantly
2. Improving
3. No significant change
4. Deteriorating
5. Deteriorating significantly

Total Assessment

A value can be assigned to the building or site based on the numerical value within each of the relevant categories. The higher the value, the greater the damage and continuing risk.

A multi-layered assessment may be required for an area, taking in the area as a whole, with underlying assessment of the condition of key buildings or groups of building. A full picture of the area may then be built up from this.

For buildings that can be occupied or have a use, the main vulnerability is vacancy or underuse. Lack of an actual or identified use for a structure will heighten future risk from lack of maintenance, arson or vandalism, and structures without a use will have a weighted damage assessment. Certain buildings or structures may not, due to their nature, be capable of occupation, for instance memorials or art works, but there may be other un-occupiable structures which do have a use, say water fountains. They will have to be assessed in their own right, bearing in mind their heritage values as well as their potential utility, but key factors in securing their sustainable repair will be that there are individuals or bodies with the remit to secure their continued monitoring and maintenance. Meanwhile uses may also be important in slowing down decay.

Action: Step 3 – complete the Heritage Values Chart

* Completion of the values chart will inform decisions on reconstruction choices for the site or individual buildings.
* The values chart is a dynamic document, developed for this toolkit, which records heritage values present at various points in time, including before and after conflict.
* It helps identify the values which can be recovered or strengthened as well as those which are effectively lost.
* It also allows for identification of emerging values.
* The heritage values chart includes communal, spiritual, or national values – see Part 2 of the Toolkit.
* The values chart is intended as a flexible framework which can be expanded to take in the particular circumstances of the site, taking in additional factors such as interactions with other sites or places around, food production or enjoyment and any intangible values that apply.
* Positive contributions to sustainability may also be a part of heritage or community values.

Fig. 2.3 Heritage Values Chart[1]

Values:	Pre-Conflict	Effect of Conflict	Mitigation	Recovered/New
Historic:				
Architectural:				
Aesthetic:				
Evidential:				
Archaeological:				
National:				
Natural:				
Landscape:				
Communal:				
Spiritual:				
Setting:				
Economic:				
Additional:				

Key: Negative Effect ▢ Partial or Neutral Effect ▢ Positive Effect ▢

The effects in each phase are mapped in relation to the preceding condition of the site

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[1] The values within the chart are derived from a review of values identified in various practically focused documents including Historic England's Conservation Principles (Historic England 2008); Council of Europe Guidelines on Cultural Heritage (Council of Europe 2012) and the work of the Getty Conservation Institute (Avrami 2019, De La Torre 2002). The Council of Europe Guidelines also contain further practical guidance on the identification of heritage values and appropriate recording standards in the section on 'Guidelines on criteria and conditions for evaluation of cultural heritage assets'.

Notes on Completing the Heritage Values Chart

  ∗ **Pre-conflict values**

Previous heritage values may not be obvious after conflict, but may be identified through written records, site research and survey, and consultation with local, national and international experts, local communities and other project partners.

The "biography of place" approach (Stig-Sorensen and Viejo Rose (eds) 2015) is a useful narrative method for charting the evolution of the building or site prior to conflict and during conflict-derived changes and can be a useful device for understanding change.

Case Study 1 – Amedi – gives an example of a biography of place and includes a Heritage Values Chart.

  ∗ **Effects of conflict on heritage values**

The effects of conflict may be direct – including loss, destruction, loss or damage to setting, or disturbance of an element of cultural heritage; or indirect – including social attitudinal change, changes to measures for maintenance or preservation including legal or policy systems, loss of or change to population, etc. Indirect effects are more likely to be understood from broader enquiry from local communities and other project partners.

For direct impacts, the damage assessment process set out at Fig. 1.2 may be used to systematically identify the physical damage caused by conflict, enabling comparison with the pre-existing condition of buildings or the site as a whole. The results of the Damage Assessment Process will also inform decision making from a practical level, where the degree of damage and practicability of restoration may be balanced against the values to be recovered.

  ∗ **Mitigation**

The process of mitigation is the identification of measures taken in response to conflict damage to repair, reinstate, restore, or renew heritage values. Mitigation may be achieved in a number of ways, and the methods for doing so will be part of the project objectives for its works or reconstruction.

Physical mitigation measures might include repair, partial or total reconstruction, reconstruction plus improvement, or indeed the total loss of certain elements which are harmful or beyond salvage and their replacement with something better in heritage or communal terms.

By assessing potential mitigation measures in the heritage values chart, you can understand the extent to which the chosen mitigation path will be effective in reinstating lost heritage values. The mitigation measure chosen may also allow new heritage values to arise from the project. Where full restoration of values are not possible for heritage related reasons, mitigation may include compensation for the loss in ways which are compatible with the residual heritage values and agreed with the affected communities.

Indirect mitigation might include change or repair in the setting of a heritage place, new planning or management tools to secure its future beneficial treatment, or non-heritage works or development which will enable it to be better accessed, used or appreciated. Indirect mitigation measures might also include the provision of training or apprenticeship opportunities, creation of jobs, provision of community facilities or events, recording of lost structures, digitisation of records, or commemorative works.

Associated measures may also be taken to ensure that heritage values are reinstated with improved functionality, viability, structural stability etc..

Changes may be necessary which will harm some aspects of the heritage value in order to facilitate other forms of improvement. In the interests of transparency these should be identified as such within the chart.

∗ **Assessment of recovered or new values**

It is assumed that the objectives of the project are to recover and reinstate heritage values on the site. Thinking about which heritage values and how successfully they are likely to be recovered will help you evaluate and decide on actions to take, and the kinds of mitigation needed. This will help to recover the heritage values to a state which is as close as possible to those enjoyed prior to conflict damage, or to bring about the establishment and recognition of new heritage values. The assessment of values should be proportionate – a large or complex or particularly significant building or site will have a longer and more complex assessment than a small or simple one. There is no need to be over-elaborate. The assessment should be sufficiently detailed to inform any changes but need not be any more than that. [9]

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[9] A similar approach is set out in in the ICOMOS Global Case Study Project on Reconstruction (ICOMOS 2018) which sets out a range of sub-questions which may be helpful in identifying heritage and wider values.

∗ **Economic Values**

These are included in the chart although the commodification of and instrumentalization of cultural heritage is alien to many heritage practitioners. Post conflict sites may hold negative economic value or alternatively might be seen as having huge value if cleared and totally redeveloped. Economic values need to be tracked, particularly if huge investment of public money is made in the recovery of damaged buildings and areas.

* **Additional Values**

There is space within the chart to address other potential aspects of a site adding to its value which are not captured already or cannot be encapsulated in the values already set out. This might include associations or networks with other site, areas or typologies, a wider hinterland than just its immediate setting, or other cultural values such as food or music.

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Biography of Place and Values Chart for World Monuments Fund Amedi Project[1]

Biography of Place[2] 🔍

Characteristics

Amedi[3] is a city located in Kurdish Northern Iraq, and has an unusual, dramatic topography, occupying fully a sheer-sided, oval plateau set some 100 m above the valley floor, and over 1, 000 metres above sea level (Sissakian & Fouad 2011).

The picturesque village of Amedye, Iraq in 2009, U.S. Army photo by SGT Daniel Nelson, http://www.dvidshub.net/image/173606/us-soldiers-take-part-kurdish-labor-day-celebration created 1 May 2009. This image is a work of a U.S. Army soldier or employee, taken or made as part of that person's official duties. As a work of the U.S. federal government, the image is in the public domain. Downloaded 8 June 2020.

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[1] https://cultureincrisis.org/projects/planning-the-future-of-amedi-project

[2] A detailed Biography of Place is included in the Chapter 5 of this dissertation. What is included here is a summary, to illustrate the proposed use of case studies, avoiding duplication. It highlights issues of importance for the Amedi Project which inform the toolkit.

[3] Known as Al Amadiya in Arabic, and also spelt phonetically in other ways.

It is a compact town in a strategic but peripheral location, with its historic settlement boundaries firmly set by its topography. Its built fabric has therefore been successively and regularly rebuilt leaving relatively few buildings with high heritage value, as traditionally conceived through their age and monumental qualities. Those which do remain include the remnants of the Mosul gateway entrance to the town, the remains of a sixteenth century school, and the Seljuk mosque as well as Nestorian churches and a Jewish shrine.

The town was, until the mid-twentieth century, very mixed in population, and even today around 30% of the population town.

Distinctive characteristics include the town's: -
* unusual topography creating spectacular vistas out from the town;
* depth of history going back potentially as far as the Assyrians;
* extensive survival of traditionally designed houses and commercial buildings;
* surviving ancient street patterns including the long bazaar traversing the plateau diagonally between the historic gates;
* densely packed urban morphology with buildings set around small, closed courts; and
* archaeological potential.

Another distinctive characteristic is the presence within the town of small pockets of garden attached to nearly every house, and normally containing a pomegranate and a fig tree.

Amedi has been on the tentative world heritage list since 2011, nominated as a World Heritage Site, where it is described thus: - 'located 70km north of the city of Duhok. Amedy (sic) is one of the oldest cities in the world and one of the most important historic cities in North Iraq ....' (UNESCO 1992 – 2023). Points made in the nomination include its age, the interesting history arising from its liminal location, and extraordinary topography as a small city fitted into an area of less than 1 km^2 on the flat hilltop plateau with steep sides.

Problems

A long period of economic stagnation, followed by crisis arising from the Iraq war and subsequent civil conflict, including the rise of Daesh, has seen the neglect of buildings and infrastructure and a loss of younger residents, who have moved out to find opportunities elsewhere. Recent unauthorised development has caused incremental damage, while the creation of a new shopping centre on the outskirts of town has seen the beginnings of decline in

the traditional bazaar area (WMF 2019). This trend has been exacerbated by a lack of intervention or guidance from the municipal authorities.

The heritage of the town does not engage the local community, many of whom have moved out of the historic town centre. The World Monuments Fund (WMF) Amedi Project identified a process of abandonment of traditional family houses in the town centre in favour of modern dwellings created out of town, with the former left to decay.

Research by the WMF also found that a small number of the local people expressed antipathy to heritage, repeating an assumption that restoration and promotion of the town's heritage would necessitate the removal of residents. This misapprehension was believed by project organisers to have arisen from the treatment of the citadel at Erbil, entirely depopulated in 2007 to facilitate a restoration programme which has been slow to make provision for the return of its inhabitants.

The old town does not provide a draw for visitors either, in contrast to the nearby modern town of Sulav, attractive to local tourists for cooler summer temperatures and picturesque scenery. Development of hotels, restaurants and holiday homes has been focused on Sulav. This has had the advantage of leaving Amedi itself relatively unscathed by rapid, unplanned, or widespread redevelopment, it has also meant that inward investment has been limited, and that recognition of the value of the town's heritage has remained limited.

Direct damage attributable to the recent conflict is limited in Amedi itself, although the surrounding area has been bombed by the Turkish authorities and there has been damage to infrastructure in the region due to this, the actions of Saddam Hussein and, more recently, through actions targeting Daesh.

In the case of Amedi, the culmination of neglect and underinvestment over a long period, exacerbated by conflict, has caused attrition to the historic environment. The sixteenth century Qubahan Madrassa, for instance, for all that it appears to be an archaeological ruin, was in fact in use until 1961 (Clancy 2017). The surviving monumental, gated entrance to the town, the Mosul or Bahdinan Gate (the Zabari Gate had been demolished in the 1930's) was partly demolished or damaged in the 1970's, and the haphazard nature of its reconstruction attests to a certain lack of care or consideration to its reinstatement. This gate is due to be restored, again, under the auspices of Columbia University.

Other examples of problems apparent in photographs of the town include a make-do-and-mend approach to interventions and repairs along Bazaar

Street, and the careless application of utility infrastructure such as telegraph and electricity cabling.

WMF 2019 Appendices – street scene within the Bazaar.

A further risk to heritage is the evident desire for change, development, and economic renewal in the town. The severely constrained plateau-top means that careful planning is required to achieve these aims without unplanned or hastily considered works which would result in harm to heritage assets. Loss and damage caused by redevelopment have already been seen to have affected significant historic structures, and the ancient street pattern and views from and into the site are equally susceptible to harm in this way (WMF 2019).

Numbers of heritage professionals in Iraq have diminished during the conflict, while those that remained have experienced a period of isolation during which they have lost touch with international developments in thought and practice. This, alongside a lack of infrastructure for relevant training and career development has left a heritage sector under-equipped to deal with the challenges to heritage arising from conflict.

An abandoned street in Amedi. Downloaded from the WMF website. Available at: https://wmf.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/01-Large.jpg (Accessed 7th November 2020).

The WMF Amedi Project

The Amedi project was set up by the WMR following the placing of the town on the 2016 WMF 'Watch List', a biennial list of cultural heritage sites selected for their historical significance and contemporary threats. The project was facilitated by a grant of £100,000 from the British Council's Cultural Protection Fund in 2018. The local partner in the project was the Faculty of Spatial Planning and Applied Science, University of Duhok.

The overarching objective of the project was to develop a masterplan for the city involving local communities, municipal authorities and the Iraqi government, and to form a model for heritage conservation for other small historic towns in the region. It aimed, in the process, to train local authority staff in the delivery and implementation of masterplans and to train local students in the production of design proposals for urban planning issues involving heritage structures. The development of transferable methods and capacity in the region by these means was seen as a key element of the project. The approach taken was to focus holistically on the settlement rather than individual historic buildings or archaeological sites, and including living heritage. Landscape, such a significant part of the unique character of Amedi, was also brought in to consideration. The project team was multi-disciplinary and included professionals from neighbouring towns, with the intention of disseminating the project approach. There was also a clear focus

on wide engagement from local community members and local students (WMF 2019).

The project team chose three key sites within the historic town for the preparation of conservation management plans (CMPs), documents which explain why a site is significant and how that significance will be retained in any future use, alteration, development, or repair, and intended to inform alterations, repairs, or management proposals. The Kitani House is an ancient structure in ruins; a group of three houses from the early twentieth century represents the more recent heritage of the town; and the bazaar area lies at the heart of the settlement. The areas were studied, and CMPs for the sites drawn respectively by three groups of participants, including graduate and post-graduate students from the Planning Department of the University of Duhok and professionals from various planning authorities. The projects were intended to be representative of the heritage problems in the town.

The following Heritage Values Chart assimilates information provided by the WMF Amedi Project and   drawn from other sources to evaluate the heritage and community values expressed in respect of Amedi Old Town.

Amedi Heritage Values Chart 🔍

Values:	Original Values	Effect of Conflict and Neglect	Mitigation Proposals	Potential Effects
Historical:	**World Heritage Site Nomination: Justification of Outstanding Universal Value** **Criterion (i):** (to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius); 'Amedy (sic) can be considered as a masterpiece of human creative genius that reflects human thinking in a certain historic period using natural landscape as a fortification tool.' **Criterion (iii):** (to bear a unique or at least	Loss of early historic fabric due to successive rebuilding phases within the constrained plateau site. Effect of infrastructure and service projects such as the new road up to the plateau-top, which removed the Zebari Gate. Attritional change brought about by small scale incremental change to dwellings and shops, in the absence of statutory protection, clear guidance or enforcement of rules.	A masterplan for the city involving local communities, municipal authorities and the Iraqi government, to form a model for heritage conservation for here and other small historic towns in the region. Training for local authority staff in the delivery and implementation of masterplans.	Historical aspects of the town unchanged by the project, but, potentially growing interest and understanding arising from the project and the interest of regional, national and international bodies will lead to better appreciation and manifestation of these values. There is potential for the better management of development within the town to reinforce historic and architectural characteristics. However, any emphasis

	exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living, or which has disappeared); Significant political, administrative, commercial and cultural role and influence on the neighbouring areas in different consecutive periods (especially between the 14th and 18th century, and a rich subject for many writers, travellers, and researchers. The minaret of Amedy and its associated archaeological remains are evidence for this. UNESCO 2020 A very early urban structure, reflecting	Diversion of resources due to conflict. Isolation of heritage professionals from wider professional connections nationally and globally. Project evaluation report: 'Prolonged conflict has led to threats to the social, economic and physical wellbeing of the town .... as the region stabilizes, pressure for redevelopment and regeneration will increase and short-term gain will be at the expense of long-term protection,		on tourism for regeneration and recovery or other initiatives to update facilities and infrastructure may lead to further attrition if not carefully planned and designed. Therefore potential partial negative effect.

	typical features of urban development in antiquity, taking advantage of and enhancing the high, naturally fortified nature and convenient oval plateau of the site. The dense urban grain is also of significance as a long-standing urban morphology. **Conclusions of the Project** – historic interest is important & urban grain is important.	potentially eroding the distinctive heritage of this outstanding place, which is its strongest asset.' All these effects will have been exacerbated by years of sanctions leading up to and during the conflicts when Saddam Hussein remained in power.		
Architectural:	**Conclusions of the Project** – historic fabric is important. **World Heritage Site Nomination: Justification of Outstanding Universal**	Continuing erosion of historic fabric, with growing interest and appreciation arising from the project and the interest of international bodies.	2 Pilot projects to draw up proposals for the repair and reconstruction of key historic buildings, including the historic Kitani House (founded in the twelfth century) and	Architectural aspects of the town potentially restored by the project, but potentially growing interest and appreciation arising from the project and the interest of regional,

	Value		the Three Houses (dating from the early twentieth century).	national and international bodies will lead to better appreciation and manifestation of these values.
	Criterion (ii): (to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design);		A further project focused on localised environmental improvements and better wayfinding within the main bazaar street.	There is potential for the better management of development within the town to reinforce historic and architectural characteristics.
	The design and details of the Mosul gate represents innovative stylistic developments of the Assyrian period, includes important symbols and illustrations representing ancient beliefs and expressions. representations UNESCO 2020 However, the project		Potential reconstruction project for the Mosul Gate.	However, any emphasis on tourism for regeneration and recovery or other initiatives to update facilities and infrastructure may lead to further attrition if not carefully planned and designed. Therefore potential partial negative effect. However, the idea,

	has also identified from discussions with residents and survey that traditionally designed and constructed buildings, albeit of more recent date, are also contributing to the urban and architectural character of the town.			mentioned in the project Evaluation Report of the 'albergo diffuso' approach to new tourism facilities making use of abandoned villages in the vicinity rather than the town centre is a potential way to avoid this. Mosul gate potentially restored in a more accurate form.
Aesthetic:	Mixed aesthetic qualities derived from historic buildings retaining some traces of their original design and decorative detail, but eroded by neglect, damage and in cases poor restoration works.	Continuing erosion of historic fabric	See above, re architectural values.	Aesthetic aspects of the town potentially restored by the project, but potentially growing interest and appreciation arising from the project and the interest of regional, national and international bodies will lead to better
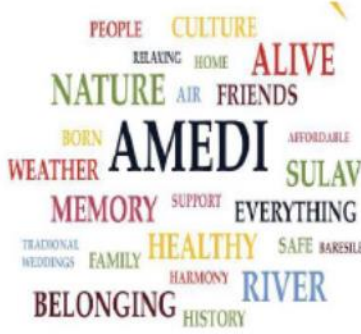
				appreciation and manifestation of these values.
Evidential:	This is an ancient settlement, and beyond the evidential evidence of the surviving known historic buildings, there may be hidden historic structures concealed beneath modern refacing or finishes. See also archaeological value. **Conclusions of the Project** – historic fabric is important.	Potential partial or total negative effect through loss of fabric and artefacts due to looting or iconoclasm by ISIL during conflict. For instance, the cited study on the rock cut reliefs had agreed not to publish the findings, resulting from research a few years earlier, until it was certain that this was not a danger. However, it is not evidenced that such damage did actually occur.		Potential for investigation and recovery of evidential value from structures within the town or as a result of archaeological evaluation.
Archaeological:	A settlement of this age will certainly retain archaeological evidence, although	Little change, although unplanned and unregulated works may damage	No archaeological works proposed.	Potential for investigation and recovery of archaeological value

	there is little suggestion that much excavation or other archaeological assessment has been carried out.	archaeological evidence.		from the town if covered in the Masterplan.
National:	There will be some evident value in its contribution to the history of the Kurdish nation. Nomination as a tentative World Heritage Site implies state support for its overall value.	Strengthened value arising due to the increasing autonomy of the Kurdish region following conflict.		Continuing appreciation of the town nationally, and a developing role as a manifestation of Kurdish culture.
Natural and Landscape:	**World Heritage Site Nomination: Justification of Outstanding Universal Value** **Criterion (vii):** (to contain superlative natural phenomena or	The geological values are little changed by neglect or conflict. However, the landscape surrounding the city has been affected by the concentration of	Landscape values identified and investigated by the project and local appreciation of landscape, nature and domestic gardens acknowledged and to	Natural values better appreciated as a result of the project, potentially with better planning of development around the plateau to preserve key views from within

	areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance);	tourism-related and often unplanned development.	be addressed in the Masterplan to ensure better protection.	and towards the town.
	Amedy City is located on an elliptical hilltop plateau that is not more that 1km2 and reaches 450m above the level of the surrounding areas. The distinctive and impressive shape and location of the city together with the two mountains (Mateen and Gara) that surround it has made its landscape exceptional natural beauty.	Domestic gardens are being lost in new developments taking modern forms.		
	Criterion (viii): (to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in			

	the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features); Amedy City has very particular geological properties which have given rise to the current landform; it is situated on a hard limestone bed of the Pilapsi limestone formation of the Eocene period, psi Formation was deposited in lagoon marine environment 45 million years ago, and surrounded by the softer rocks of the Upper Fars Formation, consisting of sandstones, siltstones and mudstones deposited in the Upper Miocene age around 15 million years ago. The deposition of the Upper		

	Fars Formation occurred in continental fluviatile environments. UNESCO 2020 Natural values in relation to the landscape and enjoyment of scenery and flowing water in areas around the town are rated highly by local residents and visitors. Within the town small domestic gardens in front of traditional houses are also highly valued both as an outdoor space and a location for pomegranate trees and other plants. The former is used in the production of fruit leathers, also a local speciality.		

with nature playing a part.

History and culture are also present in the results, heritage or old buildings played a much smaller role that the natural advantages of the site in local esteem and were considered problematic by some.

PEOPLE   CULTURE
RELAXING HOME ALIVE
NATURE AIR FRIENDS
BORN AMEDI AFFORDABLE
WEATHER   SULAV
MEMORY SUPPORT EVERYTHING
TRADIONAL
WEDDINGS FAMILY HEALTHY SAFE BARESILE
                    HARMONY RIVER
BELONGING HISTORY

Typical values identified by local people (WMF Evaluation Document 2019)

Spiritual:	See above for communal values, although the study has not investigated any particular values attributed by the different religious communities in the town. The history of tolerant co-existence may be of value to communities no longer situated in the town.	Potential for loss of spiritual values as minority communities left the region as refugees to safer countries.	No specific mitigation offered through the project.	Situation not necessarily able to be resolved by the rehabilitation of heritage – more likely to need to be resolved by much wider social and political trends and initiatives.
Setting:	See Natural & Landscape			
Economic:		Low property values and limited investment in infrastructure.	Encouragement of careful investment to stimulate repair of historic buildings and sites for local people.	Potential to increase economic value while avoiding over exploitation or gentrification following tourism development.

Additional Information:	Expert Values identified by project academic and professional participants			
	(WMF Evaluation Document 2019)			
	Relationship with Sulavi and surrounding natural tourist areas.	Harm from economic decline post-Covid.		Potential to stimulate new interest in the area from work on the Amedi plateau.
	Food production around Amedi – fruit leather and tahini.			

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Part 3: Identifying Social Values

This section of the toolkit provides some key points for anyone not familiar with approaches to identifying social value in heritage sites. The term 'social values' is used here as an umbrella term including the communal, spiritual and national values expressed in the heritage values chart, but may also relate to values such as setting or landscape, or indeed any of the more traditional heritage values on which project partners also have a view. While heritage and social values should not be seen as disconnected and may be complementary, the means of identifying social values (also sometimes described as instrumental values) will be different from those traditionally used to establish heritage significance. Thus planning and implementing measures that might be taken to identify these instrumental values may be a new area for heritage practitioners.

This section provides some ideas for securing engagement from wider project partners and communities to support them in engaging with the project and contribution to objectives and decisionsand gives sources of good practice advice for doing so.

Developing a Community Engagement Plan

<u>Identify the community</u>:

* This will be a specific exercise for the project and its contexts and may go beyond geography.

* Geography will be relevant but won't necessarily be the whole picture.

* There may also be groups of people united by a particular place or building or story about themselves. They may have moved beyond their normal or traditional location – this is especially so in times of war. These characteristics may originate from religion, history, or identity.

* A community may be self-defining, with a sense of loyalty and shared goals and values.

* There are also online communities including people displaced from an area, but also other communities with a specific interest in it – say history or heritage – who could have a supportive role in the project and would also value inclusion.

* Also remember that people can belong to multiple communities and move between communities over time and depending on circumstances.

* There may be groups or spokespeople who normally speak on behalf of a community. Their views may be representative, but to be certain of a full picture try to find ways to overcome barriers to the participation of those individuals or groups who do not normally speak out.

* Individuals or groups within a community may have limited capacity to get involved – this requires consideration or adjustment.

* There may be informal networks which are not represented by established groups and not obvious immediately – more work may be needed to identify and understand them.

Community Asset Mapping:

Community Asset Mapping is producing an inventory of assets of groups, individuals, and organisations who could have a role in supporting the work of the project to find a socially sustainable approach and in co-designing community engagement measures. This exercise allows the project to build on existing strengths and draw on local knowledge, creativity and investment in the area. It is an opportunity to discover long-term customs, behaviours, and activities with meaning to the community and individuals within it.

How to do it: -
* Examples of community asset include:
  – Social gathering places – the sites of day-to-day social interaction and those places where people go for particular events or conversations;

  – Community Relationships - the relationships between organizations within a community; and

  – Cultural resources - cultural resources in a community which might include religious establishments, civic society groups, institutions operating for the benefit of the community, cultural institutions, educational institutions, ad hoc associations of people coming together for a particular task, etc..

* To Identify the community and community assets you could try observation, reviewing written or online resources, and talking to people familiar with the place.
* It may help to map the physical, and particularly the heritage, assets relating to the project area and its wider context – this could be using a map or list and may cover the natural or built features and designated or non-designated heritage which make the place unique and special.
* The features which are held to be special may not be obvious to an outsider, so this information will need the input of the community to identify what is special to them.

Planning your community study:

Social Value International provides high level principles for the conduct of an engagement exercise and assessment of responses[10].

The following practical steps may be helpful: -
* Carefully identify the questions that you need to be answered, this will help you identify what information is needed and from whom it should be gathered.
* This will also help you plan how you will gather the information, and also how you define the study so that that potential participants understand and agree with the scope, use and meaning of their participation.
* The Social Value Toolkit is particularly helpful in setting out ideas for this (https://socialvalue.stir.ac.uk/pathway/undertaking/step/4/)
* Think about how you will collect and store the data – depending on the situation, some participants may be uncomfortable with being recorded in certain ways.
* Data storage should be secure, and the duration of storage and its disposal should be clear for participants.
* Confidentiality for participants is also important and may be a particularly heightened issue in post conflict scenarios - confidentiality
* should be guaranteed and emphasised in project literature and respected in practice[11].
* Involve colleagues or partners who have complementary skills and expertise to address skills gaps and unconscious biases[12].

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[10] https://socialvalueuk.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/Principles_of_Social_Value.pdf
[11] Article 5 of EU legislation on data collection sets out helpful principles for considering these issues - Art. 5 GDPR – Principles relating to processing of personal data - General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) (gdpr-info.eu)
[12] See for example - https://socialvalue.stir.ac.uk/pathway/undertaking/step/11/

* Consider the ethics of the engagement process and ensure the physical, social and psychological well-being of participants are protected, and their rights, interests, sensitivities and privacy respected[13].
* Try and identify opportunities for active participation from communities.
* Think about the timing of your study; the actions of the project will be better received if communities can see that they have been asked about their opinions before important aspects of the project have been fixed, and that these opinions have had an influence on decision making.
* The Social Value Toolkit[14] also emphasises the importance of adopting a collaborative or co-design approach which moves towards communities sharing in the decision-making and the creation and interpretation of materials.
  It identifies the following steps for establishing such an approach: -
    – Establishing relationships of trust with communities,
    – Identifying appropriate representatives or partners, and
    – Agreeing common areas of interest for the process.
* Review your results and responses to see if the process is working effectively or to reveal any unexpected results.
* Adjust your plan to follow new lines of thought or to fill unexpected gaps in the evidence. Unexpected results need not be bad.
* If the results are less clear cut than expected, acknowledge in recording and responding to results[15].
* If necessary, plan further engagement exercises to explore important issues which have emerged.
* Make a plan for giving feedback and sharing results.
    * Let the community know what has resulted from the engagement – which of their views have been followed up and how?[16]

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[13] The Association of Anthropologists of the UK sets out Guidelines for ethical research practice which may also be useful - https://www.theasa.org/ethics/guidelines.html

[14] Robson, 2021. https://socialvalue.stir.ac.uk/pathway/undertaking/step/3/

[15] https://socialvalue.stir.ac.uk/pathway/undertaking/step/12/

[16] It will be important to acknowledge the results of consultation and to show how they have been translated into positive proposals; research on reconstruction projects suggests that if there are no outcomes of meaning to local communities there is a risk that they will become disengaged and disillusioned. The project may lose support, and communities will be less willing to engage in future projects. Therefore feedback will be essential to demonstrate that consultation responses have been acknowledged (see Communications Plan below).

Fig. 3.1: Data collection for community engagement

A number of different tools and methods are available and may be more or less useful depending on the nature of the enquiry. The methods chosen will shape the process and resulting knowledge, and so should be carefully chosen, taking into account what they can do, what they might reveal, and who they will include and exclude. More than one approach is likely to be needed to reveal diverse stories and multiple values and broaden participation.

Direct enquiry

This involves talking directly to the community or communities which are identified as having a stake in the reconstruction project. It may also help to refine the identities and extent of such communities. Qualitative enquiry is likely to be more effective in gaining a richer and more detailed understanding of community values and responding with more agility to changing circumstances.

* **Direct qualitative enquiry**
  – **Interviews** – for instance following a semi-structured format with pre-prepared questions and the flexibility to change direction, explore new topics or move on from subjects yielding no information. Useful for gathering detailed information about people's values, beliefs, opinions, and anxieties.
  – **Focus groups** – these are interviews with small groups of people. Again, a pre-prepared set of questions will give a loose structure, but again there will be flexibility to follow the flow of responses and reactions within the group.
  – **Observation** – information can be gained by careful and detailed observation and recording of social activities to understand what people do in practice as well as what they say. It is a useful method for detailed understanding and interpretation.

* **Direct participation**
  – **Participatory methods** – would include the collection of detailed information from participants in social activities, or community led conversations. They can provide a deeper or more nuanced picture of social values and dynamics.
  – **Online** engagement provides opportunities to identify and interact with communities of interest that offline methods (and on-site activities alone) may not include. Social media platforms are used

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[17] Bonnacci et al. 2023 provide further insights and case study information.

- **Photos and films** – particularly where communities are part of the design or choice of subject can prompt detailed discussions about places and personal connections, and can stimulate recollections of change, experience, and emotion.
- **Creative methods** - can prompt discussion and reflection. They might include design activities or, participatory artistic or musical engagement with place, and have been identified as effective in engaging younger people.
- **Virtual and 3D modelling** – may also provide opportunities online for participatory engagement and may offer new perspectives on heritage and on personal and community connections with it.

* **Direct quantitative enquiry**
  - **Questionnaire survey** – printed questionnaires are given to participants to complete. The more responses the greater the accuracy of the survey. In order to attempt to be representative of the population a particular minimum percentage of the population may be targeted. This does require careful thought in respect of how and to whom questionnaires are distributed to ensure that they reach a representative range in terms of age and gender, and, if appropriate, different social or ethnic groups within a community. Thought may be needed as to literacy levels, and whether help in completing questionnaires should be offered and whether there are resources to do so.

    A questionnaire survey typically has between 10 and 50 questions, with this number varying according to the length of the answers required. Closed questions (with Yes/No answers) can be valuable and are more likely to be answered. Opportunities should also be given for longer, narrative responses.

Indirect enquiry

This method makes use of existing statistics and other information which has been gathered by other agencies, including local and national government, or international institutions such as UN agencies.

The Social Value Toolkit suggests a logical sequence of methods which could be unpacked as follows: -

- Forms of observation and accessing public areas/events to identify key issues;
- Engagement of individuals and groups through interviews, surveys and focus groups to explore issues;
- Develop depth of insight and detail through participatory activities[18].

It also reminds of the need to be aware of potential sensitivities or contentious issues, and the need to adjust survey and engagement methods to avoid inflaming tensions[19].

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[18] https://socialvalue.stir.ac.uk/pathway/undertaking/step/5/

[19] https://socialvalue.stir.ac.uk/pathway/undertaking/step/10/

Analysing your findings and making decisions:

Meaningful analysis of findings goes beyond the obvious to contextualise the information gained according to wider social theories and research on the phenomena being observed. Thematic analysis is a widely used method of analysing qualitative data in social sciences and comparison studies may also be of use. It is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data, which minimally organizes and describes data sets in rich detail[1].

Translating the results of feedback into decision making and action may be complex. It may not be enough simply to follow the choices indicated by the consultation results – you may need to balance competing values or responses from different communities. It will always be a primary consideration that pre-existing tensions or sources of conflict are not renewed or reestablished.

In seeking stakeholder responses to the project local and national professionals, professional institutes or other professional bodies may have informed insights into the planned project work and there will be value in consulting them.

[16] McGuire & Delahunt 2017; Braun & Clarke 2023.

REACHING RECONSTRUCTION DECISIONS:

Project partners, in dialogue, will need to carefully balance all the identified heritage values to decide on how to treat the site and any surviving structures on it.

Reconstruction, repair or letting go of structures should reflect the values they attract from the project partners and partner communities. These values may be resilient despite harm to the site and may be re-established or strengthened through the reconstruction of a building or place which has been damaged, or partially or substantially destroyed.

Where historic fabric or remains of architectural designs survive they can be consolidated and retained, incorporated in a careful reconstruction or in a more contemporary design; losing them should be avoided unless there is good reason.

Heritage and social/community values may be mutually reinforcing.

New works to recover the community values of a site, not least in terms of facilitating the return of displaced communities or to improve living conditions – perhaps through the 'build back better' approach (UNDRR, 2017) - can be designed to respect intrinsic heritage values by preserving historic fabric and designs, including by complementing them with new works, or finding opportunities better to reveal them through repair or re-presenting the site.

HeRT Case Study 2, Mosul, gives an example of research into community values and their translation into decisions on the ground.

Resources: Establishing Social Values:

Avrami, E., Macdonald, S., Madon, R. & Myers, D. (eds.) (2019) *Values in Heritage Management: Emerging Approaches and Research Directions*. Los Angeles, The Getty Conservation Trust. Available at: http://www.getty.edu/publications/heritagemanagement/.

Apaydin, V. (2017) Heritage Values and Communities: Examining Heritage Perceptions and Public Engagements. *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies*, 5(3) pp. 349 - 363. Looks at how heritage perceptions are constructed within local communities influenced by formal education national, nationalist and religious factors, and how heritage education and outreach can try to broaden perspectives.

Bonacchi, C., Jones, S., Broccoli, E., Hiscock, A. & Robson, E. (2023) 'Researching heritage values in social media environments: Understanding variabilities and (in)visibilities'., *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 29(10), pp. 1021-1040. Considers capturing the value of heritage assets without formal recognition and provides case study information.

Braun V. & Clarke, V. (2023) *Thematic Analysis*. Sage Publications, online. Available at:
https://study.sagepub.com/thematicanalysis?_ga=1*zg7v27*_ga*MjUwNzg1MDgxLjE3MDQ2NDA1NjQ.*_ga_RK7MQ5ZZVZ*MTcwNzA1Mzg5NC4xLjAuMTcwNzA1Mzg5NC4wLjAuMA..*_ga_60R758KFDG*MTcwNzA1Mzg5NS42LjAuMTcwNzA1Mzg5NS42MC4wLjA.

Buckley, K. in Avrami et al (2019) Heritage Work: Understanding the Values, Applying the Values. Looks at the concept of social value and how practitioners work with the many people who hold perspectives on the heritage values of particular places, with examples from practice in Australia.

Costarelli, V. & ICCROM (2020) *Mainstreaming Cultural Heritage in Community Engagement*. PowerPoint presentation with useful hints.

Cornwall, A. (2008) 'Unpacking 'Participation': models, meanings and practices' in *Community Development Journal* 43 3) pp. 269–283. This is a useful synthesis of different analyses of community participation, highlighting the complexities but also potential.

MacGuire, M. & Delahunt, B. (2017) Doing a Thematic Analysis: A Practical, Step-by-Step Guide for Learning and Teaching Scholars. *All Ireland Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 3, Autumn 2017. Available here:
file:///C:/Users/sjbsp/Downloads/335-Article%20Text-1557-1-10-20171031.pdf.
Provides a six-stage approach and gives examples from a sample study.

Robson, E. (2021) *Social Value Toolkit*. University of Stirling and Historic Environment Scotland. Available at: https://socialvalue.stir.ac.uk/about/introduction/. Provides detailed information on running a social value project and gives case study examples of the methods put into practice.

Sapin, S. (2009) Technical Note: Community Participation in Heritage Conservation. In Getty Conservation Institute, *Conserving Heritage In East Asian Cities: Planning For Continuity and Change*. Available at: https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/teaching/cs_tn_community.pdf

Social Design Notes (2004) *What is Asset Mapping?* Available at: http://backspace.com/notes/2004/06/what-is-asset-mapping.php

Social Value International (2022), *The Principles of Social Value*. Intended to 'provide the basic building blocks for anyone who wants to make decisions that take this wider definition of value into account, in order to increase equality, improve wellbeing and increase environmental sustainability'. Available at: https://socialvalueuk.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/Principles_of_Social_Value.pdf.

Social Value UK website. Sets out ideas and definitions for social value and approaches to measuring social value. Available at: https://socialvalue.stir.ac.uk/pathway/undertaking/step/13/

United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNDRR) (2017) Build Back Better in recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction. Available at: https://www.undrr.org/publication/words-action-guidelines-build-back-better-recovery-rehabilitation-and-reconstruction.

HeRT Case Study 2: Community Engagement in UNESCO's 'Revive the Spirit of Mosul' Initiative

Introduction:

'Revive the Spirit of Mosul' is a major UNESCO initiative seen as a flagship project by that organisation in what it describes as an 'iconic' city (UNESCO, 2020 (i)). The scale of the 'Revive the Spirit of Mosul' initiative is great; under this umbrella are four major projects, with contributions from, respectively, the governments of the United Arab Emirates, Germany, Flanders, and from the European Union. They have been established to rehabilitate or reconstruct a number of buildings of importance to the heritage and cultural life of the third largest city in Iraq. There is a considerable budget totalling over US$74m.

The programme was launched in early 2018 by the Director General of UNESCO, Audrey Azoulay, as a flagship initiative in response to the three years of genocidal terror and destructive iconoclasm conducted by the Islamic State 'caliphate' which had established itself in the city in 2014. In addition to loss of human lives numbered in the thousands, innumerable artefacts, monuments, and buildings from both pre-Islamic and Islamic periods were destroyed with sledgehammers, bulldozers and improvised explosive devices (IEDs). These years of chaos and destruction have left a brutalised population, and a number of important heritage buildings destroyed in deliberate acts of zealotry and propaganda.

In the face of this severe physical damage there have been very significant elements of reconstruction involved in the projects, including the near total reconstruction of the central Al-Nouri Mosque complex and other key buildings, including the famous leaning Al-Hadba minaret, and a large group of traditional town houses. The projects are connected by three overlying strategic strands going beyond physical recovery of heritage sites to include strengthening and improving education provision in the city and the revitalisation of its cultural life. All three strands are stated to be working to prevent future radicalisation and repeated conflict through promoting peace and community reconciliation. The potential benefits of these actions for the future psycho-social and economic stability of the city through the discouragement of violent extremism and provision of opportunity and hope to younger citizens are claimed in UNESCO's presentation of the project online (UNESCO, 2020 (i)).

The project leaders were committed to meaningful community-led decision making in the implementation of the Initiative, and wide community engagement was carried out to inform reconstruction choices.
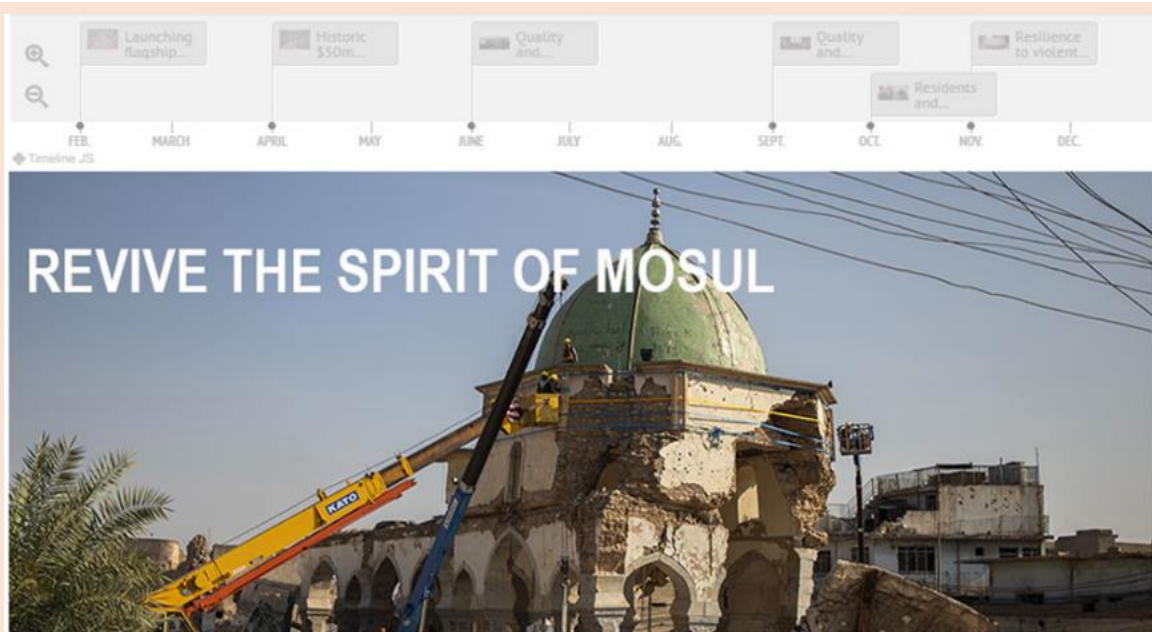
Image from UNESCO web page
https://en.unesco.org/fieldoffice/baghdad/revivemosul.

Definitions of community and forms of engagement

Identifying communities with a specific interest in place arising from personal or family history or from intellectual or political roles, with or without specific local ties, and identifying the most appropriate way to engage with various, overlapping and sometimes conflicting groups is not straightforward; project leaders are clear that the community cannot be understood simply as 'the man in the street'. The need for careful identification in order to facilitate meaningful engagement and define appropriate methods of context was seen as important in the initiative.

Key problems in doing so were recognised in Mosul and are likely also to be present in similar scenarios elsewhere. First was the disconnection between the local community and their own heritage arising from prolonged conflict, when basic imperatives, including survival, had to take precedence. However, once these imperatives become less urgent, it was noted, people will readily turn to heritage as part of their recovery process, for its familiarity, and symbolic, political, and religious meaning. Furthermore, successful recovery of heritage has been linked to reconnection with cultural life. However, a tendency was noted by project participants for cultural considerations to continue to be overlooked by the international donor community once the immediate needs for food, water and shelter were met, and a tendency to under-rate their importance for regaining a sense of identity and society. In Mosul, for instance, the variety of churches, mosques and synagogues are a tangible reminder of the multi-ethnicity of the city's past. A second problem noted was the effects of restrictions on movement,

as communities lost familiarity with and connections to historic areas. Even before the conflict, there was in Mosul a tendency for young people to have lost touch with the city's history, seldom visiting the historic core due to demographic changes and an out-migration of middle-class families.

Defined in terms of having those having connections with the heritage of the city, communities have come – incoming recent inhabitants of the city cannot be discounted – and gone through displacement or shifted their relationships with the city. This presented challenges for identifying communities in addition to the practical challenges of reaching them at all. Nonetheless, engagement was conceived as going beyond simply consulting or informing to encompass the skills development and educational programme at the heart of the initiative; to find ways to introduce young professionals to the old city; and to create positive benefits in terms of new skills and job opportunities for them. Engagement was seen within the initiative as not only about receiving opinion but changing it also.

The three prongs of community engagement chosen were as direct and practical as they were consultative, comprising: -
– Consultation & awareness raising activities related to projects such as the Al-Nouri project, focused on disseminating information and listening to opinions on the reconstruction process;
– Capacity building at both professional and worker/craft levels through training and practical training as outlined above, creating the conditions for the community to be more actively involved in the process; and
– Direct involvement of unskilled local workers in all parts of projects such as Al-Nouri.

Underlying the entire initiative and both implicit and explicitly acknowledged in these activities was the desire to create training, education, and employment opportunities for vulnerable youth. Heritage was not seen as incidental to this, but rather to present convenient opportunities to meet these objectives.

Methods of community engagement – consultation

In pursuit of consultation and awareness raising objectives, regular surveys were carried out both online and offline, including through house visits. A large survey was carried out by the University of Mosul statistics department in early 2019. UNESCO was not involved, to avoid any appearance of bias in the results. The survey was conducted in interviews, with just under one third of interviewees female and roughly equal numbers from districts of west and east Mosul outside the old city. The total was roughly 2, 000, a statistically respectable sample size. The survey appears to have been based on a

number of closed questions, with responses ranked as 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'don't know', 'disagree', 'strongly disagree'. It was suggested that open questions were also used, but no qualitative aspects of the survey have been made available, and it is not clear how that information has been captured.

An early and unofficial translation of the consultation responses revealed overwhelming support for the planned reconstruction of the city (97% agree or strongly agree) with little appetite for unplanned or unregulated change (only 28% in agreement or strong agreement with people able to rebuild their buildings without being bound by an engineering plan by competent authorities and 32% for organizations to be able to do so). There was at best ambivalence towards restoration of the city to its former state - 47% in strong agreement as opposed to 51% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing, and 79% in favour of reconstruction of the old city in accordance with modern architectural designs. Similarly, reconstruction of houses along traditional lines was less enthusiastically received (43% for and 51% against), with deployment of a modern style heartily endorsed (71%). Very little enthusiasm was shown for the use of traditional building techniques and local craftsmen (32%), with local craftsmen using advanced techniques much preferred (74%). Without access to the survey design or qualitative results, it isn't certain that what was meant by the modern style was simply the provision of modern facilities or was more a more fundamental desire for modernity in terms of techniques, materials, detailing, layout, location on plot, relation to public realm, or other core architectural characteristics.

Specifically in relation to heritage, a majority of 94% agreed that archaeological sites should be restored according to UNESCO standards, while 82% did not wish the heritage character of the old city to be changed. The difference between opinions on the old city and on its heritage character perhaps reflects a prevailing separation between the two in the consciousness of local people, itself a product of national and international approaches to heritage over decades, if not centuries, where pre-Islamic heritage was favoured over subsequent history.

The response of the European project was to attempt to reconcile the concern for modern living standards with a desire to see the character of the old city maintained was the decision to reconstruct historic houses along traditional lines but providing improved infrastructure and facilities.

There was a very clear rejection of the possibility of transforming the old city into a predominantly tourist area (80%) however, a majority were prepared to accept part of it being turned into a tourist area (75%). The response, and

perhaps also the question itself hints at the persistence of the concept that heritage and tourist areas must somehow be separate from places where people live ordinary lives.

Involvement of foreign companies in construction projects in the old city was welcomed (83% in favour) as were foreign engineers (70%) although foreign workers were not welcomed, with 76% against their use in such projects. The use of Iraqi companies and engineers was also supported, although with slightly less enthusiasm (80% and 62% respectively) supporting the possibility that foreign involvement need not be unwelcome and may be seen as a mark of prestige, provided there is Iraqi involvement also. Indeed the joint expert supervision of reconstruction projects in the old city was favoured considerably (76%) in comparison to foreigner only supervision (36%) or local only supervision (43%).

In social terms, there was 100% support for encouragement to the people of the old city to return, live and rebuild and 97% support for the encouragement of the return of Christians. A clear appetite was revealed for further involvement of the people of the old city in the detailed matters of its reconstruction such as development of the city's reconstruction plan (81%) and similar levels of support for their involvement with operational matters such as evaluation of offers of reconstruction and investment before approval (72%), evaluation of tender proposals for reconstruction projects (75%), evaluation of the budgets of the planned projects before their approval and implementation (66%) and of overall evaluation of projects (75%).

Specific questions were asked about Al-Nouri and Al-Hadba, and there was a clear majority in favour of reconstructing the mosque and the minaret on its original base (78%), with much less enthusiasm for reconstruction of the mosque with a new minaret in a different location (21% in favour and 74% in disagreement). Interviewees spoke of the consistency of support for rebuilding Al Hadba, due not only to its iconic status nationally but also deep affection locally. The real distress experienced at its destruction was intensified by the shock of it happening when the minaret, and the city's people, had endured so much of the Daesh occupation and it might have been felt that the end was in sight. Restoration has also involved a difficult decision on whether to restore it as it should have been, i.e. not leaning, or as it actually was. It will always be a difficult conservation decision to restore a structure to an apparently defective state, but in this case the distinctive humped curve appears to have been as much part of the minaret's affectionate regard by residents as its more traditional architectural aspects such as age or design. Anecdotally, restoration to the original appearance

was preferred. Both survey and anecdotal reports support the assumption that the local community, robbed of a familiar and treasured part of their environment, seeks to reverse their loss as part of the process of coming to terms with the trauma of conflict.

An added complication in securing representative consultation arose from demographic changes in the city, with numbers of rural inhabitants moving in to the old city in the years leading up to and during the Daesh occupation, and a significant displaced populations who may or may not return to the city at some time in the future. It was said that survey work would also include residents of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps with Moslawis in them, including in Erbil and Kurdistan and online surveys of former residents who have left the country, irrespective of their settled or refugee status within their new place of residence. This would be a real attempt to be representative; however no details of these activities have been seen.

Beyond the use of surveys, planned activities with the local community were seen as very important vehicles for sharing information about the progress of the project and as a valuable guard against rumour and misinformation. This was particularly important when the mosque complex was secured behind high fencing for safety and security reasons, protecting the building and workers on site, and so not visible from the outside. The number of visitors to the site was necessarily limited, with the sense of separation from the local community exacerbated by restrictions on movement during the pandemic. The press were also invited to participate in such events in the interests of transparency. Events were also seen as helping to revive the social life of the city, supporting the agenda of stabilisation and anti-radicalisation. Similarly, involvement of schools and children were intended to serve both an educational and social role. Engagement of the imagination of community members was also mentioned, and the recreation of emotional and perceptual links to the site, ruptured by conflict and destruction.

Methods of community engagement – capacity building
Hands-on engagement was an important element of the initiative overall, intended to improve local capacity in construction education and trades through practical involvement in the reconstruction process. A training programme was developed with the University of Mosul and ICCROM which was to provide heritage conservation training focused on post-conflict situations for young building professionals such as architects, surveyors and engineers, and skills development in construction for craftspeople and Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) trainees. This programme was based on a detailed and thorough needs assessment carried out with the training providers, bespoke to Iraqi circumstances, and

locally delivered. TVET training was provided through the EU construction project and was intended to mesh with the ICCROM Initiative and to provide trainees were to go on to work on the EU sites as well as ICCROM-led sites.

Projected numbers to benefit from the training programme varied, depending on who was questioned, but appeared to be between 130 or 300 trainees directly involved. The numbers involved were relatively small in comparison to other training schemes such as that run by the UNDP, but the training was intended to be more focused on reconstruction.

The TVET training was focused on construction skills, consisting of a course of four months followed by practical training on site supervised by contractors. Part of the training also involved training existing practitioners of building crafts in new techniques and methodologies, including modern construction methods adapted to traditional buildings. New crafts practices were also developed, for instance techniques for repairing ornamental Mosul 'marble' features in situ by filling bullet holes and cracks and then polishing, rather than simply re-carving and installing a new piece. Female trainees were also participating and learning electrical rewiring and stone repair work.

Methods of community engagement – job creation
This strand of engagement went beyond the work placements created for TVET trainees and was identified as having the dual benefits of creating income for local people and for reinforcing their positive attitudes towards their heritage through deep, positive engagement. Almost all work on the Al-Nouri Mosque project was done by local people and was said by project participants to have created more than 300 jobs, with the potential for more created indirectly. Ambitions to create jobs were an important aspect of the initiative overall to support the objectives of future social stability and avoidance of radicalisation (UNESCO, 2020 ii)).

Involvement of International Experts

The degree of international involvement in the decisions made and actions taken in the initiative matters in relation to any effect it might have had in diverting decisions away from the practical expression of local heritage values in the outcomes. A clear desire to move away from a model of foreign experts coming in to dispense advice was expressed by project staff, with a real emphasis on sustainability. That is, decisions made by foreign experts who come to the city without any prior connections, dispense wisdom and then leave the implementation to a community which may not accept that approach, were, plausibly, seen as unsustainable. The senior project manager was very clear that a colonialist approach whereby the

residents of a less developed country are told how to live and behave by westerners would not be effective.

As a result, when international experts were, exceptionally, introduced to the projects, it was because of their particular expertise, contributing to an area where equivalent knowledge and skills could not be found within Iraq. They were there to add value rather than substitute for local experts. Attitude was also said to be a factor guiding choices, with careful attention paid to their likely interactions with local people, their ability to work as a team, and an absence of arrogance.

The careful introduction of foreign expertise was also seen as an effective way of responding to the identified local and national training needs. This was through direct tuition, for instance the formal two-year training for young professionals in architecture, engineering and archaeology carried out by ICCROM starting in 2021, or through practical experience and on-the-job training gained working alongside international experts.

The Architectural Competition to Rebuild the Al Nouri Mosque Complex

Launched in November 2020, the international architectural competition for the Al-Nouri Complex in Mosul sought design proposals from architects or teams of architects and engineers for its reconstructing and rehabilitation. This architectural competition provides insights into key decisions by UNESCO in relation to the complex, said to be based on the wishes of the people of Mosul (UNESCO, 2020 ii)).

Participants were asked to anticipate in their proposals the minaret rebuilt to its former shape and appearance as before 2017, using brick masonry in the historic style, and the dwellings on the north-eastern side also rehabilitated using traditional materials and techniques. These aspects were already fixed, reflecting, the wishes of residents of the old town, particularly in relation to the minaret (Acetoso 2020, Ruiz Roca 2020, UNESCO 2020 ii)). There was, however, no public discussion concerning the logistics of reconstruction of the minaret, particularly tricky if the famous lean is to be recreated in a stable form; it may be that the reconstruction, not completed at the time of writing, may be more complicated, and necessitate contemporary structural interventions not yet identified.

The key decisions made on the project with the agreement of the local population – that is, the facsimile reconstruction of Al-Hadba, reconstruction and re-use of the traditional houses on the site – were an important and, in the case of Al-Hadba, totemic recognition of community feeling. Significant aspects of the site were locked in through the use of the 'building regulations' set out in the project brief – a form of design code for works on the site. However, significant outcomes in terms of the potential role of the site in the cultural and architectural life of the city were opened up to external proposals. Meanwhile, while UNESCO acted only as the administrator of the competition, rightly standing back from either a design role or from choosing the winning entry, the final competition decision was made by an independent and international jury panel of men and women, academics, and professionals. On the one hand, the wider Middle East was represented on the panel, but on the other the local population was not, giving them little agency in the matter.

So the realities of the competition were at odds with the wider ethos of the initiative in being more inclusive, and some Iraqis were not slow to point this out when the competition results were announced. The internationally focused approach brought to the fore tensions between local and universal values and highlighted questions over where the important choices should

be made. Perhaps unexpectedly the most vocal dissatisfaction has been expressed by expert groups who might normally be considered more privileged, and might indeed have entered the competition, but in this case were frustrated by the lack of a more locally driven solution to the development of the complex (Cambridge Heritage Research Centre Bulletin, 4th May 2021). The competition rules required that the winning practice must partner with a local Iraqi professional practice or educational institution of their choice in order to implement their proposals, a gesture at least towards Iraqi professionals. However this meant involving them after the key decisions on philosophy and approach had been made.

The competition result was announced on 15th April 2021, with the winning entry coming from a team of eight Egyptian architects and academics experienced in heritage rehabilitation projects. Their press statement suggests a good grasp of the intentions behind the architectural task, as they welcomed the results of the competition saying 'Our team worked with high passion to submit a project that primarily addresses the need for social cohesion and revival of souls' (UNESCO, 2021).

However, the hostile response from the architectural and engineering community in Iraq suggests that the engagement of professionals within Mosul and Iraq more generally was not entirely successful. These critical reactions were perhaps a result of the presentation of ideas from perceived outsiders to those who consider that they could have done the job equally or better themselves. Involvement of local and national architectural and engineering institutions in setting the design and parameters of the competition may or may not have mitigated the reaction somewhat. Critically important, however, was the reaction of the local population of Mosul, for whom the new complex is intended. There is some evidence that among the population of Mosul too the winning design was not well received and that they had joined the coalescence of architects, historians, and other intellectuals in opposing it. The use of the term 'cultural suicide' may be inflammatory, but concern for maintaining the city's identity was tangible and predicted to snowball (Tarzi, 2021). Criticisms that the design did not restore the mosque to its exact 2017 form appear to be applied to the whole complex, which in the winning design does take on a different form. They winders did however follow the stipulations of the competition in regard to the restoration of the mosque building itself, as shown in Illustrations from the winning scheme showing the interior of the mosque (Cao, 2021).

At the end of 2020 UNESCO conducted a further survey of Moslawis specifically interrogating their opinions regarding the approach to the rebuilding project. Over 700 Moslawis from east and west sides of the city and

displaced people were asked regarding the preference for how the Al-Hadba minaret and Al-Nuri mosque were to be rebuilt. A very clear majority, 94% wished to see the minaret positioned and decorated as it had been prior to destruction, while 70% were content for the prayer hall to be rebuilt as in 2017, with some improvements, 'provided that "the essence and main values are preserved"'; 30% preferred that it be rebuilt exactly as it had been in 2017 (Janghiz, 2021). These results would therefore suggest some level of comfort with what is proposed. Still further reports however suggest that in 2021 many Moslawis were unaware of the proposed rebuilding of the mosque and some critical about the use of resource in a city still struggling with basic infrastructure (Mercadier, 2021).

Evolution of the proposed design, promised by UNESCO in 2021, have been carried out involving collaboration between the Egyptian team and the University of Mosul, in consultation with local experts and involved removing some of the more controversial elements of the scheme including the sunshades to the courtyard and a car park (Ditmars, 2022). The designs were presented to the Mosul community in a public event in June 2022, although there is no publicly available record of this; whether public anxiety and anger are continuing to simmer (Tarzi, 2021) is not clear. Full clearing and stabilisation of the site were completed in 2021, on the evidence of the most recent satellite imagery available, which shows a site which is completely cleared with the surviving structures propped. Though delayed by controversy and the archaeological discoveries, UNESCO has stated that active reconstruction works started in the summer of 2022 (UNESCO, n.d.(i)) with the intention of completing all bar the reconstruction of Al-Hadba, which due to structural and constructional complexities was scheduled to be completed in 2023 (UNESCO n.d. (ii)).

This debate reveals not only the real problems of engaging and understanding the opinions of a large and complex city population but also gaps between what is proposed by professionals with inside knowledge of a scheme and an understanding of how it will be perceived, received, or understood by a largely non-professional population outside the process. However, the fact that works are now progressing following a period of reflection, adjustment, and re-consultation, suggests that some form of working consensus can be built through acknowledging and responding to consultation responses.

Conclusions

Revive the Spirit of Mosul provides rich and detailed insights into major works of reconstruction in a post conflict society, including measures taken to secure and act on community engagement. Overall, it has moved UNESCO beyond its normal way of working; an organisation not previously celebrated for its consultative nature nor remarked for direct operational engagement with building or reconstruction projects is now conducting both. The projects to repair and recover mosques, churches and houses have also turned to the more recent heritage of the city and the needs of its people, where perhaps previously there might have been a greater attention to archaeological sites such as Nineveh outside the urban area, on account of their antiquarian interest. The reconstruction ethos of the initiative is couched in a more generous understanding of why historic places matter to people, which very often is not simply because of the age and completeness of historic fabric, but because such places are the backdrop to their lives. This was revealed in simple terms in the interviews with project personnel and confirmed in the use of surveys and decision making guided by the results of such surveys. Thus the restoration of Al Nouri and related projects can be seen as attempting to follow what would generally be considered good contemporary heritage practice in order to tackle a massive task.

However, a more nuanced picture regarding the fulfilment of these ideals has emerged as the project has progressed. For instance, the reaction to the Al-Nouri design contest suggest that the difficult task of bringing all potential project partners into a consensus regarding change was not fully achieved, at least initially. While direct engagement of foreign experts by UNESCO was carefully handled, the consequences of holding an international design competition had not perhaps been fully anticipated. There appears to have been some attempt to recover the situation through continuing consultation and amendment of the proposals, although it is not clear how this has been received.

The overarching objectives of the Initiative have been overtly social, with reconciliation and societal recovery at its heart and heritage acting as a vector for change rather than the sole driver. The facilities and resources made available have had a direct impact in supporting cultural renewal but may also have begun to stimulate independent and entrepreneurial developments to create new cultural places and activities, particularly based around music (Ditmars 2022).

(Photo Sebastien Castelier/Al-Jazeera, Castelier 2018)

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Part 4: Manual of Site Works

The purpose of having a suite of standards and guidelines to support physical works on site is to ensure safe working conditions and consistency of outcomes in terms of the character and quality of reconstruction works.

Safety is an obvious concern in post conflict scenarios, and risks may arise both from damaged and structurally unsafe buildings, but also from hazards such as unexploded ordnance, improvised explosive devices (IEDs) or human remains. Even in normal conditions site safety is an issue to take seriously to avoid accidental injuries or other harm to those working there.

Guiding principles for the works, derived from the overall project plan and planned measures to preserve or reinstate heritage values, can be set out in a way which can support those doing the works. Information should be provided which clearly articulates the principles and how they will be revealed in the reconstruction works, at a sufficient level of detail, to offer this support.

Likely formats for such information might include a printed reference copy available on site for those participating in or supervising works. Maps and plans will also be essential. However, practical demonstrations of specimen works on site may help to exemplify particular materials and techniques and their required handling. Such physical samples, which might include sample panels of works may also provide a learning resource for apprentices or others being trained in particular building skills and will be valuable resource in area of low literacy.

A number of headings are considered below with pointers on the kind of content which might be useful, and, by heading, source of information for developing these elements of a site manual in more detail.

1. Site Safety

Avoid unexploded ordnance, IEDs and booby traps:

No works on site should be carried out until these have been checked for and cleared as necessary. This work will be done by the military, humanitarian mine action charities or contractors.

The possibility of explosive hazards should be taken seriously and addressed in the project plans including risk assessments. Safety procedures, training, appropriate equipment and up-to-date information should be provided to project workers. Any safety measures should be practical and proportionate. The UNESCO manual set out below gives details of the kind of measures which may be necessary.

Resources:

Although this is specialist work, not to be undertaken by anyone untrained, general information can be found in the following places: -

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) (n.d.) Improvised Explosive Devices. Available here: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_72809.htm

Smith, S. (2021) *The Challenges IEDs Pose for the Humanitarian Mine Action (HMA) Sector*. Action on Armed Guidance. Available here: file:///C:/Users/sjbsp/Downloads/The-challenges-IEDs-pose-for-the-Humanitarian-Mine-Action-HMA-sector-v3.pdf.

Torbet, N. (2019) *Global IED Task Management Standard Operating Procedures*. Halo Trust. Available here: https://www.halotrust.org/media/6593/halo-global-ied-clearance-sop-part-1-task-management.pdf.

United Nations Mine Action Service (UNMAS)(2015) Landmines, Explosive Remnants of War And IED Safety Handbook. Available here: https://unmas.org/sites/default/files/handbook_english.pdf. Really helpful general guidance covering the main categories of explosive threat, including warning signs, basic safety advice for organisations and individuals, emergency and first aid information.

What to do if you unexpectedly discovery of human remains:

Plentiful advice and procedures exist for handling archaeological human remains. However, in recent conflict zones, particularly where sites are being cleared, human remains are likely to be those of people killed in the conflict and concealed by large amounts of rubble. The dignified treatment of people recovered in this manner is of paramount importance while site workers should be protected from any biological hazards or distress.

There may be local laws or regulations governing the discovery of human remains, and opportunities should be given to ensure that the circumstances of the death are understood.

Resources:

The International Committee of the Red Cross has published a suite of relevant documents on this issue: -

ICRC Advisory Service on International Humanitarian Law (2019) *Humanity after Life: Respecting and Protecting the Dead.* Available at: file:///C:/Users/sjbsp/Downloads/last_version_200583_respect_for_and_protection_of_the_dead_final.pdf. Sets out International Humanitarian Law which all countries should follow during external and internal conflicts.

ICRC (2020) Management of Dead Bodies after Disasters: A Field Manual for First Responders. Available at: https://www.icrc.org/en/publication/0880-management-dead-bodies-after-disasters-field-manual-first-responders.

ICRC (2020) Operational Best Practices regarding the Management of Human Remains and Information on the Dead by Non-Specialists. Available at: https://www.icrc.org/en/publication/0858-operational-best-practices-regarding-management-human-remains-and-information-dead. This stresses the need for the involvement of the community and family in the process of identification and advises on delivering information on death and returning personal effects or human remains to the families of the dead. It also sets out recommendations for appropriate behaviour and a number of useful checklists, including for the management of sites containing human remains.

Make sure you have a safe site: 🎬

Employers, site workers and 'competent authorities' – those regulating site activities nationally and locally – should respect the rights and observe the duties owed to those involved in construction work or affected by it. There may be local laws or standards relating to safety on construction sites, and these should be observed.

Activities such as demolition, tunnelling, or working at height carry particular risks, while the handling of site equipment and machinery, particularly heavy plant, can also be dangerous. Training in these activities or pieces of equipment and clear protocols on their use are vital.

Provision of protective clothing, relevant protection from dust, smoke, noise, toxic substances and impacts, and risk management to prevent such hazards where possible are important factors in securing safe site work. Provision of water, shelter, washing, and sanitary facilities are also important, as are site staff able to administer first aid, and equipped to do. Behind safe site work lie clear understanding of processes and protocols and adequate training for site workers.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) is a U.N. agency, which brings together governments, employers and workers of UN member states to set labour standards, develop policies and devise programmes promoting decent work for all women and men.

Resources:

The following ILO publications will be useful in developing an approach consistent with internationally recognised standards in contexts where local regulations are absent or limited: -

ILO (2022) *Health and Safety in Construction (Revised edition)*. Available here: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_dialogue/---sector/documents/normativeinstrument/wcms_861584.pdf.

ILO (2024) *International Labour Standards on Occupational Safety and Health*. Available at: https://www.ilo.org/global/standards/subjects-covered-by-international-labour-standards/occupational-safety-and-health/lang--en/index.htm. This web page provides further detailed information on site safety.

International Standardization Organisation (2018) *ISO 45001 Occupational health and safety management systems*. Available at: https://www.iso.org/standard/63787.html. The ISO is an independent, non-

governmental international organization with a membership of 170 national standards bodies. This standard is intended to support organization in ensuring that they minimise the risk of harm to the people that may be affected by their activities, including their workers, its managers, contractors, or visitors.

Make sure you have a secure site:

It is also important to ensure that construction sites are fenced and suitably signed to prevent the entry of unauthorized persons. This is for the safety of those entering the site, who may not be aware of risks or not wearing appropriate personal protective equipment (PPE). In places where conflict is ongoing or recently finished there may be additional risks from combatants or acts of terrorism. Theft of tools or fuel, or vandalism of heritage or of equipment may also be a risk. Access to the site should therefore be controlled and the site effectively secured. A strategy for site security based on a thorough risk assessment may be necessary.

Adequate perimeter fencing is key to this, but additional local fencing may also be necessary. Access ladders should be removed or locked when the site is not occupied. However, perimeter fencing may create negative perceptions of the site, creating a sense of exclusion, and perhaps encouraging rumors regarding what is happening inside. This can be counteracted with viewing panels and information about the project and its progress presented on the exterior.

Features such as lighting, security cameras, alarms, patrols, or locks may also have a part to play.

Resources:

The UK Health and Safety Executive (HSE) offers a little more advice on managing site access: - HSE (n.d.) *Protecting the Public*. Available here: https://www.hse.gov.uk/construction/safetytopics/publicprotection.htm.

Many lists of hints and tips can be found online from private security companies.

2. Practical Support for Site Work

Gazetteer of properties or sites within project:

This can be a tool for recognising and understanding parts of the site, surviving buildings, partial buildings, building plots or other structures within the site as a basis for works on site. It can also include non-built elements such as open spaces, views or vistas, and can act as a tool for setting out the heritage values of the site at a more granular level and can be linked to condition surveys and risk analysis. Gazetteers may be paper copy or in electronic form.

Creating a Gazetteer:

How will you structure your gazetteer?

It may be done by address, or spatially, or according to some other arrangement such as bespoke numbering system, but the approach should be clearly set out and the properties in the list capable of being identified with ease.

If a structure is complex, it could be broken down into separate components with their own entry on the gazetteer, provided they can be clearly identified. For instance, alterations or additions to a major building or site could be identified on plans and ordered according to date. A further group entry could cover the entire structure, setting out its characteristics and values as a whole.

Entries on the gazetteer could also be grouped by common characteristics – for instance houses, shops, public spaces etc. for ease of identification.

The types of data used might include some or all of the following, depending on practical considerations and the needs of the project: -
  * Name or other identifying information.
  * Date of construction.
  * Current/most recent use.
  * Original use.
  * Date of construction.
  * Any formal national or local designation, and links to relevant database.
  * Likely original form.
  * Current ground plan form and height/number of storeys.

* Overall construction (e.g. masonry walls, steel frame, reinforced concrete etc.).
* Design and materiality of external envelope (walls and roof, doors and windows etc.) indicating extent of survival. This can be done on an elevation-by-elevation basis.
* Internal planform, circulation patterns, hierarchy and uses of internal spaces, and surviving fabric and features. This can be done by storey, rising from basement/lower ground floor if present up to roof structure.
* Known or observed alterations.
* Overall significance – an assessment of the heritage values manifested in the surviving structures, sites or spaces in their design, patina of age, materiality, context and setting and relationships with each other.
* Further sources of information such as local or national archives, publication or previous research or analysis.
* Available historic plans, drawings, paintings, photographs etc..
* A contemporary photograph or photographic survey if feasible showing contemporary condition and survival.

Plans and maps:

Plans are likely to be produced as part of site surveys and proposals for works on site as part of the project. Detailed plans may also be needed to address detailed or technical aspects of the works. Plans may also be needed for bureaucratic purposes where consent systems are in place for planning, building or infrastructure purposes. They may also be used to convey information about the site and works to interested project partnersproject partners. In these contexts the term 'plans' is used to include elevational drawings and proposals and section drawings of sites or buildings which aid understanding of works on site.

Make the best use of plans and maps.

Plans can be valuable in conveying information, but not everyone is familiar with reading and understanding plans, so support and practice in doing so and translating their contents into three-dimensional understanding may be valuable for some project participants. Three-dimensional rendering of proposals is becoming easier due to relevant computer programmes, and if accurately drawn up these can be very valuable in conveying information, with guidance.

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Similarly, mapping can be used to explain and analyse a site. Historic maps are valuable in understanding the history of the site and in understanding pre-conflict locations of structures, which may be unclear following destruction.

Practical considerations
* Plans and maps are likely to be kept available for reference on site but should be kept up to date if amendments to proposals are developed.
* They should also be of a scale appropriate to their medium and likely use.
* The scale of paper-based copies may be an issue if very large as these can be impracticable in terms of storage and handling.
* Electronic plans may present problems of visibility of fine details, depending on how they can be viewed.
* Large drawings can be broken down into smaller elements for ease of reference.

Setting site design and reconstruction 'rules':

Having a clear statement of site principles or rules for how reconstruction decisions are made may be a useful measure for securing consistency and explaining the project approach.

For instance, in the 'Revive the Spirit of Mosul' UNESCO set detailed parameters for the reconstruction of the Al Nouri complex in terms of floorspace, size, location and functions of the buildings to be provided (UNESCO 2020 (i) – (iv)). It's 'Building 'Regulations' for the complex and mosque equate to something more like a design code in UK terms and set the limits for new buildings in terms of height - two-story buildings with maximum three-story accents; use of traditional materials and architectural typologies; accessibility meeting international disability standards; landscaping; and the boundary treatments to the site.

Make the best use of structural and architectural surveys:

These surveys by engineers or architects are likely to be included within project documentation in order to inform reconstruction works and provide detailed information on structures on site. It may be helpful to link them to the gazetteer and ultimately to ensure they are included in any archive of the site for future reference and understanding of the works.

Make use of Method statements:

Method statements provide a list of actions, broken down into stages, techniques and materials and their deployment to complete a particular task as part of the construction or reconstruction works. They have the advantage of focusing on that task and giving detailed information on what will be done. They may be required in any formal sign off process for the works or can provide other assurances of the appropriateness and quality of the work to be done. They are also a useful resource, with supervision for training apprentices or other learners engaged with practical tasks on site. Examples and templates can be sourced online.

Set up sample works on site:

Also of value in assuring the quality of works and as exemplars for trainees can be sample works on site carried out by an experienced builder or craftsperson. These might take the form of a panel of masonry, with the stones or bricks arranged in the required pattern and pointed up in the form expected in all works; a panel of render showing texture and colour; or a sample of wood or stone carving showing the characteristics of the stone and typical design motifs to be expected on site.

Create a site handbook:

Many of the elements set out above could be compiled where key information is brought together regarding the design and standard of works, and also site safety and security procedures. The objective would be to provide an obvious and available source of answers to common problems.

Following the projects the survey and analysis material should be collated in a project archive and made accessible for future reference. Information could be made available to local authorities or local archives, or more widely presented online.

Remember to Evaluate:

To identify the baseline conditions for evaluation of this part of the toolkit, a basic assessment of site conditions in relation to IEDs and other hazards and security arrangements should be undertaken. When project staff are introduced to or trained in the contents of the site manual, they should be surveyed for prior understanding of the issues. Review of these factors once the training and manual are in place can be used to establish the effectiveness of the manual. See Section 7 of the toolkit for further information on evaluation.

Sources of Information for Site Works:

Council of Europe (2012) *Guidelines on Cultural Heritage: Technical Tools for Heritage Conservation And Management.* Available at: https://rm.coe.int/16806ae4a9.

David Kelly Partnership (2020) Outline method statement and general specifications for the Demolition and re-building of an existing masonry wall at Ladyswell, Thomastown, co. Kilkenny. Available at: https://consult.kilkenny.ie/en/system/files/materials/2866/Report%207%20-%20Outline%20Method%20Statement%20and%20General%20Specification%20for%20Rebuilding%20the%20Masonry%20Wall.pdf. A typical method statement for the reconstruction of stone masonry.

Ducatteeuw, V. (2021) Developing an Urban Gazetteer: A Semantic Web Database for Humanities Data. Available at: *GeoHumanities '21: Proceedings of the 5th ACM SIGSPATIAL International Workshop on Geospatial Humanities* November 2021, Pages 36 – 39. Discusses the development of a spatiotemporal data model for an urban gazetteer.

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Historic England (2024) Heritage Data Standards and Terminology. Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/advice/technical-advice/information-management/data-standards-terminology/.

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UNESCO (2020 (iv)) *Answers to the Second Round of Questions on the International Architectural Competition for the Reconstruction and Rehabilitation of the Al Nouri Complex in Mosul.* UNESCO.

Part 5: Toolkit Training Specification

Designing your Toolkit Training

The training programme aims to familiarise project participants with the project toolkit and its materials in order to facilitate their use of it in achieving the objectives of the project. More specifically, the objectives of the training are: -

1. To enable all project participants to understand the principles behind the toolkit and how they relate to and practically inform the ethics of reconstruction carried out under the project, including preserving, recovering, or reinstating the heritage values of damaged buildings and places.

2. To ensure that the work of the project is embedded in an informed understanding of the values attached to the site by its communities and that decisions made under the project respond to these values, are fair to all project partners, and contribute to reconciliation and social recovery.

3. To support good practice on site to ensure that works are carried out safely, respectfully in relation to the communities to whom the site has meaning, and to high conservation standards.

4. To be able to make informed decisions on practical conservation issues arising on site or related to the work of the project.

Fig 5.1: Training Specification:

Who will be delivering the training?
[Senior project staff involved with the development of the toolkit; training deliverers brought in for the specific purpose of delivering the toolkit training; guest trainers. A brief outline of the trainers' experience, expertise and role in the project will be helpful here.]

Outline of programme:
[An indication of programme milestones and locations.]

Syllabus:
Project Induction for project participants

Aims:
* To ensure that project participants with supervisory or decision-making roles, including heritage and other professionals and consultants, are introduced to the toolkit and the processes and mechanisms it offers.
* To develop these project participants understanding of the operation of the toolkit and the potential it provides to underpin the work of the project.

Trainers:
[List]

Content:

Toolkit Induction:

1. **Introduction to the toolkit:**
   * What is the toolkit?
   * Toolkit objectives
   * Why do we need it?
   * What does it include?

2. **The reconstruction project:**
   * What is the project for?
   * Who is involved?
   * What are its aims and objectives?
   * What are the challenges?

3. A plan for action:

- The actions the toolkit is intended to support.
- How the toolkit will be used.
- Timetable of operational and practical activities.
- Milestones for implementation, including review periods and evaluation.
- Initial feedback.
- What changes we will make in response to your comments.
- Identifying success.

Heritage Values:

1. Heritage philosophy and principles

- How the idea of heritage values has evolved over time.
- Where we are today and how to put these principles into practice – some examples.
- Why we need to identify the heritage values for the site.
- What does this mean for your work on the project?

2. Sources of data for assessing heritage values

- The Data Collection plan and how to use it.
- Local circumstances – the national system for heritage where we are working
- International measures for identifying values.
- Local sources of information.
- Other sources of information.

3. Assessing heritage values:

- Using the Heritage values chart.
- Assessing damage and the effects on heritage values.
- How the project will mitigate heritage damage.

4. Other methods for assessing heritage values

- Statements of heritage significance.
- Heritage impact assessments.

Social Values:

1. Introduction to Social Values

- What do we mean by social values?
- Why is it important to identify social values in relation to heritage?
- Who are 'the community'?

2. Tools for assessing social values

- Identify the community or communities.
- Community Asset Mapping.
- Planning and delivering a Community Study.
- Approaches to data collection.
- Analysing your results.

Practical matters and creation of a Site Manual:

1. Safety issues:

- What you need to know about unexploded ordnance/IEDs/booby traps
- What you need to know about finding human remains
- Site safety
- Site security

2. Construction and reconstruction – supporting works on site

- Gazetteer of Properties
- Use of plans and maps
- Site 'rules'
- Structural and architectural surveys
- Method Statements
- Sample works
- Site Handbook

Dates: [Date of delivery of training components.]

Location(s): [Where the training will be delivered. Some elements may be delivered on site if appropriate.]

Outcomes:

As a result of the training, within the constraints of the time available and other practical circumstances, students should be able to:

(i)   show a working knowledge of the Toolkit and its component parts;

(ii)   explain their advice to the project or decisions on site in relation to the analysis, recording and conservation of historic buildings and places within the project site, including devising appropriate responses to reconstruction tasks through using the Heritage Values Chart;

(iii)   use documentary research and analysis, site surveying and specification writing to identify heritage values and to evaluate damage and propose mitigating solutions, using the Damage Assessment Process and Heritage Values Chart.

(iv) show an understanding of the processes involved in identifying social values of heritage sites.

(v) using the steps set out in the toolkit to be able to design and implement a Community Study leading to the identification of community heritage values and, using the results of this, to identify measures to recognise and recover these values through the work of the project.

(vi) demonstrate their understanding of site safety issues in post-conflict settings and ensure appropriate procedures, standards and protocols are in place to ensure that all those working on and visiting the site remain safe.

(vii) ensure that useful materials are available for all workers on site to support their understanding of the heritage there and to follow the highest standards of conservation work.

Sources of information: [See information sources given in each section of the toolkit, plus additional project documentation as relevant.]

Preparation: [Preparatory reading or tasks – for instance, course attendees should familiarise themselves with the toolkit document.]

Additional training/dissemination of knowledge for project partners may also be helpful. This is considered in the following section on communications and dissemination, as this is a more diverse group, requiring different approaches.

This training plan can also be used to design refresher or new training in response to changing circumstances.

Part 6: Communications and Dissemination Plan

Creating your Communications Plan

* A communications plan for the project, supported by the toolkit, enables you clearly to keep in contact with project partners and partner communities to ensure they know what is happening in the project. This may be particularly important in an area where conflict has recently occurred to ensure that there are no misconceptions regarding what is being done and that displaced and traumatised communities do not feel that they are the subject of actions over which they have little control. Your communications plan will overlap with your community engagement strategy, and while it is not a substitute for effective community engagement, it will be able to reach interested parties who are not directly engaged with project.

* A communication plan helps gain wider support for the project by ensuring that other interested parties – professionals and experts and those with a general interest - are kept informed, receiving up to date and accurate information regarding the project and its progress; it is important that you have control over your own narrative.

* A communications plan can also raise general awareness of the project and attract support for its work.

* Finally, it can be used to ensure consistency of messaging from all those involved in the project.

There is a great deal of advice available on creating an effective communications plan and what follows is a distillation of good practice. You may also benefit from professional and IT support in designing and rolling out a communications plan, although resources to do so may be limited. Having a plan will help to make the most of the resources available by focusing on your priorities and key audiences.

An effective communications plan should be: -
  * Timely;
  * Pro-active, rather than reactive;
  * Not too narrowly focused in the audiences it seeks to engage;
  * Adequately supported with people and resources;
  * Honest and transparent - identify weaknesses and mistakes as well as successes.

There may be other examples of projects or communications plan which can provide valuable lessons. Research with key audiences to find out their communication preferences may also be helpful.

Fig. 6.1: Elements of a Communications Plan

Mission or Vision:

A distillation of the purpose and meaning of the project.

For instance – 'to rebuild X no. key heritage buildings in the X neighbourhood of X city to enable the return of displaced residents, reinstate a well-loved historic quarter, and promote social healing and stability after the recent conflict.'

Communication Objectives:

These objectives should set out what the communications plan hopes to achieve, and should be clear and specific, focused on actions and, if possible, linked to indicators or measures. For clarity, there should not be too many objectives. The following are examples of what might be identified.

* To ensure that project partners are given an opportunity to be involved in setting the objectives of the project and have an understanding of the programme of works, likely outcomes, and their own role in achieving them.

* To explain the purpose and methods of the project to the wider community or communities, as identified through the project community engagement plan, in order to avoid misunderstanding, develop support for its objectives, and secure feedback on them.

* To celebrate successes achieved through the work of the project in terms of the numbers of buildings restored and residents returning.

* To be transparent about what the project cannot achieve or where objectives are not met, explaining why.

Who are the audiences?

The audiences for your communications plan will be those you are trying to influence in order to support the work of the project. They may be direct project partners, with some influence over and involvement in the progress of the project, or wider communities of interest capable of developing support and good will for the work of the project, or both.

Project partners

A list of project partners might include: -

* Local communities, including displaced communities, and community organisations
* Other national and international agencies involved in the area

* Government and Local Government officials
* Heritage and other professionals locally and nationally
* Craft and Trade associations
* Local and national educational institutions
* Schools and organisations for young people
* Landowners
* Businesses
* NGOs
* Learned and amenity societies
* Local cultural institutions or coalitions

It will be important to identify key project partners or identify key groups of project partners in order to shape the messages and means of delivery - for instance: -

Community project partners (communities, landowners, local government, educational and other institutions, local cultural providers, businesses, and associations – groups and individuals who may be working alongside or within the project as partners or consultees).

National project partners (Government agencies and representatives, national professional bodies, NGOs - groups and individuals who may be working alongside the project as partners or consultees or may have an oversight role in terms of regulatory or bureaucratic controls, standards, or professional disciplines).

International Partners (International development or heritage agencies with indirect roles in relation to the project).

Other
Broader audiences might include: -
* Media – national and international
* International communities of interest in heritage, post conflict recovery etc.

What are your messages?
* Think about what your particular audience would like to know, based on their likely existing awareness of the project, which aspects of the project will be most important to them, what you would like them to be aware of, and how it might change their awareness of the project.
* There should be a fundamental statement at the heart of the message.
* Your message should be clear and uncomplicated – don't try to make too many points at once around the fundamental statement.

* Short and concise messages will also keep audience attention.
* Think about how you can grab and keep their attention.
* Think about the content and tone of what you say to them and how you will engage their interest – different audiences will respond differently to technical information for instance or might be more interested in visual or local content.
* Use facts and figures to support your statements.
* Use examples to illustrate your message.
* Think about how you would like them to act in response.

Plan of activities

You may benefit from a communications board, or at least a working party, to develop and roll out your communications plan, depending on the size and complexity of your project and resources available. This might involve internal or external members who bring the right knowledge, experience, and external links to support the communications programme.

If you have professional help in this it will still be important to ensure that they are in touch with key project staff who can provide the knowledge and information at the heart of the messages.

Identify the key points for communications. These should include the beginning of the project in order to identify and engage important project partners, and at the end, where key achievements can be communicated, and future actions or needs flagged up. There are also likely to be interim milestones where progress is communicated, or, if views have been sought on the outputs and outcomes of the project, points at which you communicate your responses. This should be set out in a timetable.

Identify the methods by which you will communicate your messages to their target audiences – this will be the way in which they are most likely to receive information and will vary across the audiences. Methods might include: -

* Conventional media coverage of the project through fielding spokespeople or providing press releases;
* Outreach to community organizations, local and national NGOs with an interest in the project (with potential synergies with community engagement plan);
* Involvement of key local influencers in delivering messages in community meetings, events or in the media or social media;
* Direct communications through mail outs, leaflets or posters, information at or around the site;

* Online Apps exist for public engagement – consider whether this approach may have value.
* Social media;
* Internet use to provide material for outreach, education, or engagement.

Identify the best means to contact external organisations and key people to reach out to. More information on communication methods is given below in Fig. 5.2.

Prepare your materials – your messages in the form that will work best for your audiences. The means of delivery will vary depending on audience and might include events, meetings, press releases, flyers or leaflets, social media output, educational visits or resources, etc..

In order to maximise their visibility flyers, leaflets or posters should be distributed or displayed in the places where people regularly go during the course of their day. Such places might include transport nodes, markets or shops, schools or places of worships.

Identify the resources you need to put your plan into action. These may include physical venues, expert speakers, time dedicated by project staff, extra staff brought in for particular tasks, etc.

Training in public speaking or talking to the media may be necessary or helpful for spokespeople if resources are available for this. This will help them to deliver key messages clearly and with confidence and support them in handling questions or challenges.

Language and its use are important considerations. Formal or technical language may be more appropriate in some contexts, and informal language in others. Careful balance is needed in how things are expressed to avoid giving the impression of talking down to certain project partners, but on the other hand, overly formalised language or use of technical terms without explanation will not engage them.

Community meetings should be held in a place which is easily accessible and well known to the audience. They will need to know that it is happening for the meeting to be representative so you may need to invite them through a number of methods including through announcements in the local media, letters of invitation, email invitations, posters, flyers, or word of mouth.

Key influencers at governmental or institutional levels may need to be approached through small group or individual meetings, which may need to be set up by others and scheduled around other engagements. While

this may require extra effort the value of doing so lies in your potential to influence these key decision makers and to brief them in the project's key messages in anticipation of their opinions on the project being sought by the media or others as a definitive view.

Timetable

Your timetable will depend on the project timetable and the activities you are hoping to publicise or secure engagement in.

* **Beginning:** The communications plan should be thought about well in advance of the activities taking place, to give you time for thought and reflection, and to prepare good quality materials, secure the best speakers or spokespeople, book venues etc.. This may take a number of weeks, so be realistic about how long you will need, which may be months rather than weeks. It may be helpful to work backwards from you deadline for the launch of the plan.

* **Middle:** Communications will be important to launch the project, but the plan is likely to be ongoing during the life of the project, and you should plan communication activities around key project milestones or events in order to celebrate achievements or engage project partners in the next stages. Remember to update and refine your materials as progress is made.

* **End:** At the end of the project it will be important to celebrate successes and achievements, reflect on the process, and talk honestly about where things could have gone better and how. There may be follow-up activities generated by the plan, so be flexible to respond to these and take up new opportunities that arise to present your messages.

Risks and Mitigation

This is an important part of the communications plan. Risks will vary from project to project according to local or national circumstances, but time spent considering what risks might occur and planning you will deal with them will be a sensible investment of time.

For a reconstruction project communication risk might include unexpected site conditions or technical problems, accidents, failure to deliver to key milestones, objections or protests by communities, unfavourable press coverage objecting to the ethos or works of the project, removal or reduction of funding.

Risk management plans are a standard project management practice, and many free templates are available online. Links are given in the list of source materials below. A simpler approach useful for smaller projects is the

preparation of a risk management table and risk matrix assigning colour-coded levels of risk and potential mitigation. A link to free templates for this is given in the source materials.

Once you have identified potential risks, think of options for mitigating their impacts on the project and perceptions of the project. These are the kinds of actions to take, contacts to make or messages to deliver which will explain events clearly from the project perspective and attempt to reduce any harm to perceptions of the project or indeed to the work of the project arising from the problem.

Think carefully about how your mitigatory actions will be received by your key audiences. A clear response showing how any problems will be dealt with and honesty about what has happened may be uncomfortable, but covering up or appearing to cover up problems will be poorly received by project partners or the wider community and may damage the reputation of the project.

Resources
The resources you need for an effective communications plan will include people and money. You will need to make a realistic estimate of what you would ideally require early on as you develop your plan. This will include the people and skills that could support the content and delivery of the plan and the funds needed to produce materials or pay for venues. If these resources go beyond those allocated to you, you may consider bidding for more on the basis of your plan. It may also be possible to secure sponsorship or free use of public venues if you have time to discuss or negotiate these, another reason for early planning.

If resources are limited you will have to prioritise your actions according to the needs of the project. Community engagement, for instance, may be a high priority and is likely to be more resource hungry. On the other hand, you may easily be able to draft a press release yourself and secure quotes from key project partners relatively quickly to secure wide reach. If the project has a website this will enable regular and relatively straightforward communications. You will need to be flexible and look for achievable opportunities.

Whatever the resource available you should be clear about what you can and cannot achieve to ensure that there are no unrealistic expectations.

Evaluation

Remember to build an evaluation process into your plan. It is important to be able to review and measure whether your approach was successful – you will want to share what you have achieved and perhaps refine your design for next time.

Think about what you will measure and how and build that into the plan. For instance, it will be hard to try and work out how many people attended a community meeting, so try and count the numbers at the time it takes place. Also think about how many people you had planned or expected in order to get a large or representative sample of your target audience. Measures may be quantitative or qualitative. Evaluation is discussed in the next section of the toolkit.

Pre-planning and building evaluation measures into the communications plan will be more efficient in terms of resources and more effective in terms of results than attempting to retrofit at the end.

Don't forget to summarise and share your results with the project team.

Fig. 6.2: Methods of Communication

Web site: This can be a single point of contact for finding out about the project and a place where materials such as essential project information, press releases, facts and figures, updates etc. can be shared.

Press kit: This is a pack of basic information which can be provided with any press release to give essential background information about the project. It can be in hard copy or electronic, preferably both, and might include: -

* Project Overview and key facts.
* Biographies of key project personnel and particularly spokespeople.
* Information on other stakeholder bodies and individuals and their role in the project.
* Stories on key activities and achievements.
* Pictures.

Social media: This can provide direct, flexible and very wide-reaching coverage of the project and key achievements both geographically and among the age groups. It can engage interest through the use of pictures. It is also a useful channel for feedback and responses. It is more effective if carefully co-ordinated between account holders to ensure consistency in the messages and to avoid saturation by over-posting. The social media platforms of most relevance may vary by place – use the ones which are popular and widely used in your location. Finally, social media may also be a good tool for communications in places where the aftermath of conflict means that more conventional forms of communication are disrupted.

Press Releases: These can be used to make an announcement on the project, or to give an update on progress. Elements of a good press release include: -

* Newsworthy information clearly set out.
* An explanation of why this information is important or relevant at this time.
* Some introductory information regarding the project and its personnel.
* Provide contact information for the organization, including name, phone, email, fax and website address

For impact it should have a strong start with one or two arresting sentences to gain and keep attention. It should always be factual.

Articles: A short piece in a newspaper, trade journal or other regular publication, this would be written by an author authoritative in the field of discussion to offer information about the project. It may need to be pitched to an editor, perhaps by providing an abstract, and should be planned in advance to meet a publication timetable. It should also comply with the particular requirements of the publication in regard to length or format. It is useful once published in reaching wider communities of interest, and can be added to a press kit, web site, or printed information for direct circulation.

Newsletters: A newsletter is a vehicle for regular and direct communication with an audience and can be distributed directly either in hard copy or electronic form. It is a very helpful tool for reminding audiences of the key objectives and achievements of the project and updating them on progress. It could also be a means of securing or deepening direct engagement. It might contain the following elements: -

* Introduction from the individual or group leading the initiative, often summarising or contextualising the key messages.
* Key news and achievements.
* Timelines for future or ongoing activities.
* Recent press clips.
* Profiles of key project individuals, focusing on their role.
* Pictures of work on site.

Videos and Photos: Visual content is capable of conveying important messages in an engaging and accessible way. Videos and photos can be used to illustrate and add interest to all the communication tools set out here. They should be of good quality, clearly conveying information and capable of being broadcast if the opportunity arises.

Visual recording is a good way to chart progress on the project or highlight key achievements or details. Photos and videos should focus on people and activities, although it will be important to gain consent from anyone in the photo for their image being published. If they are concerned about their personal safety for any reason, they should be avoided in any visual material, or their face not shown.

Visual material should be properly contextualised – dates, times and locations should be given where possible and the subject of the photo described in a caption. For more technical information, further details such as orientation, exact siting and a more detailed description may be helpful. They should also be given a broader context in the project and associated with trends or development, facts, or figures.

Resources: Communications Plans

Argyle and Bute Council (n.d.) *The Rothesay THI Communication Plan.* Available here: https://www.argyll-bute.gov.uk/moderngov/mgConvert2PDF.aspx?ID=45068. An example of a communications plan for a heritage project with multi agency involvement.

Australian Prevention Partnership Centre (2022) *How to write a communications plan.* Available at: https://preventioncentre.org.au/resources/how-to-write-a-communications-plan/. A quick 'how-to' guide.

Cranborne Chase and Chalke Valley Landscape Partnership Scheme (n.d.) *Cranborne Chase and Chalke Valley Landscape Partnership Scheme Communications Strategy.* Available at: https://cranbornechase.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Chase-and-Chalke-Communications-Strategy_Final.pdf. A real-life example of a communications plan related to a landscape/cultural heritage organisation.

Dearne Valley Landscape Partnership (n.d.) *A Communications Strategy for the Dearne Valley Landscape Partnership.* Available at: http://discoverdearne.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/LCAP-Communications-Strategy-Discover-Dearne-Valley.pdf. Another real-life example of a communications plan related to a landscape/cultural heritage organisation.

Historic England (2024) *Communications Toolkit.* Available at: https://brand.historicenglandservices.org.uk/d/acW2N7pFUM6s/brand-guidelines#/grants-communications-toolkit/acknowledging-your-grant. This provides a communications toolkit for bodies awarded a grant for their historic property and includes elements such as a communications protocol for joint communications with Historic England and advice on compiling their own communications plan.

Pearson, P. & Culver, C., University of Oxford and PAD (2016) *Writing a communications strategy.* Available at: https://www.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/oxford/media_wysiwyg/Writing%20a%20communications%20strategy%20%2818.02.16%29.pdf. A practically focused workbook.

Project Management Docs website. Downloadable free risk management plan template. Available at: https://www.projectmanagementdocs.com/template/project-planning/risk-management-plan/.

Smartsheet website. Downloadable free risk management matrix templates. Available at: https://www.smartsheet.com/free-risk-management-plan-templates#risk-assessment-matrix.

Smartsheet website. Downloadable free risk management plan template. Available at: https://www.smartsheet.com/free-risk-management-plan-templates.

University of California website. Downloadable free risk management plan template and instructions. Available at: https://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwie2ZDm1LSEAxW1X0EAHW9fAMUQFnoECB4QAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.ucop.edu%2Finformation-technology-services%2F_files%2Fitlc%2F3.4-supporting-doc-risk-mgmt-plan-template.docx&usg=AOvVaw1oPSbXIbruP5m83MlfjgOp&opi=89978449.

University of Kansas (2023) *Community Toolbox*. Available at: https://ctb.ku.edu/en/about-the-tool-box. This is a comprehensive and practical toolkit for developing a communications plan for community engagement to build healthier communities and bring about social change. It gives helpful detail on the individual components and is freely accessible online. The website suggests it is also available in Spanish, Arabic, and Farsi.

The Wallace Foundation (n.d.) *Workbook A: Creating a Communications Plan*. Available at: https://wallacefoundation.org/sites/default/files/2023-09/Workbook-A-Communication.pdf. The Wallace Foundation is a philanthropic body with a mission to foster equity and improvements in learning and enrichment for young people, and in the arts for everyone. This more detailed workbook gives information on developing a communications plan for research projects.

Part 7: Evaluation Plan

'Evaluation is a systematic and objective assessment of an on-going or completed project, programme or policy, its design, implementation, and results. The aim is to determine the relevance and fulfilment of objectives, efficiency, effectiveness, impact and sustainability. Evaluation is also the process of measuring the activities in a project and reporting on the outputs and the final outcomes i.e. the impacts that the project has caused'[1]. It is also described as a management tool employed to inform strategy development and track the progress and impact of strategy implementation, now also commonly used to design evidence-based programmes, and increasingly popular among funders to require their grantees to demonstrate the success of grant-funded work (W.K. Kellog Foundation, 2017).

Whether defined simply or more technically, the purpose is clear; to measure the success of an action against a set of defined criteria.

An evaluation plan for the toolkit is a systematic way of measuring its success and outcomes against a set of identified criteria. It will also enable the identification of good practice and potential improvements for toolkits for this and other reconstruction projects in a planned, consistent and objective manner.

During the life of a project, you can use evaluation measures to inform changes to what you do to improve where things are not working effectively, or to build on successful approaches and ideas.

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[1] Heritage Lottery Fund, 2017.

Fig. 7.1: How to structure your evaluation

The structure and complexity of an evaluation approach can vary from project to project, and it is important to adapt it to the circumstances and objectives of the case in hand. However, there are a number of commonly recognised elements of evaluation methodology.

Theory of Change

The key component is the Theory of Change, also described as a Logic Model. This is a process for thinking about and describing the subject of the evaluation, set out in the form of a conceptual map of how the activities lead to outcomes. Normally taking the form of a diagram or chart, it is the overarching articulation of the assumptions and enablers related to the work, explaining, inter alia, why it is assumed the project activities will lead to the desired outcomes (NCP 2014).

Elements making up the Theory of Change can be defined as follows: -

– **Objectives:** the changes intended to be put in place, which should be realistic, succinct and few in number to be achievable.
– **Inputs:** the resources used to make the project happen; e.g. time, money, FTE hours etc.
– **Internal Enablers:** may be considered part of the inputs, within the control of the project. They describe how the work is to be delivered; e.g. the quality of services and relationships and the values and attitudes of staff.[1]
– **External Enablers:** things which need to exist in the external environment for the theory of change to work, and often beyond the immediate control of

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[1] **Internal enablers** for a reconstruction project will include project resources such as involvement of project staff and funds for technical aspects such as survey and mapping, booking of venues etc. They are likely to be expended on activities which were already planned to meet the objectives of the project and so the toolkit is not necessarily imposing a significant additional burden on project resources, but, rather, deploying them in ways which add value to its outcomes. Relevant expertise is likely to be available within the project for investigating and articulating heritage values, but some additional expertise sources nationally or internationally may be needed for particular tasks. The toolkit will make it possible to focus more precisely on who is needed and for how long. Governance and management resources, including project management, will underpin the implementation of the toolkit, and it is assumed that these resources will also underpin the work of the project, and so additional resources will not be significant if the toolkit is factored into the project plan.

- **Assumptions:** underly the theory of change and, preferably evidence based, state how the project outputs and activities are expected to lead to the intended outcomes.[1]

- **External Factors:** elements which may influence the project either positively or negatively. The most sophisticated evaluations will consider the extent to which the outcomes are a result of the inputs and activities and the extent to which they have been affected by other factors.[2]

(Heritage Lottery Fund, 2017 & NPC, 2014)

The Theory of Change can be represented in a number of ways, and diagrammatic means are often used. However, diagrammatic representations are simply summaries, which need to be supported by a good descriptive and narrative account (NPC, 2014), an approach summed up in the phrase 'no pictures without words, no words without pictures'.

Data Collection

Production of a logic model is the first step, which should be carried out before any data assembly methods are considered, to ensure that they are relevant and necessary. The logic model can inform the production of a measurement plan which sets out the types of data needed to perform the evaluation. A simple measurement plan would set out a list of the outcomes to be measured, indicators or proxies of these outcomes, and the sources of data for these indicators.

Once the priorities for data capture and necessary levels of evidence are identified, methods of data collection, research methods, formats, questions, resources etc. may be planned.

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[1] **Underlying assumptions** regarding the project include the high significance of the heritage concerned, and the objective of the project to sustain these heritage values and seek authenticity in the reconstruction involved. The extent and degree of damage may mean that the project involves extensive reconstruction. It is also assumed that there is recognition within the project and more widely that the reconstructed site has potential social and economic values through sustaining the local community and its traditional ways of life and through promoting community cohesion and/or reassertion of local, regional or national identity. There may also be economic potential from reconstruction in terms of future tourism development, but this is not seen as a prime motivator of reconstruction works.

[2] **External factors** contributing to the ability of the project to proceed include some stability and safety through the cessation of conflict. Factors giving rise to the project also include a dispersed local community and a commitment to resettling them, with national and/or international commitment to support and/or fund the project.

Identification of relevant baseline data is important to allow an understanding of what has changed. This is not always possible, particularly if evaluation has not been carefully planned from the beginning of a project and has either been retrofitted or the approach changed during the life of the project.

To make the methodology realistic and achievable, careful selection of what is measured is needed. Time spent collecting unnecessary data is a waste, while choices made should also be informed by the quality of the data it is possible to collect, rather than how easy it is to collect (Kazimirski and Pritchard 2014).

The evaluation should set out clearly the methodologies used in compiling and analysing evidence (HLF 2017) and be clear about deficiencies in what has or could be collected.

The level of evidence to be measured is a further consideration. This determines how rigorous and credible the evidence will be. These values will be viewed as varying in credibility by different receptors. NCP sets out scales for collection of evidence based on social science approaches, which ranks experimental approaches above statistical, which sits above theory-based in terms of credibility although theory-based approaches may be redeemed if they use quantitative date and include elements of other approaches (Kazimirski and Pritchard 2014).

The choices of data and level of collection may be limited in the circumstances of a post conflict society by what is practically available. Simple statistical evidence will be possible to collect if planned as part of the toolkit elements. Equally important however will be qualitative information through survey and direct interaction with the community and project partners to understand perceptions of the site and the work of the project.

Data Analysis
The collected data is interrogated to derive understanding of what has happened in the project and compared with the baseline data to identify what has changed over time. Simple presentation of the data is not sufficient (HLF 2017). Objectivity is crucial.

Presentation of results and recommendations
This will work best in the form of a self-contained account of the toolkit performance, broken down into performance measured against the identified objectives. Questions to be asked might focus on what did or did not work well, and why. Insights drawn from this evaluation may be used to inform conclusions and challenge assumptions or make recommendations for changes of approach

Individual evaluations and recommendations may then be drawn together in an overall conclusion, leading to a set of recommendations arising from the research as a whole.

Simple logic model diagrams are set out below for the separate toolkit components to show potential approaches to evaluation. There will be synergies and overlaps between the different elements in terms of data collection and assessment. For instance, the meetings and surveys of the community survey to establish values may also contribute to communications objectives and yield information on community perceptions; surveys of staff awareness of the project objectives relating to heritage values before and after training will also provide information on the awareness of and success of the site manual.

Fig 7.2: Logic model for identification of Heritage Values

Identification of Heritage Values:

Objective: To support the development and implementation of reconstruction projects in ways which recognise, recover, or reinstate relevant heritage values.	**Inputs:** Project staff Consultants Equipment Other project resources Toolkit team	**Activities:** Data collection plan including:- Site survey Archival research Mapping	**Outputs:** Damage assessment Heritage Values chart Heritage Value Assessment Heritage Impact Assessment	**Outcomes:** Heritage values are identified and fully assessed. Heritage values inform practical decisions on site.	**Impacts:** Reconstruction works reinstate, recover or recreate agreed heritage values, or reveal new heritage values.

Qualitative measures → **Baseline Conditions:** Original and post conflict heritage values identified and assessed in Heritage Values Chart. → **Toolkit Impacts:** Reinstated, recovered, or recreated heritage values resulting from the project identified and assessed in Heritage Values Chart. New heritage values revealed.

Quantitative measures → **Baseline Conditions:** Numbers of buildings or sites damaged/to be restored. Area of site. Buildings to be surveyed and assessed. Uses to be reinstated. → **Toolkit Impacts:** Number of buildings or sites, or site areas effectively restored to recover, recreate or reveal heritage values and reinstate uses compatible with heritage values.

Fig 7.3: Logic Model for Identification of Community Values

Identification of Community Values:

Objective: To ensure that the full range of heritage and social values are identified and respected in reconstruction works.	**Inputs:** Project Staff Consultants Other project resources Toolkit team	**Activities:** Identify Communities Community Asset Mapping Community Study	**Outputs:** Outreach and engagement carried out under Community Study.	**Outcomes:** Community values are identified and fully assessed. Community values inform practical decisions on site.	**Impacts:** Reconstruction works reinstate, recover or recreate agreed community values, or reveal new community values.

Qualitative measures → **Baseline Conditions:** Assessment of original and post conflict community values in Heritage Values Chart and using information gained from the community study. Awareness of the site and its values to the community before the project. → **Toolkit Impacts:** Engagement of community and groups Insights into community relationships with the site and its value to the community. Understanding of community values reinstated, recovered, or recreated as a result of project. Understanding of new community values attached to site.

Quantitative measures → **Actions:** Numbers of meetings, group discussions, events, questionnaires, website visits or interactions held. Number of people in attendance or giving feedback. Numbers of questionnaire responses. Numbers of website visits. Numbers of other interactions. → **Results:** Positive responses or feedback. New project partners or volunteers joining. Critical feedback or suggestions for improvement which can be actioned.

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Fig. 7.4: Logic Model for Manual of Site Works

Objective:
To give practical tools for project participants in achieving project aims in relation to heritage values and conducting safe and effective work on site

Inputs:
Project Staff
Consultants
Other project resources
Toolkit team

Activities:
Research
Prepare Gazeteer
Prepare maps and plans
Write guidance protocols and principles
Staff training
Procurement and provision of PPE
Secure site perimeter and access
Create site handbook
Prepare sample panels

Outputs:
Gazeteer
Guidance, protocols and principles
PPE
Site security
Site handbook
Sample works

Outcomes:
Safe site work
Safe and well informed workers
Restoration works follow conservation principles.
Good quality of works

Impacts:
The project is recognised as safe and effective.
Works on site are examplary.

Qualitative measures

Baseline Conditions:
Site conditions before these measures.
Site worker awareness of safety and site work conditions and requirements.

Toolkit Impacts:
A thorough and planned process for securing safe working conditions.
Staff working on site are fully informed regarding the nature and standard of works.

Quantitative measures

Actions:
Standards, advice, protocols and guidance produced.
Numbers of staff trained.

Results:
Numbers of staff satisfied with materials provided.
Numbers of staff satisfied with training delivered.

Fig. 7.5: Logic Model for Training Plan

Training Plan:

Objectives:
To support project participants in new or unfamiliar heritage activities as necessary
To support consistency of application of sometimes novel heritage theories in such projects

Inputs:
Project Staff
Consultants
Other project resources
Toolkit team

Activities:
Training materials created.
Training events organised and delivered.

Outputs:
All staff receive the training they need to fulfill project project objectives in relation to values and safe and effective site working.

Outcomes:
Heritage and community values are sustained.
Site works are safely conducted to high conservation standards.

Impacts:
The project is recognised as effective and carrying out reconstruction works to exemplary standards.

Qualitative measures

Baseline Conditions:
Project staff awareness of project approaches to heritage and community values and site works.

Toolkit Impacts:
Project staff are able to demonstrate understanding in and work to implement project approaches to heritage and community values and project standards for sitte works.

Quantitative measures

Actions:
Numbers of training events delivered within project and numbers of project partners trained.
Number of project partners or others attending events for the wider community.
Staff survey responses on pre-existing knowledge.

Results:
Increased knowledge and engagement from project partners and members of the wider community.
Project partners or members of the community confident in implementing the toolkit or supporting it.
Positive practical outcomes - successful implementation of the project through the toolkit.

Fig. 7.6: Logic Model for Communications Plan

Communications Plan:

Objectives:
To ensure that the objectives, activities and achievements of the project are effectively communicated to stakeholders and others.

Inputs:
Project Staff
Consultants
Other project resources
Toolkit team

Activities:
Organise meetings and events.
Produce materials - press releases, leaflets etc..
Distribute surveys.
Create /update web site.

Outputs:
Meetings and events held.
Press releases delivered.
Surveys delivered.
Web presence established.

Outcomes:
Awareness of the project is grown.
Engagement with the project is grown.
Press interest is grown.

Impacts:
The work of the project is recognised and positively received.

Qualitative measures

Baseline Conditions:
Perceptions of the site and the project prior to the work of the project among stakeholders and more widely.

Project Impacts:
The site and the work of the project are better understood and more positively recieved.

Quantitative measures

Actions:
Numbers of people reached through communications.
Numbers of positive responses or reactions.
Numbers of constructively critical reactions or suggestions for improvement.

Results:
Increased knowledge from project partners and members of the wider community.
New project partners or volunteers engaged with or supporting the work of the project.

Resources: Evaluation:

Harries, E, Hodgson, L and Noble, J (2014) *Creating your Theory of Change*. London, New Philosophical Capital.

Heritage Lottery Fund (2017) *Evaluation – Good Practice Guidance*.

Kazimirski, A and Pritchard, D (2014) *Building your Measurement Framework: NPC's Four Pillars Approach*. London, New Philosophical Capital.

W.K. Kellog Foundation (2004) *Logic Model Development Guide*. Michegan.

W.K. Kellog Foundation (2017) *The Step-by-Step Guide to Evaluation. How to Become Savvy Evaluation Consumers*. Michegan.

Toolkit Definitions

Alteration: work intended to change the function or appearance of a place. It may include the removal, addition or change of fabric.

Assessment of Significance: An exercise identifying the cultural aspects of the building/site/monument as a whole, while also assessing the sections of the site individually, providing a detailed framework for understanding it before being considered in a wider context of change. The approach adopted can be that established in Historic England's Conservation Principles, Policy and Guidance (paragraphs 30-60), with significance related to the family of heritage values set out in that document and below.

Authenticity: high degree of original/early fabric surviving free from damaging alternations or added layers. Authenticity is also in terms of original materials and substance, traditions and techniques, location and settings, function or use, spirit and feelings (EU, 2012). Also: those characteristics that most truthfully reflect and embody the cultural heritage values of a place (Historic England, 2004).

Build Back Better (BBB): The use of the recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction phases after a disaster to increase the resilience of nations and communities through integrating disaster risk reduction measures into the restoration of physical infrastructure and societal systems, and into the revitalization of livelihoods, economies, and the environment (United Nations General Assembly, 2016).

Conservation: the process of managing change to a significant place in its setting in ways that will best sustain its heritage values, while recognising opportunities to reveal or reinforce those values for present and future generations.

Context: any relationship between a place and other places, relevant to the values of that place; or the architectural, historical, social, economic, landscape or ecological factors relating to that place.

Cultural Heritage:

Inherited assets which people identify and value as a reflection and expression of their evolving knowledge, beliefs and traditions, and of their understanding of the beliefs and traditions of others (Historic England 'Conservation Principles' 2008).

Or

Cultural heritage includes artefacts, monuments, a group of buildings and sites, museums that have a diversity of values including symbolic, historic, artistic, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological, scientific and social significance. It includes tangible heritage (movable, immobile and underwater), intangible cultural heritage (ICH) embedded into cultural, and natural heritage artefacts, sites or monuments. The definition excludes ICH related to other cultural domains such as festivals, celebration etc. It covers industrial heritage and cave paintings. (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2009).

May include: -
  monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;
  groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;
  sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.
(UNESCO World Heritage Convention 1972)

Cultural Landscapes:

Cultural landscapes inscribed on the World Heritage List are cultural properties and represent the "combined works of nature and of man" designated in Article 1 of the World Heritage Convention.

May include:

Landscape designed and created intentionally by people. This embraces garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles.

Organically evolved landscapes result from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and has developed their present form by association with and in response to the natural environment.

Associative cultural landscapes are inscribed by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent. (UNESCO World Heritage Convention 1972)

<u>Designation</u>: the recognition of particular heritage value(s) of a significant place by giving it formal status under law or policy intended to sustain those values.

<u>Fabric</u>: the material substance of which places are formed, including geology, archaeological deposits, structures and buildings, and flora. Or the material substance of which an individual structure is made, including building materials and structures.

<u>Harm</u>: change for the worse, here primarily referring to the effect of inappropriate interventions on the heritage values of a place.

<u>Heritage</u>: all inherited resources which people value for reasons beyond mere utility.

<u>Heritage Values</u>: the components of the cultural significance of a place.

Evidential value: derives from the potential of the site to provide evidence of past human activity. The physical fabric of a building can be very important in this respect, demonstrating historic techniques and activities. Any archaeological resource and its potential capacity to respond to investigative analysis can make a contribution to evidential value. Similar to evidential value are scientific or educational value.

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Historical value: derives from the way in which past people, events, and aspects of life can be connected through a place to the present. This includes associative, illustrative and representational value, and encompasses among other things rarity of survival, the extent of associated documentation, the ability to characterise a period, and association with other monuments, buildings or places.

Aesthetic value: derives from the way in which people draw sensory and intellectual stimulation from a place. This includes not only formal visual and aesthetic qualities arising from design for a particular purpose but more fortuitous relationships of visual elements arising from the development of the place through time, and aesthetic values associated with the actions of nature.

Communal value: the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it, or for whom it figures in their collective experience or memory. It includes multivalent meanings a place may have for contemporary society. Commemorative and symbolic values are founded in collective memory and historic identity (including reminding us of uncomfortable aspects of national history) while social value often derives from contemporary uses of a place.

Spiritual Value: can come from the customs and teachings of organised religion as well as less formal beliefs and is often associated with places sanctified by a long tradition of veneration.

(Derived from Historic England, 2008)

Historic environment: all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time, including all surviving physical remains of past human activity, whether visible or buried, and deliberately planted or managed flora.

Historic Environment Record: a public, map-based data set, primarily intended to inform the management of the historic environment.

Integrity: wholeness, honesty.

Intervention: any action which has a physical effect on the fabric of a place.

Maintenance: routine work regularly necessary to keep the fabric of a place in good order.

Material: relevant to and having a substantial effect on, demanding consideration

Mixed Cultural and Natural Heritage:

World Heritage Properties shall be considered as "mixed cultural and natural heritage" if they satisfy a part or whole of the definitions of both cultural and natural heritage laid out in Articles 1 and 2 of the World Heritage Convention.

(UNESCO World Heritage Convention 1972)

Natural change: change which takes place in the historic environment without human intervention, which may require specific management responses (particularly maintenance or periodic renewal) in order to sustain the significance of a place.

Natural Heritage:

Inherited habitats, species, ecosystems, geology and landforms, including those in and under water, to which people attach value. (Historic England 2008)

May include:
  natural features: consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view;
  geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas: which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation;
  natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas: of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty.
(UNESCO World Heritage Convention 1972)

Place: any part of the historic environment, of any scale, that has a distinctive identity perceived by people.

Preserve: to keep safe from harm.

Proportionality: the quality of being appropriately related to something else in size, degree, or other measurable characteristics.

Public: of, concerning, done, acting, etc. for people as a whole.

Reconstruction: (General) The medium- and long-term rebuilding and sustainable restoration of resilient critical infrastructures, services, housing, facilities and livelihoods required for the full functioning of a community or a society affected by a disaster, aligning with the principles of sustainable development and "build back better", to avoid or reduce future disaster risk (United Nations General Assembly, 2016).

Recovery: (General) The restoring or improving of livelihoods and health, as well as economic, physical, social, cultural and environmental assets, systems and activities, of a disaster-affected community or society, aligning with the principles of sustainable development and "build back better", to avoid or reduce future disaster risk. (United Nations General Assembly, 2016).**Rehabilitation**: (General) The restoration of basic services and facilities for the functioning of a community or a society affected by a disaster (United Nations General Assembly, 2016).

Renewal: comprehensive dismantling and replacement of an element of a place, in the case of structures normally reincorporating sound units.

Repair: work beyond the scope of maintenance, to remedy defects caused by decay, damage or use, including minor adaptation to achieve a sustainable outcome, but not involving restoration or alteration.

Restoration: to return a place to a known earlier state, on the basis of compelling evidence, without conjecture.

Reversible: capable of being reversed so that the previous state is restored.

Transparent: open to public scrutiny.

Setting: the surroundings in which a place is experienced, its local context, embracing present and past relationships to the adjacent landscape.

Significance [of a place]: the sum of the cultural and natural heritage values of a place, often set out in a statement of significance.

Significant place: a place which has heritage value(s).

Social Values: Social value refers to the associations that a place has for a particular community or cultural group and the social or cultural meanings that it holds for them. They may include people's sense of identity, belonging and place, as well as forms of memory and spiritual association. See also 'Communal Value'.

Sustain: maintain, nurture and affirm validity.

Sustainable: capable of meeting present needs without compromising ability to meet future needs.

Value: an aspect of worth or importance, here attached by people to qualities of places.

Value-based judgement: an assessment that reflects the values of the person or group making the assessment.

Chapter 7 - Conclusion

This chapter identifies what I have achieved in my research in terms of interrogation of heritage theory and examination of its application in practice in relation to current and recent reconstruction projects in post-conflict situations. In doing so, I also identify those things which I have not been able to tackle, for practical reasons or the constraints of a single research project in a potentially wide field. As this is a Professional Doctorate, a further topic for review is the development of my own heritage practice on the basis of what I have learned from this research. Looking forward beyond this, it is also relevant to consider directions for future research based on identified gaps identified in my research and more generally, and on the potential benefits of doing so.

Turning first to what I was able to achieve, I firstly identified from the history of conservation thought the longstanding ideas that to this day inform practice relating to immovable heritage. Distaste for reconstruction, as encouraged by Ruskin and Morris and others in opposition to Victorian tidying up of church architecture to an idealised state, has been absorbed as a foundational principle of building conservation practice. This approach was developed and re-presented over the following century in national policies and international treaties and charters, and in particular the Venice Charter with its strictures regarding honesty/dishonesty and opposition to reconstruction. An approach based on Ruskin's model of passing on an inheritance from the past as a bequest to the future has set parameters, reservations, and prejudices against certain actions in the present, including wholesale reconstruction of decayed or destroyed heritage buildings or sites, and gilded by the fetishisation of ruins and decay traceable back at least to the Romantic and Picturesque movements of the late eighteenth century. I have also identified how, as ideas of what constitutes value in terms of heritage have expanded in the last few decades, the door has slowly opened to the theoretical possibilities of restoration or other works which respond to values of memory, identity, or nationhood ascribed to places by people, rather than the restrictions focused on narrower values relating to age and historicity ascribed by experts. Using the example of heritage practice in the UK I have shown that this has been followed through only incompletely in heritage practice due in part to the twentieth century roots of guiding policy and legislation, itself heavily influenced by those leaders of thought in the nineteenth century. These approaches appear less fit for purpose in a world where, following the Faro Charter, heritage practice is more acutely aware of the need for fairness and social justice, and on the other hand, traditional approaches based on intrinsic qualities such as age or completeness are

being increasingly challenged by real-world scenarios, not least those of community healing in the face of widespread disaster or conflict.

A gap between theory and practice is perhaps not unique to the management of heritage, as a lag between the development of new theoretical approaches and their implementation is likely in any field. However, the length and persistence of the gap, and a lack of dialogue between academia and practice is, I would suggest, in need of addressing. This discrepancy has the potential to hamper responsive heritage practice in a way which may be to its detriment in the long term if it is no longer seen as relevant or fit to address pressing and quickly evolving scenarios such as conflict related destruction, natural disasters or the effects of climate change.

The need for societal healing and physical recovery of places devastated in conflict in order to accommodate returning communities is another such scenario which tests the practice and theory of heritage. I have identified research, which is now becoming more evident, into the practical as well as theoretical aspects of post-conflict heritage reconstruction. This research is beginning to confirm the need for recognition of societal values applied to historic buildings and places. It challenges the traditional orthodoxies of practice in relation to historic fabric and its material completeness, the concept of authenticity. Nonetheless, there remain relatively few examples of implementation of heritage theory in ways which can inform changes to practice.

En route I have made two detailed investigations into the idea of authenticity as applied in practice today. In the first I assessed the work of Cesare Brandi, art historian, and his influence on the production of the Venice Charter, a seminal international document which in turn laid the foundations of much of today's conservation thought in relation to practical decision making. It can, for instance, be identified in the backdrop of decision-making in relation to issues such as preserving patina, distinguishing new work from old, and in warnings against the dangers of 'forgery' in restoration works. Based on his theoretical approaches derived from analysis of fine art and artefact conservation Brandi was a key advocate for 'truth' in restoration. It is the idea that buildings can bear witness to events or, conversely, deny them that has stoked the idea of falsity in heritage, and with it the fear of the scraped and smoothed, or even counterfeit, version of the past. This idea is at the heart of accusations of 'Disneyfication' laid against reconstruction, with its overtones of fantasy castles or two-dimensional stage sets existing, it would seem, only to satisfy idle curiosity or a desire for entertainment.

The second excursion looked at the application of conservation principles in relation to the case of the World Heritage Site containing the Bagrati Cathedral in Georgia, including the importance accorded to its former state of ruination as a form of authenticity lost in its reconstruction during the early years of the twenty-first century and its recovery as a place of worship. This case revealed the primacy given by international bodies such as UNESCO and ICOMOS to authenticity, almost as a heritage value in its own right rather than qualifier of value, and to its ruination, taken to be a fundamental aspect of that authenticity. The weight given to ruination led to the cathedral's de-inscription as a World Heritage Site, at the expense of any recognition of the community or spiritual values it had both as an expression of Georgian history and identity, and as a place of worship. I found the reconstruction works and clear modern interventions to be obviously thoughtful, with no lack of clarity over what is historic and what is new. However, the repugnance for reconstruction shown by the international heritage bodies, appeared to be adopted as a matter of principle, notwithstanding any merits of the works, and showed little in the way of reasoning or justification. This case, played out little over a decade ago, demonstrated the kind of uncritical rejection of reconstruction which can be seen today at all levels of decision making in the historic environment.

With this background in mind, I chose to follow a case study approach in order to have the flexibility and expansiveness to explore contemporary post-conflict scenarios in context. I was able to make contact with two different projects responding to heritage loss or damage in the wake of long-standing conflict, external and internal, in Iraq. These were chosen to examine contemporary responses to recent or ongoing conflict in contrast to the more distant conflicts such as the civil wars in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia most often covered in reflective literature, as heritage theory has moved on significantly over the last thirty years or so since these conflicts simmered down. I also focused on the more neglected subject of urban heritage sites, where the likely value sets are more diverse, and the remedies for destruction require serious practical considerations.

Heritage reconstruction projects following conflict – although natural destruction would also be relevant – present an important place for examining the broadening of heritage theory as, firstly, where there is extensive damage, the traditional, intrinsic values may be diminished, absent or present only as a trace. It is therefore the human values, applied to the site, which are more capable of recovery. Furthermore, the incentive to innovate to recover or recreate these human values, including through the recovery of physical material aspects of the site, has become compelling as

heritage has become recognised as a positive factor in social reconciliation or rebuilding of communal identity. These scenarios are therefore the leading edge of practice, where a more expansive understanding of heritage can be put into effect and ultimately inform work in more stable fields of practice. Throughout heritage work reference to and actioning of recent developments in heritage theory will be vital if heritage, as a practice, is to continue to be relevant. The projects studied were therefore able particularly to identify and test potentially appropriate and effective responses to such issues as community participation and identification of wider values but were also informative in terms of understanding the practicalities of reconstruction works. Key findings from these projects informed the content of my toolkit, and key learning points for me as a heritage practitioner are discussed below.

I have tried to identify practical measures and approaches which use a wider understanding of heritage values in order to inform practice for future such projects, collated in the form of a toolkit. In creating the toolkit I have looked at existing toolkits in the world of heritage and more widely (see Appendix 3); the term is often used fairly loosely, and a broader sweep was necessary to find examples of the systematic development of toolkits for practical purposes. My toolkit of practical measures for putting a reconstruction project into action in future has addressed these findings by providing measures derived from developments in heritage theory, particularly in relation to the identification of a wide set of heritage values, and in practical considerations derived from my case studies. It seeks to supports project work which moves forward in a state of authenticity that goes beyond simply the right fabric in the right places - the realities of reconstruction are more complex than that – the rigid approach defined in the Venice Charter is superseded and claims of Disneyfication are misplaced.

There have been some shortcomings in my chosen approach. Due to security issues I was unable to visit the study sites; Foreign and Commonwealth Office advice has been and remains that no travel to Iraq is advised. Normally seeing and experiencing a place would be the first requirement of assessing such a project, to allow fuller and more nuanced consideration of the sites and the people who relate to them. Data collection based on interviews with project participants was limited in extent due to the small numbers of interviewees I was able to make contact with and who agreed to talk to me. As a consequence, I also made extensive use of secondary sources such as published and online materials, with a counterbalance to any bias in those produced by the project found in analyses, where available, published by third parties. Another secondary source I used to add to my analyses was

pictorial, photographic and mapped/satellite imagery from contemporary and historic photographs and sources such as Google Earth respectively. In the case of Mosul, data published by the project was copious and detailed, and allowed very detailed consideration of parts of the project's work, including understanding the site and key buildings. Lack of direct access to local communities did mean that there was no way of accessing their feelings in relation to the work of the projects. This was not easily compensated for, even looking at social media; language of course was a barrier in that respect too. Detailed surveys carried out by the Mosul project were very useful in making up some of this shortfall, but there was no opportunity to examine follow up information, a result of the time constraints of a single research project as well as the geographical restrictions.

Looking at projects which were in progress has meant a focus on objectives and practical measure, and it has not been possible to reflect on outcomes, except as they have already emerged at this stage in the project. Doubtless, further effects will emerge over time, and, indeed, perceptions of those effects will mature subsequently. Nonetheless it has been a worthwhile exercise in terms of seeing how theory is being put into practice in the field, at ways in which reconstruction can be carried out, and at the challenges and achievements of at least attempting to do so. This is helpful in signposting directions for future analysis and reflection, as considered below.

An unexpected learning point from the Amedi project was the potentially wide-ranging role of landscape when considering the management of historic sites. From my interview with Jala Makhzoumi in particular I took away an understanding of the breadth of what could constitute landscape – I have professionally understood that it is more than just views or even historic gardens, but this brought greater focus on the multiplicity of scales and degree of complexity implied by her work, and the implications for how it might be handled. On both an intimate and expansive scale, landscape is also more than a negative space, the place where settlements or buildings are not; it is a positive space where human interactions are triggered and hosted. The fact that the WMF project for Amedi was not immediately cognisant of this, as revealed in both interviews on the project, suggests that this is an important and potentially fruitful area for development in heritage practice. The need for the Mosul project to alter the design of the mosque garden area also suggests that the meaning and character of this localised urban landscaped area was not fully appreciated; the canopied design, alien to local residents, did not reflect the more temperate climate or potential use patterns of this part of northern Iraq. The concept of the urban landscape as the everyday spaces of social interaction, including streets or

markets, is one which would benefit from further understanding or development in practice. Makhzoumi's description of landscape as a framing device for heritage is a helpful contribution to capturing the full context of heritage sites including through understanding qualities such as activity patterns and adding a spatial dimension to societal values.

Another learning point from the Amedi case study was that local communities would not simply rush forward to offer views, ideas, or choices in response to community engagement initiatives. On reflection, this is not entirely surprising; communities with low expectations regarding being asked about or involved in processes will need time and support to do so. Even in the UK, where the practice of public involvement has been in place for longer than in parts of the MENA region, turnout for the simplest forms of public engagement such as public meetings or surveys can be very low. As a heritage professional I am used in this context to contribute to engagement initiatives which are sustained over a period of time, with responses and interactions grown over a number of events which give feedback as well as simply report what is planned. Novel approaches facilitated by IT and social media are also used to attempt to capture harder to reach audiences such as younger people. The public engagement work of the Mosul project was moving in a similar direction by using cultural events and wider activities such as apprenticeships to draw in local engagement. The use of repeat surveys and indeed responses made to local feelings, particularly in relation to the design competition outcomes, is a good example of engagement carried through in practice which attempts to be responsive. Effective community engagement must be an important part of reconstruction projects if they are relying on an understanding of the widest range of heritage values to inform decisions. I have attempted to reflect and support good practice in this area in the contents of the toolkit, based on the promising signs of emerging practice in this area.

The wariness of Amedi's people towards to heritage was a useful reminder that it is not seen as an unalloyed benefit by all. As a professional in the UK I am most used to heritage being treated as an inconvenience and a financial burden, but it is important to be reminded that in some circumstances it may be perceived as an existential threat to living places and livelihoods, and that awareness of that that should inform plans for the recovery of historic places. For instance, my own experience tells me that saving derelict historic terraces in London in the latter decades of the twentieth century was necessary for their continued survival but subsequently supported gentrification of many inner suburbs such as Hackney, Islington or Tower Hamlets. It unwittingly contributed in a small measure to the fact that

occupation of such buildings, particularly as a single house, are now the realm of the rich and super rich, excluding most people with annual incomes only in the tens of thousands, except as occupiers of flat conversions, often shared. The commodification of historic areas and traditional houses has already been observed to have happened in cities such as Damascus (Salamandra 2004). It is important to acknowledge the likely consequences of saving historic places if the focus is only on survival of fabric rather than communities.

Schemes based on adapting neglected or abandoned houses for contemporary community needs to provide affordable housing are an alternative to gentrification in historic areas but are rare in practice. In the UK projects of this kind emerged in the north and midlands from 2010, but only as a result of Government cancellation of the controversial, demolition focused Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder Programme, a late echo of the post war 'slum clearance' schemes targeting traditional housing. The EU project for repairing traditional houses in Mosul, while small in extent, provides a useful template for inclusive approaches to reconstruction and rehabilitation, gathering in a displaced community, improving infrastructure, and providing training and employment as a multiplier of benefits. However, the repair of 140 houses at a cost of nearly $23 million is not a viable economic model for scaling up, and the next steps should be to extract all lessons for good practice from the project in order to facilitate uptake of similar approaches on a more widespread and cost-effective basis in damaged areas.

I have also been given cause to reflect on the amount of agency given to communities. As s heritage practitioners we should not simply draft people in to identify their own values for things that we have already decided are important; that still means that decisions have already been made at a certain level and that their agency is limited. We need also to be more open to recognising the validity of heritage that they put forward or identify independently, without prompting. We need to prepare to be surprised or challenged on our preconceptions. The importance of the modest garden-orchards of Amedi to the community is a good example of this.

Overall, when my research has touched on the reasons for deliberate or careless destruction of cultural heritage this has made me more acutely aware of this phenomenon than ever before, to the extent that I now understand it as a predictable event during conflict. While the impulse to rebuild, be it coming from a top-down direction in the form of the AHD or arising from the needs and wishes of a bereft community, is more accepted and acknowledged than ever in recovery and reconstruction efforts, I remain of the view that where destruction of historic buildings and sites has occurred,

and reconstruction is planned, a coherent and planned approach is vital to embed this successfully in practice. The toolkit is intended as a contribution to this development.

Follow up from the projects I have looked at, or indeed future start-to-finish examination of similar projects, would return to local communities or other project partners to understand how the results of the project have responded to their needs as expressed at the time or their expectations of what was proposed. There is also the potential for a loop back towards theory through the use of practice to inform how realistic it is when actualised, or even perhaps challenge or refine it. For instance, we assume that communities ascribe some values to historic places, but the results of the Mosul resident surveys suggest that these feelings are by no means universal. When does the degree of indifference or antipathy become statistically significant, and what does that mean for the progress of reconstruction with what implications for theoretical considerations? This dialogue is less often seen but might help to close the gap between the two worlds. Such work would also have value in extending or refining my or other toolkit mechanisms in securing effective community engagement to inform project actions and objectives.

As observed in the development of heritage theory and practice in the late twentieth century, innovation often occurred in response to crisis, or the perception of crisis, in terms of the risk of physical loss or damage to heritage buildings or places. Could the growing acknowledgement of the role of heritage in post conflict reconstruction, alongside that of the wider values which can be ascribed to heritage, mean that it is now time for heritage practice to take another evolutionary step by responding to these developments in practical decision making? There is certainly a need to continue to interrogate the Venice Charter-defined concept of authenticity and its application in practice, especially where it is not clear what is meant and its acceptance as an unchallenged factor has not been satisfactorily justified. Even some clarification would be a breakthrough. It could also be instructive to test the outcomes of reconstruction projects in physical terms, in relation to the salvage, re-use or supplementing of historic fabric and other characteristics. Using the Heritage Values Chart which I have devised to track the recovery, rediscovery or revealing of new heritage values could provide a mechanism for doing to.

In looking to the future of research in this area I would therefore suggest that much more focus is needed on sites similar to those I have been examining; destroyed towns and cities are a more meaningful reflection of the reality of conflict related destruction happening today in terms of direct effects on communities than monumental sites or places of national identity, although

these too can be important to those communities. This would respond to the widening understanding of heritage values identified in theoretical constructs and would contribute to the development of frameworks for practical responses to real needs. More consideration could be given to the practicalities of reconstruction projects as they occur or shortly after their completion; it is important not to wait until after they have concluded. Most planning for reconstruction begins even while the conflict is still ongoing, and heritage considerations should take their acknowledged place alongside other humanitarian concerns. This could too lead to the development and refinement of project designs or future toolkits to support the processes of reconstruction.

The kind of statements I witnessed as I started out on this research, saying that destroyed sites or buildings should remain in ruins as a testament to what had happened, the Wasteland approach, could be seen as callous or unthinking in the light of the now acknowledged potential for heritage to support reconstruction and healing. In the light of European responses to heritage destruction from Warsaw to Notre Dame they are arguably hypocritical. In fact, more investigation of urban places could provide a strong counter to accusations of Disneyfication; they are not stage sets or scenes of entertainment, but real places inhabited and used by real people for real activities, and their rehabilitation through reconstruction works has real purpose for and meaning to those people.

(71,091 words)

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Appendix 1:
# Cesare Brandi's *Teoria de Restauro*

This appendix provides an opportunity to discuss at further length the influence of Cesari Brandi on thinking on the topic of restoration following the publication of his Teoria de Restauro in 1963. The work of an influential art historian also involved in developments in international conservation thinking, it provides a counterbalance to the scientific approach established in the Athens Charter by approaching the issue from an art historical perspective. The lack until 2005 of an English translation of this key work means that his influence on international conservation thinking has not necessarily been extensively acknowledged or scrutinised in the Anglophone world, being restricted largely to limited quotations (see for instance Stanley-Price et all, 1996). Some analysis is needed to examine the work as a whole, and in doing so to identify its influence on subsequent thinking, and the problems it presents in applying his principles to built heritage.

In a work described by Viñas as unnecessarily obscure Brandi sets out his definitions and principles for the restoration of 'works of art', that is, a special category within the products of human activity which relies on recognition as such for its validity. His definition of restoration as 'the methodological moment in which the work of art is recognised, in its physical being, and in its dual aesthetic and historical nature, in view of the transmission to the future' perhaps verifies Viñas' accusation. A more straightforward and general definition he also gives is 'any intervention that permits a product of human activity to recover its function' (Brandi 2005).

However, the twofold nature of works of art which he identifies, the material and the artistic vision which it supports - 'the material transmits the epiphany of the image' - means that restoration cannot be straightforward in practice. The challenge which arises for restoration is that, while necessarily focused on the material, it must allow the material to continue to fulfil its function, which is as the medium for the artistic vision, without presenting any form of artistic forgery. There is, according to Brandi, a twofold justification for restoration. Firstly, the aesthetic case relies on the artistry through which the object of restoration may be considered a work of art. The second, historical case, relates to the origins of the work or art in a certain place and time, its recognition as art in the present and in other, intervening historical presents (Brandi 2005). In both, the function of the work as art are primary considerations.

Brandi discusses buildings from time to time, but they are clearly a problematic facet of his argument – returning a building to functional use is firmly consigned to a secondary role in the restoration process (Brandi 2005). It is also fair to say that many of the buildings which are the object of heritage processes cannot be considered works of art nor have they been consciously conceived or ever received as such. Some, indeed, have been built with the assumption of obsolescence and their eventual renewal or replacement. Thus, for Brandi's purposes, they are irrelevant. Nonetheless, his principles are cited and selectively quoted in contexts in which it is implied they have universal applicability to the conservation of built remains which are not exclusively works which have any artistic intent, but which are, nonetheless for other reasons, usually age-related, considered to deserve consideration for restoration (for example Stanley Price et al 1996). His is an approach which does not, therefore, always sit easily when applied in this context.

His own approach presents even Brandi with some difficulties; when considering the roles of the material element of the work of art, in relation to supporting either the structure or the appearance of the work of art, he acknowledges that they may sometimes be in conflict. He gives an example of fragile paintings on wooden panels, which might lose their special characteristics if the panels were removed. Assuming that this would even be achievable in practice, this rather obviously confirms the impression that the attempt to separate material and artistic vision is rather a forced one. In any event, considering the categories of buildings which may be considered as works of art, that is architecturally conceived buildings, the material and vision are often heavily interdependent. In such buildings, the materials have mainly been chosen for their honestly expressed physical qualities; stones are chosen for their colour, texture or contrast and ability to create and display solidity, metals for their adaptability to decorative forms, plaster for its ability to provide a rich and textured surface. Where various devices of tromp l'oeil have been deployed it has often been in a playful, allusive, or allegorical display rather than as an overlay of artistic expression, unrelated to the structure beneath. It is thus only rather a superficial view that would allow the reduction of the significance of building materials in polite architecture to a mere surface finish.
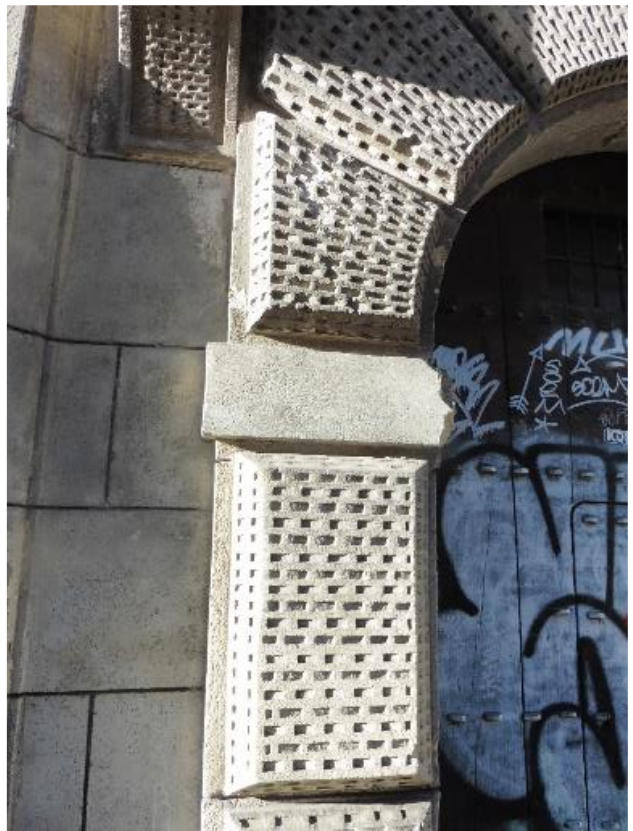
Trompe l'oeil rustication around a doorway (left) and real rustication (right) where the stone is dressed to form a textural contrast to the smooth masonry, in both cases highlighting the significance of the doorway. Granada.

(Photo S. J. Buckingham)
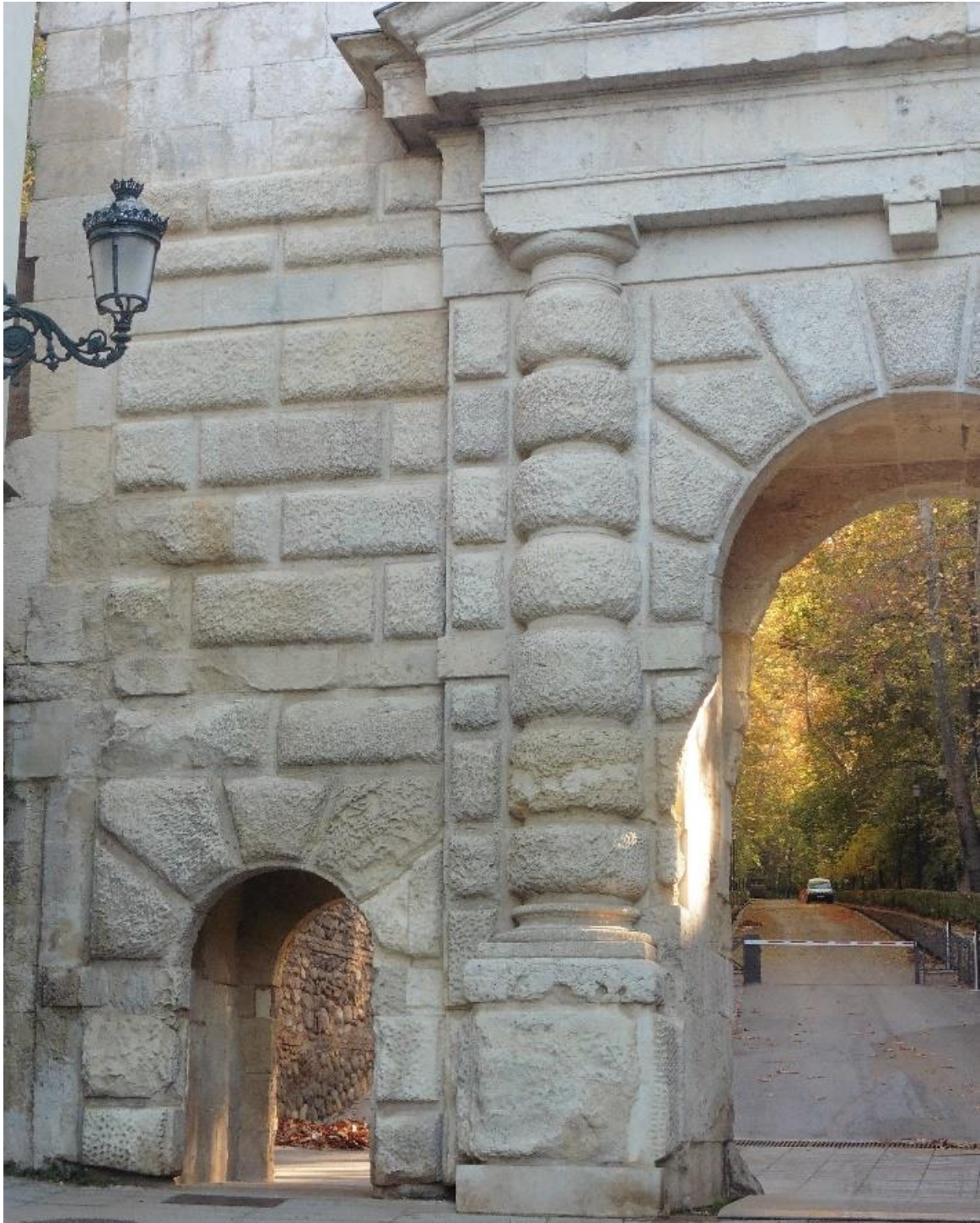
The Gate of the Pomegranates at the base of the Alhambra, Granada, Mid C15. Created after the fall of Granada to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492.

The outward face is heavily rusticated using a local roughly textured volcanic stone. The intention seems to be both to create an imposing entrance to the newly appropriated Moorish complex (the inward-facing front is smooth) and perhaps to foster the notion of an indigenous regime that had grown up from the very bedrock of the country. The qualities of the stone and the architectural intentions are indivisible.

(Photo S. J. Buckingham)

Burleigh House, built in the C16 for the Cecil Family. The smooth, pale Lincolnshire limestone in its general resemblance of marble picks up and reinforces the obvious classical references in this example of English Renaissance architecture.
(Photo S. J. Buckingham)

Detail from the Roman Staircase at Burleigh House, C15.

The qualities of the stone including its colour, texture and qualities as an easily carved freestone again reinforce the connections with classical and Renaissance precedents.

(Photo S. J. Buckingham)
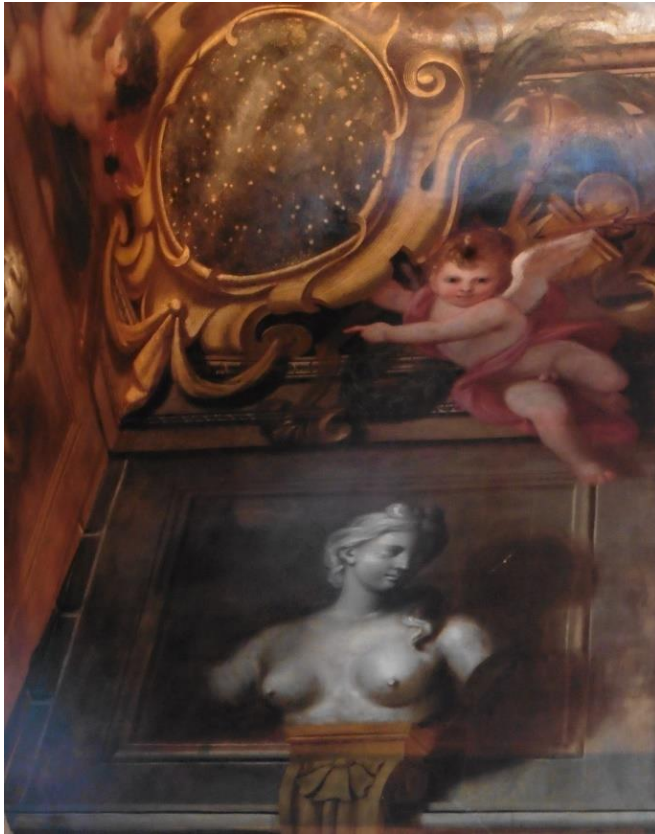
One of the many examples of tromp de l'oeil from the interior of Burghley House.

While the painted interiors could easily be considered as works of art on their own, according to Brandi's theory of the oneness of art, they are an integral part of the whole, and must considered in that context.

While the artistic effect of the work is not in this case dependent on the underlying material, presumably a plaster, it is continuing and reinforcing the overall classical theme of the building, as a harmonious part of an overall ensemble which in key aspects relies on the intrinsic qualities of its materials for effect.

(Photo S. J. Buckingham)

This approach perhaps signals the origins of Brandi's thinking in a world of art history which was already passing out of fashion at the time of writing, where traditional artworks such as paintings or sculpture are in the back of the author's mind. Paul Phillipot, in his essay which forms part of the introduction to the English translation of the work, points out that Brandi's principles would be hard to apply to modernist works of art with their non-traditional form and built in expectations of decay rather forcefully revealed through the use of perishable materials such as fresh lettuce or earwax (Phillipot in Cesare 2005).

Brandi's ideas on historicity caution against the recreation of a work of art even with a material, say marble, which is identical to that originally used, because despite their chemical similarity, a product which has been quarried now is a product of now and so can lead only to an historical and aesthetic forgery. Interestingly, this says nothing about the artistry of the product to be replicated, which might be considered the most important element in this context, while in the case of buildings, the use of historically accurate materials may well be the best way to reinstitute the intended aesthetic of the building.

Brandi warns repeatedly against the danger of forgery. The example he gives of a partially collapsed building which might legitimately be reconstructed from its collapsed blocks in an external replica of its original form, but with a strengthened interior to protect against future earthquakes. In this example it is simply the visible surface of the building to the depth of the blocks which is important, an approach which might by measures other than Brandi's be categorised as dissembling.

Contemporary restoration work at the Parthenon, Athens, using Pentelic marble, the original material.

The difference between the mellow original and the rather crisper and brighter repair is clear, and if the intention of the works was to perpetrate a forgery, it is unlikely to succeed. They are more likely to be intended to protect the building from further weathering or decay and to recreate the original aesthetic.

(Photo S. J. Buckingham)

On the subject of reconstruction of structures Brandi is more or less firmly against it, particularly in the case of ruins where no more than consolidation is preferred. He is clear that the intention, whether implicit or explicit, is to abolish a time lapse, and, depending on whether or not it seeks to appear as if the work is all from the original period, it may or may not be admissible. Confusingly he finds the complete absorption of the original work within the new perfectly legitimate as authentic and current evidence of human activity, notwithstanding the concealed historic element. This slightly contorted discussion of the best treatment of reconstruction, apart from conforming with the common but generally unverified assumption that most reconstructions are bad most of the time, also reveals the idea that they can also be considered as legitimate expressions of human activity in relation to the work of art, which in time will pass into the realm of history, and thereby acquire legitimacy (Brandi 2005). Historic reconstructions such as those carried out after World War 2, for instance are often now accepted without question as part of the historic evolution or indeed continuity of places.

The centre of Hildesheim, North Germany. The building on the left, the Knochenhaueramtshaus (butchers guildhall), is a replica of an original destroyed by wartime bombing. [Photo – Paul Bischoff, accessed from Wikimedia Commons]

The concept of the oneness of the work of art is set out by Brandi to define the parameters for restoration, and relies on the work of art being greater than the sum of its parts and not therefore reduceable to its constituent elements; mosaic tesserae or stone blocks that have been dismantled from the artistic arrangement, for instance, 'remain inert, and retain no memory of the wholeness that, through the action of the artist, they once formed a part' (Brandi 2005, p.55). Yet, a physically fragmented work of art will continue to exist as a potential whole in each of its fragments, and a treatment that seeks to recover the original oneness, based on the evidence of the original that is implicit within the fragments themselves, or retrievable from reliable sources can re-establish the oneness of the work of art without fakery (Brandi 2005, p. 57).

This creates an interesting dilemma in relation to ruins, which, Brandi considers, must contain enough evidence of their past to be evidence of human activity, being just more than a mere collection of degraded material. Therefore, surely, following the approach of oneness they must be presumed, as works of art, to bear the imprint of the original and potential whole, and so to be capable of reconstruction which is not in any way a forgery. Indeed, he identifies principles for restoration in relation to oneness,

including that any integrative intervention must always be easily recognisable as such and the use of identical materials and artificial patina. This would seem to imply that an honest, or even dishonest, reconstruction would be allowable. However, this is not to be; the restoration of oneness, Brandi says, is acceptable provided that the aim is only restoration and not reconstruction (Brandi 2005, p. 66). How these two intentions are to be differentiated in practice is not clear.

Finally, in one of his appendixes (Brandi 2005, pp. 94 - 95) Brandi turns his attention specifically to the matter of buildings and structures in his principles for the restoration of monuments. In this he acknowledges the key difference between buildings or other structures and smaller, portable works of art, namely the fixed spatiality of the former category, and their need to co-exist with the surrounding spaces. The main corollary of this is, in his analysis, the need to protect the natural and human-made setting of the monument, and to avoid relocation of the monument, except under exceptional circumstances.

Apart from these two relatively straightforward and unexceptionable propositions, there appear to be problems in abstracting from Brandi's outlook principles which could confidently and without internal contradictions be applied to buildings or ruins. Yet this has been done. Straightforward principles still followed today, transmitted from Boito via Brandi, include the need to distinguish new work from old, respect for patina, and the avoidance of re-perfecting a work to its original state while erasing elapsed time since it was created through the removal of later phases of its development. What remains unclear in following his ideas is why reconstruction which consists of adding to rather than over-restoring, concealing, or removing material cannot be acceptable in a heavily damaged or ruinated structure or place, particularly if the difference between old and new is made clear. Much is stated as a given – restoration good, reconstruction bad – or not clearly defined, particularly notions of forgery, authenticity, honesty. Falsification, for Brandi, is a matter of intent. However, his focus on smaller artefacts such as coins and works of art make this approach hard to translate to larger products of human activity such as buildings and townscapes where acts of forgery of a kind seen in the art world are not a particularly realistic prospect, and a much wider and more complex range of motives are generally brought to bear.

Brandi's work just predated the Venice Charter and was doubtlessly influential in its content (Jokilehto,1998). Paul Phillipot's essay, besides making Brandi's prose look like an exercise in plain speaking, also reveals his personal regard for Brandi and general adherence to his approach particularly in

relation to the nature of art. Phillipot's presence on the drafting committee of the Venice Charter tends to confirm the connection between Brandi's principles and the drafting of the Charter, and it was that which was to prove the medium for carrying through many of Brandi's ideas into subsequent conservation ideology.

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Appendix 2:
Authenticity scrutinised – the case of Bagrati Cathedral, Kutaisi, Georgia

This case is offered as an opportunity to look in more depth at the issue of authenticity and at international responses to reconstruction, using a site which has been subject to extensive damage, albeit historical, and subsequent deterioration of condition; Bagrati Cathedral in Georgia. The cathedral was founded towards the end of the tenth century on the instruction of Bagrat III, the first king of a united Georgia, and completed early in the eleventh century. It was built in a distinctive local version of Romanesque style (ICOMOS 1994). I visited it in April 2018, drawn by the controversy of its relatively recent de-inscription from the World Heritage List, and a write-up in the guidebook which implied that it had been ruined in the process of a heavy-handed reconstruction. Given the age of the damage, a limited assessment only was possible, but issues relating to physical changes are relatively well documented through UNESCO papers relating to the inscription and subsequent de-inscription of the cathedral as a world heritage site.

Sitting high on a hilltop overlooking Kutaisi, the administrative capital of Georgia, the cathedral was, on first impression, an ancient building surrounded by ruined walls and the remains of other ancient structures, although it had clearly undergone restoration. Further investigation revealed that this had been what I would normally consider to be a correctly conceived exercise, retaining a distinction between old and new fabric, with repairs which were sympathetically designed in relation to the original building and a clearly modern intervention in the form of an internal mezzanine floor in modern materials, intended to facilitate use of the building. I was also aware from literature available on site that the restoration project had been awarded an international conservation prize.

This disparity between my initial response to the project and the story of its de-inscription acted as a prompt to investigate further. A useful archive concerning the case is publicly available, published online by UNESCO, and illustrates how one cultural property has moved negatively across the boundary of perceived Outstanding Universal Value (OUV). Documents published by the State Party, the Republic of Georgia, have not been possible to identify online in English, but WHC reports quote extensively from them, and so it has been possible to get a reasonably clear understanding of both sides of the case. Meanwhile, the building itself acts as a document where some information concerning its restoration is readable, and my assessment partially relies on conclusions drawn from its fabric.

Biography of place

Georgia is a state with a very distinctive culture, with its own language and own church since the 3rd Century AD (Ilhan & Warren 1994). Located within the west of the country Kutaisi was the royal residence from the eighth century, when the east of the country was occupied by the Arabs. The cathedral was founded towards the end of the tenth century on the instruction of Bagrat III, the first king of a united Georgia, and completed early in the eleventh century (ICOMOS 1994). It was built in a local version of Romanesque style employing rounded arches and a cruciform plan, with semi-circular apses to the north, east and south, and a large central dome supported on four large pillars. Early additions included a three-storey tower on the north-west corner, with some evidence that it was intended for occupation, and monumental porches to the west and south (ICOMOS 1994).

The building survived for many centuries, suffering harm only in the modern period when it was significantly damaged during the Turkish invasion of the seventeenth century, at which time it lost its dome and roofs, and further damaged during Russian bombardment in 1770. The south and west porches survived until the nineteenth century, when they became progressively ruined (ICOMOS, 1994).

Early twentieth century photographs presented on site, although of poor quality, show a battered shell, albeit with evidence of some reconstruction or consolidation works to walls and porches. The ruined cathedral was added to the World Heritage List in 1994 along with the Gelati Monastery, a complex which was developed by the descendants of Bagrati III from the twelfth century. They were included under Criterion (iv) of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention 1994 (UNESCO 1994, para 24) as being outstanding examples of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates a significant stage in human history. This criterion remains effective in the current Operational Guidelines (UNESCO 2017, para 77).

View of Bagrati Cathedral from the west. (photo S J Buckingham)

Bagrati Cathedral viewed from the north with ruined west porch to the right-hand side, painted by Aleksandr Fyodorovich Peters 1877, accessed from artcylopedia.ru

Images of C20 photographs of the Cathedral on site display board.
(photo S J Buckingham)

The qualities for which inscription of the cathedral was recommended were its representation of the flowering of feudal monarch in mediaeval Georgia, and the highest representation of the distinctive stylistic idiom of the country in the context of the royal capital (ICOMOS, 1994 B). These qualities may be taken to be essentially historical and architectural in essence.

The report of an ICOMOS mission to Georgia in 1994 identified the very high calibre of ecclesiastical architecture in the Caucasus at the end of the first millennium as being potentially profoundly important in scholarly terms as well as being visually stimulating and of the greatest significance to the Georgian nation. The major churches of the Georgian sites being examined, including Bagrati cathedral, were seen as representing the greatest achievements of this period of development, and thus illustrating a significant phase in the history of the country (ICOMOS 1994 A, S3).

The cathedral was, at the point of inscription, described as a ruin, carefully conserved by recent repair and consolidation work to a high standard. The mission report also discussed a proposal, powerfully supported by the Metropolitan bishop, for the structural repair and restoration of the building to use as a church. This approach was not dismissed out of hand, but it was stated that such a policy could be justified only if the buildings were to be seriously used as a congregational church, and it could be shown that there was no hypothetical element in the restoration. The absence of photographic records of the original drum and cupola would be obstacles to achieving the second requirement, but, it was conceded, the use of an appropriate but identifiably modern construction might offer a solution, (ICOMOS 1994 A, S11)

However, the relatively neutral character of this report had, by the time a report was presented to the World Heritage Committee (WHC), acquired a different tone. In setting out the authenticity of the monument, the latter states that 'Bagrati Cathedral is ruined, and may be considered ipso facto to be completely authentic' going on to ascribe 'grave doubts' to the ICOMOS mission in relation to the reconstruction of the cathedral and its re-consecration. (ICOMOS, 1994 B). In reaffirming the recommendation to inscribe the property on the World Heritage List on the basis of criterion iv, it states that 'Bagrati Cathedral and Gelati Monastery represent the highest flowering of the architecture of Mediaeval Georgia'. In the absence of a published detailed statement of OUV prepared by the state party, this statement, and the assessment of the 1994 mission are the main sources of information on the reasons for the inscription of the monument and explanation of its OUV.

Subsequent WHC monitoring reports reveal a period of inactivity in the years immediately after inscription, followed by revival of the reconstruction proposals in 2008 by the then President of Georgia, Mikhail Saakashvili and the Georgian Orthodox Church. The response of ICOMOS and the WHC was one of growing unease and then concern, fuelled by a lack of communication between the parties on the issue, and the re-iteration of the view that any reconstruction must be carried out in keeping with the OUV of the property and its authenticity, and that it would therefore be more appropriate to retain the site as a ruin (ICOMOS 2004). There was also concern that no conservation or consolidation works had been carried out since the time of Inscription and that the physical state of the cathedral and monastery had deteriorated over that period (ICOMOS 2005, UNESCO 2007).

Bagrati Cathedral in 2007, showing partial reconstruction of fabric which the written accounts indicate must have been present at the time of inscription. (Image from Wikimedia Commons - https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bagrati_Cathedral,_Kutaisi,_Georgia.jpg).

The image above shows that in fact the building had been partially restored to a significant height, and some restorations such as the western porch, shown on the right-hand side of the photograph, had been in place for a sufficiently long time to have fallen into dilapidation themselves. It is reasonable to suggest that by the early twenty first century the building was no longer quite a ruin, certainly not in the Romantic fashion portrayed in the painting of 1877.

The cathedral prior to most recent restoration works – view of West end and porch, also showing evidence of relatively high levels of reconstruction. (Image downloaded from the Georgia Journal of 10th July 2017 - https://www.georgianjournal.ge/culture/33639-georgias-medieval-bagrati-cathedral-removed-from-unesco-cultural-heritage-list.html).

A joint World Heritage Centre/ICOMOS/ICCROM advisory mission in 2009 was to discover that major interventions had been carried out as the first phases of the project of reconstruction of the cathedral, including reinforcement of the foundations by a concrete ring beam around the monument, construction of reinforced concrete columns and what is described as original wall surfaces partially covered with stone slabs and iron reinforcement. These were characterised as serious negative interventions (UNESCO 2009). Concern was also expressed regarding future planned work, on the basis that, although it would be possible to extend mouldings and complete partially collapsed arches through geometrical projections, dimensions such as the heights of the vaults, shape of the drum and height of the cupolas would be conjectural.

The immediate cessation of all works was urged, and the state party was advised to consult with international conservation engineers and architects to determine how the interventions already carried out might be reversed and consolidation of the ruins achieved. The site was placed on the list of World Heritage Sites in Danger (UNESCO 2010).

Work was subsequently halted, and the Italian conservation architect, Andrea Bruno, was appointed as a consultant for the cathedral. He advised that the retention of an incomplete structure in an area of seismic activity would not be sustainable, and that the works carried out so far had been done to counteract this risk. They were, furthermore, not reversible. There is some evidence to suggest that he refined and redirected aspects of the project (Domus 2012), but publicly available information concerning the project is not sufficiently clear to confirm the details of or extent to which this was done.

The WHC welcomed the halting of works and expressed satisfaction at the improved co-ordination between state and religious authorities. It also noted the appointment of the international consultant and the engineering solution being worked on to rehabilitate the cathedral as an enclosed space. Recommendations for future work included the maximum reversal of recent work, the incorporation of fragments on site if possible where they form part of the walls, the use of a lightweight roof that provides a profile similar to that which once might have existed and leaving the interior un-plastered.

A joint WHC/ICOMOS mission visited Georgia in 2012 to discuss a rehabilitation strategy drafted by the state party with the WHS, ICOMOS and ICCROM. It noted that the reconstruction of the cathedral had recommenced, and that, while exemplary investigative work had been undertaken on the monument, no attempt had been made to undertake an archaeological reconstruction using the 400 surviving original stones, nor to conserve the original fabric; in short, the opportunity to bring Bagrati Cathedral back into use, while at the same time sustaining its OUV had been lost, and that its authenticity had been irreversibly compromised, such that it no longer contributed to the justification for the criterion for which the property had been inscribed. It is also stated that as there had been no systematic conservation of the original fabric, problems of ageing and weathering continued.

This is at odds with the statement of Nika Vacheisvili, Director General of the National Agency for Cultural Heritage Preservation of Georgia, reported in an article by the Georgian news organisation Tabula. In this he cast doubts on the thoroughness of the mission, which according to his account was a single,

under-prepared expert. He challenged the accuracy of the mission's findings, particularly, and significantly, in relation to the 400 original stones, which he states had been restored to their original positions and had also informed elements of design such as the width and openings in the dome, and the number and form of arches (Bagauri 2012). The implication of this statement is that the reconstruction was not conjectural.

In the same article Andrea Bruno is quoted as saying that the project was conceived as an innovative one, intended also to house a museum and through objects and interpretation, and in the treatment of the structure itself, to allow for better revealing and therefore better understanding of the cathedral. Bruno went on to win the Domus Restoration and Conservation International award, promoted by the University of Ferrara in Italy, for the project in 2013 (Domus 2012).

Nonetheless, in 2013, the WHC requested the State Party to submit a request for a major boundary modification to the World Heritage Site which would have the effect of removing Bagrati Cathedral, leaving only the Gelati Monastery. This was submitted and approved in 2017, and Bagrati Cathedral was thus removed from the World Heritage Site. The reconstruction works were completed at the time of inspecting the building in May 2018, and it is now roofed and in use for worship, a contested structure.

Analysis of works

Photographic images presented at the Cathedral chart restoration works from the early twentieth century to the 1990s. They reveal firstly the highly ruinous state of the building at the beginning of this period, and the degree of restoration that had already been done by the time of inscription as a World Heritage Site, deemed of good quality by the ICOMOS mission at the time. These works included rebuilding of some walls to eaves height, extensive refacing of damaged stonework, leaving some weathered faces, and rebuilding of the west and south porches using salvaged elements.
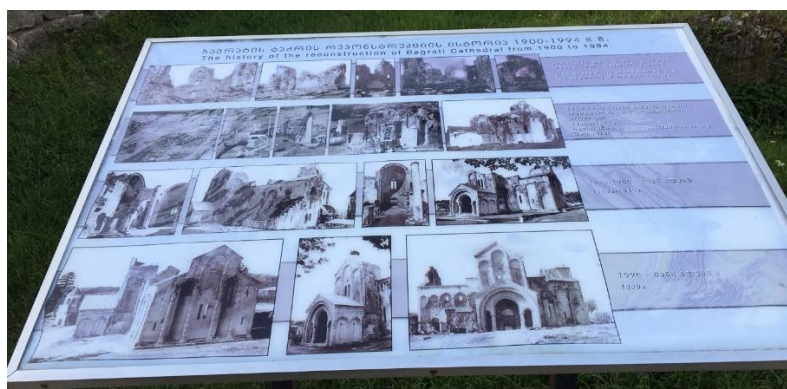
Information board outside Bagrati Cathedral. (photo S J Buckingham)

* Exterior Works

Inspection of the structure indicates that, although there has been some visible intervention in the external fabric in the form of re-facing works, original fabric and the outlines of previous restoration works are clearly delineated. Comparison of images of the cathedral prior to and after reconstruction are instructive, and the following two images look at one façade of the building by way of example.

South elevation of the Cathedral before major restoration (downloaded from ambioni.ge - http://www.ambioni.ge/bagratis-tazari).

South elevation of Bagrati Cathedral, May 2018. (photo S J Buckingham)

Comparison of the two images of the south frontage indicate that further refacing of highly damaged stonework was carried out as part of the reconstruction work. The most significant difference is the new work in the form of the restored nave roof and central dome. However, they are legibly new work, while unfaced stonework is still visible, and the line between that and previous restoration works clear.

The 2010 and 2012 WHC reports repeat the slightly emotive tone used in the related mission reports in describing works to partially cover the walls with stone slabs and use of stone cladding (UNESCO 2010, UNESCO 2012). The works observable on site generally appear to be what would in Europe be termed as 're-facing', a technique widely used in ecclesiastical or other buildings where stone slips are used to repair the surface of stonework which is damaged or weathered to a severe degree and thus run the risk of structural failure. The 'before' image shows stonework on the lower half of the wall, left of the porch, which appears to be particularly degraded, and where re-facing would not appear to be an unreasonable response to prevent further weathering.

Use of a concrete ring beam around the cathedral's foundations, as protection against future seismic activity does not on the face of it seem unreasonable and mirrors similar works in other historic contexts. The concern of the WHC and ICOMOS at this element of the reconstruction appears to lie in their concern that it was only at the estimation of Georgian engineers that this work lay below archaeological layers on the site. The requirement for international validation of this is not expressly explained, nor why the estimation of local engineers was not to be trusted.

∗ Interior Works

The following image of the interior of the Cathedral shows internal restoration works completed in the phase prior to the major reconstruction project, including some limited refacing of stonework and partial reconstruction of two of the hexagonal columns which would originally have supported the central drum and cupola, and of one of the circular columns supporting internal aisles or gallery.

Interior of Bagrati Cathedral prior to restoration, facing eastern apsidal end (downloaded from kuaisi.tripstation.com)

Interior of Cathedral, looking west.
(photo S J Buckingham).
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Interior of Cathedral, looking east
towards domed apse.
(photo S J Buckingham)

Comparison of the interior before and after restoration shows the retention of the partly reconstructed hexagonal and circular columns to the same height, with modern construction placed above. The lost fabric of the round columns has been replaced in metal, presumably steel, with a bronzed finish and that of the hexagonal columns with reinforced concrete, clad in stone to match the body of the cathedral, and intended to support the new dome.

The eastern pair of hexagonal columns have been reconstructed entirely, using, it was said, reinforced concrete to support the new dome (ICOMOS 2010). However salvaged blocks have been visibly integrated into them, and they are otherwise clad in stone to match the original. There is a clear tideline retained, showing the extent of earlier restoration works, while new works are legibly presented.

While the choice of reinforced concrete and stone for the construction of the dome is perhaps surprising, given that the lightweight structure advocated by ICOMOS would have been easier to install, it is clearly distinguishable from original work, and has allowed the insertion of individual salvaged blocks into appropriate positions within the structure.

The exposed original stonework of the domed eastern apse appears unchanged as a result of the reconstruction.

New works to the eastern end of the cathedral include the construction of a new museum gallery, accessed by a lift. As entirely modern design, using contrasting materials, it is clearly distinguishable from the original work, and raised no explicit concerns in assessments of the reconstruction project.

View of reconstructed dome and easternmost pair of hexagonal columns. (photo S J Buckingham)

The modern structure is visible on the north side of the main, west, elevation of the cathedral, where, again, it is clearly distinguishable from original work, and is set back behind the front elevation in order to reduce its visual effect.

West elevation of the cathedral. (photo S J Buckingham)

Beyond replacement of their roofs, no further works of restoration appear to have been carried out to the reconstructed porches beyond those done during the twentieth century.

South porch showing earlier reconstruction works.
(photo S J Buckingham)

South porch interior showing ancient, unrestored fabric.
(photo S J Buckingham).

Reconstruction of double opening, internal view. (photo S J Buckingham)

The post-inscription reconstruction followed the earlier approach of reinstating blocks in their original positions within the structure, and, where appropriate, using them to inform the form of reconstructed elements. This approach, based on archaeological appreciation of the surviving fabric, is the opposite of conjectural reconstruction. It is illustrated by the double window opening shown here.

Presentation of surviving historic floor finishes (photos S J Buckingham).

Assessment of Authenticity

The cathedral and monastery were inscribed under Criterion (iv) of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention 1994 (UNESCO 1994, para 24) as being outstanding examples of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates a significant stage in human history. This criterion remains effective in the current Operational Guidelines (UNESCO 2017, para 77).

The qualities for which the cathedral was inscribed were its representation of the flowering of feudal monarchy in mediaeval Georgia, and the highest representation of the distinctive stylistic idiom of the country in the context of the royal capital (ICOMOS 1994 B). These qualities are historical and architectural in essence.

At the time of inscription of this and other World Heritage Sites in the country, Georgia was newly independent and had recently suffered a damaging civil war. The ICOMOS and UNESCO reports point to a lack of resources and lack of appropriately qualified conservation professionals available (e.g., UNESCO 2009). They also reveal the absence of a management plan for the world heritage site – the concept was unfamiliar in Georgia at the time - a lack of appropriate institutions and national policy and law for dealing with the issue.

The impression I gained from the reports is not so much that the Georgian authorities were evasive or un-co-operative, but, rather, unprepared for the responsibility. This appears to have heightened UNESCO/ICOMOS fears and may partially explain their worried and suspicious response to the reconstruction.

The concept of authenticity as originally applied at the time of inscription was explicitly tied to the ruination of the building, although it was not documented then or subsequently how authenticity was dependent on ruination. Following the approach current at the time of inscription, which was often focused on physical intactness, it appears particularly contradictory to suggest that the ruined condition can be held to be a priori more authentic than a consolidated or reconstituted one where the OUV has been identified as the expression of early ecclesiastical architectural style in the emergent tenth century unified Georgian state. The Nara Document, published by UNESCO in 1994, sets authenticity at the heart of cultural heritage, and, importantly, as being able to take in spiritual and intellectual values in addition to those historical and architectural values already identified in the Venice Charter (UNESCO 1994). Even so, UNESCO has never clarified why, in contradiction to its own approach, maintaining ruination was to override other values.

In practice, it is not evident how the loss of ruination has obscured the originally identified historical and architectural values of the building; the age and key architectural characteristics of the building are still in evidence, while its role as a historical touchstone in the history of Georgia remains untouched. Furthermore, qualities such as a sense of the antiquity of the building derived from the obvious and pervasive presence of ancient fabric and evidence of craftsmanship is very clear. Additionally, the visible presence of numbers of small original blocks within the reconstructed structure suggest the re-use of the 400 displaced blocks referred to in the 2010 and 2012 mission reports.

Accusations in the WHC/ICOMOS mission report in 2010 (quoted in UNESCO 2010) that the reconstruction would destroy the "authentic spirit" and "breath of history", were not defined or clarified. Overall, the experience of entering the building is one of a dimly lit, calm space, enlivened by the occasional movements of worshippers praying, attending to icons or lighting candles. In these ways it reflects the typical experience of a traditional Georgian church, and the vague claims of loss of authenticity on these grounds are not entirely convincing. While no attempt has been made by any party to identify the communal values attached to the building, the presence of a regular stream of worshippers to the building strongly implies that it has recovered its original spiritual values.

Proposals were put forward in 2007 by the state party to re-evaluate and renominate the cathedral and Gelati monastery under two additional criteria – as masterpieces of human creative genius and monuments directly associated with the living traditions of the area – in recognition of the newly recovered communal/spiritual value. The early development of ecclesiastical architecture in Georgia had been acknowledged to be of a very high calibre, with an evolutionary relationship with the earliest churches in Egypt and Syria (Ilhan and Warren, 2004), and the particular worship practices of the Georgian orthodox church are a continuing tradition within the country. So both claims were not without merit.

However, the opportunity was not taken to review or update the reasons for inscription in response to this request, and indeed it was explicitly rejected by the 2010 mission on the grounds that the value of the monument as a symbol of national identify and unity did not conform to the original reasons for inscription, including its ruined condition. This is not an adequate explanation of why that original reason could not be revisited, especially in the light of the Nara approach, by then was firmly embedded in practice, and a more nuanced approach to authenticity.

The modern interventions are of evidently high quality in design and materials, and complement, rather than compete with, the original stonework. Overall, this element of the work sits within the established, if not universally accepted (Hardy 2008), approach to modern interventions in sensitive historic structures to facilitate re-use/new uses or better access.

The effects of ruination and then restoration on the values of the cathedral are summarised below in the Heritage Values Chart (HVC). This is a method developed for this research to reflect and chart changing circumstances and changing understanding of value over time, to support consistent evaluation of reconstruction works.

The completed HVC for Bagrati Cathedral shows that the overall effect of the restoration in relation to the ruined site is one of positive recovery of values or identification of new values ranging beyond the traditional and expert identified historical and architectural values. The historical values of the building sit apart from its physical structure, and have remained unchanged through ruination and restoration, although I would argue that the structure is better able to represent and express these historic values if seen as a complete building than as a ruin requiring considerable interpretation. Its architectural values have experienced near-total loss, followed by substantial recreation in a form relating to that originally existing, albeit in a simpler, pared down style. The retention and anastylosis of original elements of the

stonework has allowed better understanding of the original form than a set of disaggregated blocks. I would therefore argue that the expression of the original architectural interest is improved over that provided by the ruined structure.

The phase of existence as a ruin of aesthetic, picturesque value in its own right was temporary. While of interest, this condition had little relation to the original and intended architectural expression of the building. Restoration allows for a better expression of the original intentions of the builders of the cathedral and therefore of its authenticity in that regard.

The one area of possible detriment is the loss of archaeological interest due to ground disturbance in installing the concrete ring beam below the building. This is a worst-case scenario on which no assessment can be made, as I have not been able to locate information relating to these works.

In national, communal and spiritual values, given the understanding of significance in the post-Nara world, there are positive effects to be identified in terms of the restored building being a clear and strong expression of national and local identity, with value for spreading understanding and appreciation of the historic and architectural quality of the site.

Values Chart: Bagrati Cathedral

(The effects in each phase are mapped in relation to the preceding condition of the site.)

Values:	Originally Present	Effect of Ruination	Effect of Restoration
Historic:	Representation of the flowering of feudal monarch in mediaeval Georgia.	Unchanged	Unchanged
Architectural:	Highest representation of the distinctive stylistic idiom of the country in the context of the royal capital.	Lost	Stylistic elements partially restored as some original fabric reinstated and general form of the building recreated. Assuming that this is largely based on archaeological evidence and is not conjectural, a sense of the complete building has been restored.
Aesthetic:	High aesthetic value.	Original aesthetic value lost, although …..	Aesthetic values of ruins lost – aesthetic qualities of the cathedral partially restored.
		new aesthetic values created of the Picturesque/Romantic qualities of the ruined structure.	Romantic ruination lost.
Evidential:	Complete building and undisturbed site.	Importance in scholarly terms – evidence from ruins and displaced stones, but less than that of the original building. Historical accounts unchanged.	Restored structure retains surviving fabric and evidence of layout from the ruined stage. Historical accounts unchanged.
Archaeological:	N/A	Archaeological evidence of original extent of structures in the complex to be found around the cathedral. Evidence of preexisting structures – unclear.	Unclear – the insertion of the ring beam below the foundations may have damaged archaeological evidence, but no reports were accessible. Significant archaeological remains may still be on site.
National:	Evidence of the flowering of Georgia's distinctive national identity. Founded by Bagrat III, the first king of a united Georgia.	National associations damaged by the loss of the complete building under violent circumstances by occupying powers.	The restored building is a strong assertion of national identity following the years within the USSR.

Communal:	Not known, beyond national associations.	The site was likely to retain value as a historic site conveying interest and status to the town, albeit in a damaged condition. Use as a place of local interest and recreation for local people. Potential to attract visitors or tourists.	The value of the site as for conveying interest and status to the town, and an incentive for visitors or tourists to attend has been revitalised and re-asserted. Noted to be a place of local interest and recreation for local people taking strolls and enjoying the panoramic views of the town.
Spiritual:	Place of worship of very high value due to royal and national associations.	Some value retained despite ruination.	Value restored by recovery of a functioning religious building of high national importance.
Natural:	Unknown.		
Landscape:	The site occupies a very prominent location with Kutaisi, on a high hill overlooking the river Rioni which flows through the centre of the town. The cathedral forms the focus of views from many central viewpoints.	The siting and location of the cathedral will not have changed due to the damage and subsequent decay, although the perception of it and its contribution to key views within the town will have been very different (see aesthetic value, above).	The cathedral sits at the apex of an extensive, steep greened area, containing ruins of ancient structures, presumably within the cathedral precinct, and Kutaisi's 'giant tree. It remains visually connected to the rest of the town, the river, and other important sites such as the botanical gardens, and will have regained prominence as a focal point in views up from those places due to its reconstruction.
Setting:	The cathedral appears to have been set originally in an immediate setting in the form of a precinct containing ancillary structures and bounded by a wall. It is likely to have been set apart from the town, emphasising its functional and visual prominence. See landscape, above, for consideration of the wider setting.	The original damage and subsequent decay of the site as a whole appears to have caused the incremental loss of buildings around the cathedral in its immediate setting. It has thus been separated from significant elements of the site's original layout and function, thus diminishing appreciation of its early significance. See above regarding wider setting.	The cathedral today has an expansive landscape setting which accords the cathedral to prominence and provides a green backdrop which complements it as a building. Development around the site is suburban in density and height, meaning there is no competition with the cathedral as the most prominent building, and not visual distraction from its architectural qualities. The greened area is used by local people as a place of leisure.

			Altogether the setting is different but has found positive new values.
Additional:	N/A	N/A	Interposition of good quality modern structure and museum to support continuing interpretation and access, widening awareness and interest of the building and supporting potential educational value.

Key:	Negative Effect	Partial or Neutral Effect	Positive Effect

Overall, therefore, taking the full range of possible heritage-related values into account, and assessing the ability of the restored structure to express these values, it may be said to be equally or to a greater extent authentic than the ruins which preceded it.

In terms of the implications of this conclusion, the case of Bagrati Cathedral is one in which the OUV of the site, rather than having been lost in a practical sense, has been lost to understanding through the failure satisfactorily to marry it up with a reasonable articulation of the culturally specific heritage values of the site and of its authenticity in those terms. This case may be an indication that unless more thought is given to bridging these two approaches by bodies such as UNESCO and ICOMOS, the current system, which attempts to identify and formalise to a consistent threshold values which it identifies itself as culturally specific and relative, will remain inherently flawed, leading to further questionable decisions in relation to world heritage sites.

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Appendix 3:

What is a toolkit and how can it help in post-conflict reconstruction work?

Unpacking the Toolkit

In this appendix I examine the concept and forms of the toolkit, a package of measures intended to support practice in a given field, across a range of disciplines. I then go on to review relevant toolkits available in heritage practice in order to understand situations in which they are currently used and the uses to which they are put. Finally, I consider which features of toolkits would make them a useful complement to the work of those operating in the post conflict reconstruction of urban heritage sites and how such a toolkit may be defined and for what purposes.

Toolkits are used in various academic and professional disciplines including particularly healthcare, but also IT and social sciences (American Libraries Association n.d., Young Adult Library Services Association, American Libraries Association n.d., University of California Berkeley 2019, Thoele et al. 2020, Salbach et al. 2022) They are noted, particularly in clinical practice, as a response to patchy implementation of recommendations derived from research. The definition set out by the American Libraries Association is typical: 'A toolkit is a collection of authoritative and adaptable resources for front-line staff that enables them to learn about an issue and identify approaches for addressing them. Toolkits can help translate theory into practice, and typically target one issue or one audience.' It goes on to identify that they are particularly valuable when the issues covered are emerging or evolving, and well-established processes for addressing them are not yet widely adopted (American Libraries Association n.d.). They are also identified as having value in facilitating wide-spread adoption of a particular good practice (Yamada et al. 2015). While toolkits are used in different contexts, they nonetheless exhibit commonalities in their purpose, their creation, implementation, and content.

The metaphor deployed in the term 'toolkit' signals the series of practical measures or recommendations identified above – the tools – brought together within a defined framework – the toolkit – for their convenient deployment on a given task. It also implies an exercise of prior preparation and understanding of the nature of the task, and tested knowledge which brings certainty that these are indeed the best tools for the job. The tools in the kit may take a variety of forms, including templates, educational materials, guidelines, interactive tools etc. (Yamada et al. 2015), however they are consistently practical in intent.

Thoele et al characterise toolkits as a series of documents in their study of the preparation of a toolkit for facilitating the implementation of a particular clinical intervention in the identification, treatment and prevention of substance use disorders in acute care settings in the Midwest region of the USA between 2017 and 2019. Following the CalSWEC method (developed by the California Social Work Education Centre at the University of California, Berkeley) they group these documents in terms of their functions The identified headings for groups of toolkit documents are as follows: - definitions, engagement and communication, assessment, planning, training, evaluation, policy and procedure, and finance. Not all headings may be needed in any given situation. Their toolkit production process consists of the phases of preparation, implementation and reflection and refinement (University of California Berkeley 2019, Thoele et al. 2020).

The Young Adult Library Services of America (YALSA) guidance on creating toolkits similarly focuses on the documentary aspects, and the sources and gathering of information, using staff, who will be implementing the toolkit, as a sounding board. It is an approach focused on gathering and synthesising knowledge in order to prepare the toolkit, but with a practical face, and in particular their emphasis and guidance on the need for clarity in content and presentation. This document appears to presume a process which is consultative but set initially and more or less fixed during its implementation (YALSA Toolkit Creation Guide n.d.).

For Salbach et al the toolkit, defined as 'a packaged grouping of multiple knowledge translation tools and strategies that codify explicit knowledge' is rooted in theory.   Based on a survey of 39 toolkit evaluations, they identify the content of a toolkit as potentially containing documents, but also a wider range of other resources such as visual reminders, including posters, audiovisual tools, and electronic tools such as apps, intended to educate and facilitate behaviour change and all with a carefully defined purpose

and rationale.   They also characterise toolkits as complex interventions, given the potentially large number of components, behaviours, groups, organisational levels, and outcomes. They, in contrast to the more fixed approach implied in the YALSA guidance, suggest there may be a need for toolkits to be adapted during their implementation.   Given this complexity, the authors' approach is to adduce the findings of implementation science[1], which calls for a theoretical grounding to such complex interventions in order to categorise and thereby enable better understanding of how the intervention components will contribute to the desired outcomes (Nilsen 2015).   Their resulting toolkit for stroke rehabilitation follows an eight-step development process based on the knowledge creation funnel and action cycle of the Knowledge to Action framework, based on collaboration between researchers and end-users, with integration of self-efficacy theory, the guideline implementability framework, and transtheoretical model (Salbach et al. 2022).   Their process steps, while more granular than those identified above, include in addition to preparation a phase of implementation and review, and evaluation of the toolkit.

Taking from these varying approaches, the three fundamental phases of activity in preparing a toolkit may be identified as preparation, implementation, and reflection/refinement (Thoele et al. 2020 and University of California Berkeley 2019).   The latter phase is different from evaluation, which is the freestanding exercise of taking a step away from the toolkit and reviewing its compliance with objectives, rather than an integrated part of the toolkit's operation.   Toolkits must also be underpinned by the policies and principles which inform them and fiscal and funding tools which set out their fiscal strategies, sources of funding, and funding streams.   These should logically be part of the early preparation stage given their essential contribution.

Preparation

YALSA and CalSWEC advice on the initial stages of preparation sets out the perhaps obvious but no less fundamental requirement to identify the purpose, scope and audience of any toolkit.   Thereafter, and uniformly across the examples examined, the population of the toolkits is based on the collation and synthesis of existing knowledge, leading to the identification of

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[1] Implementation science is 'the study of strategies to promote the uptake of evidence-based interventions' and relates to healthcare practice and policy (Wilson and Kislov, 2022).

existing resources which can be used to achieve the aims of the toolkit, and gaps which need to be filled by new (American Libraries Association n.d., University of California Berkeley 2019, Thoele et al. 2020, Salbach et al. 2022).

As noted, the production of the toolkit may be linear and occur prior to implementation (e.g. the CalSWEC process described in Thoele et al 2020.) Equally, the content may be more effective if It adapts to the   development of new tools to meet emerging needs, or to modify existing in response to lessons learned about the effectiveness during implementation (Thoele et al. 2020). This ability implies some agency in shaping the toolkit for those implementing it in a multi-directional rather than top-down process. In this eventuality, some flexibility would be called for in the structure of the toolkit, say, in the provision of a collection of possible tools from which the right one could be selected, rather than a more rigidly redetermined production line. In either eventuality, the involvement of the intended audience in the preparation of the toolkit would be the best way to understand what will work most effectively from their point of view. To that extent more effective practice in toolkit preparation would have to go one step beyond the approach of considering the audience and its needs and expectations advocated by the American Library Association (YALSA n.d.).

CalSWEC recommends the use of a logic model to inform toolkit development by providing the underlying theories and logic used in taking a particular approach or path (University of California Berkeley 2019).   The logic model may also form the basis of the overarching evaluation methodology for the implementation project.   I will discuss the use of the logic model below.

A final thought on preparation relates to the consistent use of terminology and definitions in order to facilitate communications and common understanding of the purpose of each tool (Thoele et al. 2020) . It may be that in scenarios such as those of post-conflict reconstruction and multi-agency, multi-national projects in the fields of heritage, this precaution would need to go one step further. There may need to be established a common understanding of the principles behind the project where multiple understandings of heritage and the range of values it attracts are in operation.

Implementation

The examples considered make it clear that implementation of any toolkit requires preparation, and to be successful, may require ongoing support and

an ability to adapt expeditiously as new or differing needs are identified during the implementation process. The successful implementation of any new way of working requires training or educational input for the implementers, with the necessary resources included in the toolkit, and time and care taken to embed familiarity and a degree of comfort with the approach being rolled out. This should also be underpinned with the necessary policy and or legal frameworks needed to contextualise the change. Again, all these elements of a toolkit likely to be more effective if devised in dialogue with those for whom they are intended and who will be implementing the contents of the toolkit (see for instance YALSA n.d.). Wider communications strategies and materials are also of value for informing those affected by the implementation of the toolkit, as these will ensure that its reception by these parties is based on prior knowledge and facts, and that any desired interaction with the toolkit is more likely to occur.

Reflection and refinement

If a toolkit is intended for operation over an indefinite period, periodic review, evaluation, and refinement will be essential to ensure it retains its relevance. If the implementation phase is time-limited, there should nonetheless be an evaluation framework built into the process, and a post-implementation period of reflection to draw lessons which may inform future practice. Involvement of all stakeholders will ensure the widest understanding of any problems or successes.

<p align="center">* * * * *</p>

In considering whether or not toolkits can be an adaptable method for implementing change, the conclusion of Thoele et al. is that this is not always the case. Certainly, the provision of a toolkit could be taken to imply a fixed response to an issue in the form of defined pathways to achieving desired outcomes.   However, equally, the toolkit may be designed to be adaptable, with the potential, for instance for phases of adaptation following testing in practice (Thoele et al. 2020).

Adaptability of the toolkits through their flexible operation while in the implementation phase is a different matter, requiring among other things more foresight in preparing the range of tools available to those implementing and sufficient trust in their implementation choices to allow a degree of flexibility. Post conflict restoration provides some instructive scenarios where more rigid or more flexible approaches may be more useful. For instance, when taken down to a very localised level of action dealing

with an individual building where the decision to restore has been made, restoration lends itself to following a set of predefined and normally consistent steps, even allowing for unexpected practical factors such as the presence of unexploded ordnance or unexpected structural problems. There might therefore be some value in a predefined and more directed toolkit approach, depending on the audience for the toolkit, those putting it into practice, and the degree of autonomy they have or expect in decision making. However, dealing with the medium level of activity, say a project operating across a city or a district, where there are far more potential variables, including public or political interactions with the project, and greater potential for unexpected environmental conditions, a correspondingly flexible, perhaps kinetic, approach is more likely to be able to respond effectively. The audience at this level is more likely to have the authority to change or adjust the direction of the works.

While a high proportion of the tools within a toolkit may be primarily text-based resources, other means of supporting implementation should be accommodated to increase flexibility. Contemporary approaches to implementation might be expected to make greater or indeed entire use of digital resources such as apps to support implementation projects. Amal in Heritage, for instance, an initiative launched by the Global Heritage Fund (GHF) in partnership with a number of other international bodies, provides an entirely app-based toolkit for assessing and reporting damage to heritage sites at risk as a result of conflict, natural disaster, population growth and other challenges, in order to inform its subsequent repair (Amal in Heritage, n.d.). Secondly, by focusing on toolkit documents such as those relating to training, engagement or evaluation, there is a risk of losing sight of the activities and stages of implementation that they represent, and their meaning for the process as a whole. Accessibility to the toolkit is also likely to be expanded through digital means; CalSWEC for instance, has put its toolkits online (University of California Berkeley 2019).

My conclusion from the foregoing is that a generalised toolkit to support all potential scenarios arising from the implementation of a change where policy is put into practice is not realistic at a certain level of complexity. It is not always desirable either, as a toolkit of this kind would tend to be top-down in character and lacking the strengths gained from input from implementers and stakeholders. It would also not be likely to capture the likely specifics of the possible range of post-conflict situations or be able to adapt to evolving conditions or be repeatable in future scenarios. For these

reasons the three-step process described by Thoele et al and considered above which 'provides [a] foundation to begin implementation and allows for stakeholder input and feedback to promote engagement and ownership of the practice which may enhance sustainment of the clinical intervention' would be more relevant (Thoele et al., 2020). Flexibility, grounding in practical implementation and engagement of stakeholders are themes with potential value in the field of post conflict reconstruction.

However, caveats from Thoele et al include that basing a toolkit on a case study method lacks scientific rigor and may limit the generalizability of the results to broader populations in that would be challenging to replicate the exact methods or achieve the same results.   It is accepted that this would be the case if the intention was to create a toolkit to be uniformly applicable across a range of scenarios.   However, examination of case studies in order to identify an approach to developing toolkits, with ideas of the kinds of materials which they might contain, could be capable of informing the development of individual toolkits tailored to the particular circumstances of a reconstruction project.   Furthermore, as Thoele et al are working in the healthcare setting, with an emphasis on quantitative rather than more qualitative results, this is not considered to be a deterrent to developing an approach to toolkits for such projects.

Their second major caveat was that the investigators in their studied case were invested in the success of its implementation, which could introduce bias during data collection and data analysis.   Firstly, in response, the possibility of bias in the analysis of toolkit implementation from within the process is acknowledged but confirms the needs for a robust and standalone evaluation framework. Secondly, in the case of reconstruction projects, external indicators may be used to provide additional perspectives and balance to the understanding of implementation success.

I will next go on to look at existing toolkits used within relevant areas of heritage practice, at a variety of levels and scales in order to understand how the theoretical aspects of preparation, content, communication, implementation, and review, discussed above, are manifested in this practice.   I will seek to identify similarities and any significant differences and any characteristics of obvious applicability to the implementation of heritage reconstruction projects in post-conflict damaged urban areas.

The Use of Toolkits in Heritage Practice

I began by searching online using the term 'heritage toolkits', 'heritage conservation toolkits' and 'heritage toolkits theory of change'. I then narrowed down the search among those I was able to find to focus on toolkits or other implementation strategies relating to the restoration, repair, or management of physical change to built heritage and historic sites. I found little literature relating to the theory of development and use of toolkits in heritage practice of a kind equivalent to that seen in healthcare. The term is nonetheless used in a variety of contexts, and measures thus badged exist in the ownership of a number of heritage related bodies at differing levels and with differing roles. My first concern was to establish whether the term has been used deliberately, to identify an implementation framework containing some or all of the features identified above or is more loosely applied to what may turn out simply to be 'how-to' guidance. I was also interested to establish whether there is implementation guidance which could, with justification, be badged as a toolkit, but has not been despite meeting the characteristics of a toolkit.

I was able to identify a number of implementation strategies relating to built heritage in UK and international practice which appeared to be in scope. I also found some apparently similar implementation frameworks with the potential to be considered as toolkits but not badged as such. Therefore, in order to apply a consistent comparison across the range, I assessed them against the characteristics discussed above, recognised in other academic and professional areas and in the field of implementation science.

The characteristics, grouped by the three toolkit phases previously discussed, are as set out in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Toolkit Core Characteristics

Preparation Phase: -	
Purpose	What is the toolkit for? Are objectives defined?
Audience	Who is it for?
Field of Practice	That is, is it for established heritage practitioners extending their range of activities or for newcomers to the field?
Academic Underpinnings	That is, has any research been applied to the toolkit and its formation and use – in contradistinction to any academic research concerning the subject of the area of practice.
Consultation	Were representatives of the potential audiences for the toolkit given an opportunity to comment on its content and likely effectiveness?
Implementation Phase: -	
Tools – collated	Is the toolkit based in a grouping of pre-existing resources? This does not necessarily undermine its value as an implementation tool but may mean that it could more accurately defined under a different term.
Tools – created	Are the tools bespoke to the implementation objectives and prepared as part of the development of the toolkit?
Terminology and Definitions	Are these specified in the toolkit to support its consistent application?
Underpinning Principles	Are any principles such as legal, processual or philosophical adduced as informing the toolkit and influencing its implementation in practice?
Flexible/Fixed	Is the toolkit encouraging or enabling flexibility in its use, depending on context, or does it chart a more fixed course through a sequence of actions?
Review Phase: -	
Review	Is review mentioned as an integral part of the use of the toolkit and a potential source of refinements to its features and operation?
Evaluation	Is an evaluation plan or other approach mentioned as a means of checking whether the use of the toolkit has led to successful outcomes against the objectives?

I also sought to clarify the underlying purpose of the toolkits examined, placing them in one of three possible groups.   The three related but slightly different purposes identified from examination of heritage and broader toolkits are;

– Translation of theory into practice (1);
– Management of change (2);
– Reinforcing consistency in practice (3).

Toolkits which, despite being badged as such, were not likely to operate effectively as a toolkit as they would not enable any of these functions, were rated as 0.

The results of this review applied to relevant toolkits or other implementation strategies are set out in Table 2, at the end of this Appendix.

Many heritage toolkits I found were out of scope for this research; where the term was explicitly used, the majority of results tended to relate to heritage science or IT, or both, or to the collection of evidence of intangible heritage, say, through records of oral histories.   Focusing on the field of restoring and managing historic buildings and places yielded fewer results.   Several toolkits were identified relating to the promotion and management of tourism in historic areas, or to education regarding built heritage, but in their scale and indirect connections with physical conservation activities, I considered them to be out of scope in terms of relevance to my dissertation.

Where heritage toolkits in scope were identified, the first thing to note is that many of them focused on activities broadly related to the conservation of built heritage, such as labour market research, managing volunteers or communications, rather than to the core activity of restoration and management (Heritage Volunteer Organisers Scotland and Museums Galleries Scotland 2017; Institute of Conservation, Historic England and Chartered Institute for Archaeologists 2020, Historic Environment Scotland and University of Stirling 2021).   This is understandable in an increasingly under-resourced field, where competition for resources is keen, and where heritage professionals are often required to extend their range of activities.   For core conservation practice toolkits may be of value in ways similar to that of other fields through either extending the boundaries of heritage practice by those already well versed in it, or by enabling those with no previous experience to enter into it on a specific path.   A good example of such a toolkit was that produced by the Institute of Historic Building Conservation, which included a set of short briefing papers intended to guide heritage practitioners in novel

or complex focused issues, or to point to sources of information for wider but less familiar areas of practice (Institute of Historic Building 2023).

My search also yielded rather different overviews of heritage practice. Araoz, for instance, mentions the 'professional toolkit' and the doctrinal foundation on which the heritage conservation community has relied for decades, by which he means the various international charters giving the broad-brush strokes of heritage practice (Araoz 2011).   In his account the 'toolkit' is established as a larger entity underpinning all conservation activities.   In response to what he describes as a 'new heritage paradigm' based on recognition of increasing public involvement in the field, the broader social, economic, and political roles that cultural heritage is being called upon to play in contemporary society, and the increasing tolerance of reconstruction or valorisation of places with little traditionally defined authentic fabric, he proposes that a new toolkit needs to be established.   On the other hand, he suggests, these new values are essentially transient, and the old tools will still serve purpose.   An opportunity for reflection has been taken, but no new tools identified, and really, no toolkit; Araoz's use of the term toolkit is unhelpfully imprecise. The laws, policies, guidance documents and case law which translate broad, internationally established principles to a national level of detail for implementation purposes are more accurately seen as the foundations of built heritage decision making.   A new paradigm therefore implies a more fundamental change to practice which will need more than the tinkering implied by new toolkits.

This conception is not unique; Emerick uses the term toolkit in the same way to denote the underlying heritage protection system (Emerick 2009 in Waterton and Smith 2009).   Similarly, the ReConHeritage Iraq Toolkit has an aspirational focus on features which might improve the fundamentals of the national heritage protection system, rather than refining or extending professional practice.

In the UK, an example coming closest to a toolkit in the sense identified in previous sections is that produced by The Heritage Trust Network, a UK charitable organisation supporting the establishment of local projects to recover buildings at risk.   Their toolkit for setting up and running a historic building project, covering the successive stages of project delivery, includes most of the core characteristics, and provides a clear pathway for progressing through these stages.   It contains no reference to change management or implementation, but this is perhaps explicable due to very practical focus of the toolkit in an established field, that of rescuing buildings

at risk.   There is no mention of consultation with the toolkit audience, but this audience is large and changing constantly, and mainly consists of bodies and individuals who are new to the field of work, rather than experienced practitioners taking on a new field – a notable but legitimate difference from the healthcare toolkits examined above (Heritage Trust Network, 2023).

Examples of partial toolkits can also be identified.   For instance Historic Environment Scotland, a UK Government Non-Departmental Public Body (NDPB) provides examples in their 'Community Hub' for non-professionals seeking to engage with the historic environment (Historic Environment Scotland 2023).   This contains information packs, guidance documents and links to organisations providing relevant advice, many loosely badged as toolkits. As with the HTN, whose toolkit is also listed on this advice page, the intended audience is again almost entirely those entering a new field, heritage, rather than those familiar with the field taking on a new activity within it.

Looking at three such from the HS Community Hub explicitly badged as 'toolkits', the range is broad. The 'Together for Our Planet' toolkit, for instance, is revealed in fact to be part of the UK Government's One Step Greener initiative (UK Government 2021. Its primary function to share social media templates.   It lacks nearly all of the characteristic features, not least a pathway for progress and any recommendations for reflection and adaptation.   It is perhaps misnamed, being more an individual tool or support pack for an activity which is singular or singular and repeated over time. It also has no direct focus on heritage, although heritage bodies may be moved to participate. More typically, Heritage Volunteer Organisers Scotland present a toolkit which sets out straightforward processes for assessing the need for and nature of volunteer roles, and strategies for filling and managing them (Heritage Volunteer Organisers Scotland and Museums Galleries Scotland 2017). Supported with templates, checklists and other documents, there is, however, no recommended review of the volunteer programme but, rather of individual volunteers. No evaluation process is recommended.

Exceptionally, the 'Social Value' toolkit aimed at existing practitioners is based on research (Historic Environment Scotland and University of Stirling 2021).   Rooted in social science, this is very thorough in guiding users through the process of identifying and engaging communities with a relationship with a certain place and the processes of information gathering and assessment. Again, a clear pathway is provided. However, primarily research focused, this

takes users to the point where this information has been gathered, interpreted, shared and reflected on – translation into practical change is not covered.

Also aimed at heritage professionals and also setting out a research method is the Heritage Labour Market Toolkit produced by The Institute of Conservation, Historic England, and the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (2020). In this case the research is gathering labour market information and developing labour market intelligence.   The advice is high level, and, while helpful, including through the provision of a pathway, might have benefitted from further unpacking to be of benefit to users with no previous knowledge of quantitative research, particularly in the area of interpretation of data to turn information into intelligence. Use of intelligence to inform practice, similarly, is not covered, with the toolkit only likely to be practically useful if read alongside other practical advice.

Also high level is 'Heritage Works', an online document produced by the British Property Federation with Historic England and The Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors (British Property Federation, Historic England and Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors 2017) and a concise guide to 'best practice in heritage regeneration' badged as a toolkit.   However, despite setting out a process through the various stages of establishing and realising the development value of re-used historic buildings, the high-level advice signposts practical steps to be taken than informing the reader in how to take those steps. The document also gives references to further sources of information where this practical advice may be obtained. While not a true toolkit it does however work strongly as an advocacy document, in an area of activity where advocacy for the retention of heritage structures remains a necessity.

Moving on to the international sphere, there are several toolkits created or supported by UNESCO. 'Enhancing Our Heritage Toolkit: Assessing management effectiveness of World Heritage Sites' is key among these, intended for natural World Heritage Sites but said also to be applicable to cultural heritage.   Its purpose is to support the development and improvement of management frameworks, including monitoring strategies, by those responsible for the conservation of World Heritage Sites. The intention is to maintain effectiveness and sustain the values for which the sites were inscribed. Broken down into separate exercises in the form of worksheets supplemented by detailed advice, the stated emphasis is on 'user-friendliness, flexibility, and adaptability to local realities'.   The

assessment and planning tools provided are generic, to be applied as appropriate to the given local situations, which, given the global applicability will vary widely from site to site. It is, inevitably, top-down in nature, having been produced by 'a small and dedicated team of specialists' on behalf of UNESCO. While some pre-publication consultation with the target audience is mentioned - 'the critical and enthusiastic participation of World Heritage site managers from nine properties located around the world' (Hockings et al. 2008)– these represent a small proportion of the 250 natural world heritage sites inscribed at the time of writing (UNESCO 2023). For other potential stakeholders, who will, it is hoped, be involved in the assessment exercises, no mechanism for feeding back into the toolkit us provided, nor is there either any stated mechanism for review and refinement by the authors, nor an evaluation framework.

As representing the approach to such a fundamental activity relating to WHSs this raises the question of whether toolkits should be used to implement core business, effectively a substitute for project planning and staff training. In doing so it also raises the issue of specificity. The needs of the managers of such a diverse set of assets in relation to resources, training, and support from national institutions, including governments, are likely to vary from site to site, and in some cases, to be very large. Half of natural world heritage sites are under-resourced, and many are under threat from nationally planned developments and infrastructure (UNESCO 2023). Can a toolkit be enough to respond to such variety and to make up for the lack of investment at national level? The answer would appear to be that it could be of help in places where more significant interventions to fundamental activities are not needed but can be only a sticking plaster in places where they are.

Another UNESCO product is the Historic Urban Landscape Recommendations (UNESCO 2011) referred to by others (Xihui Wanga et al. 2021) and by UNESCO (2016) as toolkit, although this is something of a misnomer. It does indeed point the way to four categories of tool, but these are so high level and generic as to be of limited practical use and the recommendation, even as unpacked through a series of related documents and web pages (UNESCO 2010, 2011, 2013, 2016) reads as more akin to a statement of principles The attempt to apply the recommendations at a practical level in the city of Mrauk-U in Myanmar is confined to one of the six stages identified, the pre-planning assessment, through participatory map preparation. This exercise in translating theory into practice appears very top heavy, requiring

relatively large numbers of international experts to work, suggesting a certain lack of applicability in the real world (Xihui Wanga et al. 2021).

The 'Circular models Leveraging Investments in Cultural heritage adaptive reuse (CLIC) Project Toolkit has been created by the CLIC consortium funded by the European Commission with aim to develop and validate innovative funding models for the adaptive re-use of cultural heritage sites as part of movement towards a circular economy (European Commission 2022).   While bringing together a great deal of information in the form of a database of 124 relevant projects, it lacks a clear pathway through to implementation, and does not reach out to potential beneficiaries in a manner likely to engage or support them or indeed provide tools with which to turn these examples into practice.   Indeed, most of its literature is internally focused, referencing the processes behind compiling this information.   As, now, a closed project, which is not to be further updated, it is not strictly a practical or working strategy.   The amount of data and analysis suggests that it has the capability to form the basis of a more responsive and operational implementation toolkit, but this is not the case at present.

The ReConHeritage initiative is a collaboration between the University of Leeds, Research England and the Global Challenges Research Fund also involving universities in Kosovo, Iraq and Lebanon (ReConHeritage 2020).   It presents a direct response to cultural heritage damage during conflict and seeks to promote dialogue and involvement with young people in the three study areas in order to engage them with the process of recovery.   The initiative is fleshed out in the three country toolkits with varying degrees of success in relation to the aims of engaging youth in cultural heritage protection, even if youth is taken to mean, more narrowly, students and young academics.   The toolkit for Iraq, for instance, in its six badged tools is very focused on the higher levels of the existing academic, governmental and academic establishment through the creation of committees, academic scholarships etc..   Again, these are scarcely tools, more like the normal machinery of heritage protection, albeit, it is acknowledged, in need of a significant upgrade – for instance through the creation of building conservation courses in the architectural schools of Iraq.   Products not badged as tools in this toolkit appear much more like tools for extending professional practice; 3D modelling and sharing of experiences via social media for instance appear measures that might successfully realise the aims of this sub toolkit and the overarching project.   The Lebanon toolkit in contrast had identified a number of tools with potential to be transferable to

other scenarios, including use or development of digital platforms, infrastructure and services to heritage research, real world support and knowledge exchange and partnership and collaboration work. However, these are identified but not developed or made available (ReConHeritage 2020).

The ReConHeritage particularly illustrates a common lack of clarity in heritage circles as to the role, form, and value of toolkits and particularly their practical and outward facing potential. It presents a collection of pilots and aspirations, the record of past research with some potential to illustrate transferable strategies but without exploring or delineating the pathways to that practice. While entirely worthy, the failure of the collaboration to engage institutions or organisations outside those already involved is perhaps revealed by the visitor count at the bottom of the introductory web page; for an issue of global interest affecting many countries today, 932 visitors seems rather a small number(ReConHeritage 2020, accessed, 29th April 2023).

By contrast, the CURE Framework (UNESCO, World Bank 2018), created by UNESCO and World Bank in response to natural disasters and conflict in urban areas, provides a roadmap for putting culture, tangible and intangible, at the heart of city reconstruction and recovery after conflict. It brings together economic development and the management of complex social, spatial, and economic transformations, while addressing the shortcomings of current reconstruction and recovery processes and seeking to enhance their effectiveness and sustainability. In practice it draws together existing frameworks and tools for reconstruction and recovery in urban settings, knitting together people-centred and place-based approaches into integrated policies. Four practical phases are identified, and practical tools, both existing and new are identified for the development of reconstruction projects, beginning with a vision for city reconstruction and recovery based on damage and needs assessments and scoping. This informs the policies, strategies and planning processes that translate the damage and needs assessments and vision into plans and planning regulations, through participatory approaches where stakeholders and communities are fully engaged. This is followed by the identification of modalities to finance the reconstruction and recovery process combining public and private financing, as well as other funding sources, the management of land resources and the development of financing tools and incentives.

The framework also highlights the importance of setting up effective institutional and governance structures, a risk management strategy, and a

communication and engagement strategy, particularly so in the context of crisis hit cities which are often already underfunded, badly planned, riven with inequality, and suffering the consequences of poor management and funding.   Poor urban development strategies and economic crises mean that trauma often hits places characterised by longstanding urban decay, excessive building density, substandard housing, dilapidated public facilities, inadequate infrastructure, major social disruption, and urban poverty.

In this document, the operational guidelines set out principles and approaches in a roadmap for action, also referencing existing more practically based strategies.   Among those are the Post-Disaster Needs Assessments and the Recovery and Peacebuilding Assessments, integral to putting the principles into practice, and produced jointly by the World Bank, the European Commission, and the United Nations (UN) as a common approach to post-disaster and post-conflict management.   In its provision of a roadmap and the headline tools for following it, this document could therefore be seen as a high-level toolkit although not badged as such (UNESCO, World Bank 2018).

The Adapt Northern Heritage Toolkit (Northern Periphery and Arctic Programme Partnership and The European Union 2020) similarly forms a fully developed toolkit, supporting change management and consistency in practice. In doing so it utilises a suite of bespoke practical tools for the support of practitioners in adapting historic buildings to the effects of climate change.   The project has now closed but the materials remain available for use, although in what is a rapidly developing area of heritage practice, provision for ongoing review and updating as necessary would help to ensure its future usefulness.

The review of heritage toolkits has therefore shown that in heritage practice products as varied as advocacy documents, implementation strategies and research findings are being badged as toolkits in both UK and international spheres. Some of these are not in fact toolkits in a meaningful sense; the ICOMOS C20 toolkit for instance is simply a list of documents (ICOMOS Scientific Committee on the Twentieth Century 2023).   Others are, or are at least partially so, suggesting that there will always be some blurring of the boundaries between project management, advocacy, and practical support.   Nearly none of the examples found has been compiled with any reference to implementation science.   Many do not provide the practical and flexible tools for practitioners to follow through into practical actions, while some simply present the results of a research initiative, focused inwards

on existing participants and case studies, for instance, rather than outwards to engage with new collaborators. For some, however, there is the potential to create practical support if they were to be referenced to pre-existing practical strategies, in the way that the UNESCO/World Bank recommendations are.

Where relevant heritage toolkits have been identified, they normally contain some element of translating theory into practice, often coupled with an additional concern with promoting consistency or managing change. However, for many the focus on research and establishing of principles means that their emphasis is principally on the initiation and setting up phase, leaving support for implementation relatively thin and practical tools to support implementation in short supply. In turn this severely limits the opportunities to develop transferability of practice or robust tools capable of adaptation for different scenarios. This is a missed opportunity; while it is important that toolkits should be bespoke to their context, this does not mean that they should need to be wholly reinvented every time.

Nonetheless, there is enough substance in the identified examples to inform the development of the structure and outline content of a fully realised toolkit for a heritage reconstruction project designed with practitioners in mind and intended to support them in the achievement of change. I will therefore next go on to consider the possibility for and potential applicability of a toolkit in my area of research incorporating the lessons from implementation science and more broad use of toolkits while learning from existing heritage toolkits. Of particular interest in the latter group are those which have addressed directly issues of post conflict reconstruction in areas which are the subject of my research; they are able to signpost areas of detail where there might be considered to be enough coverage already, and those where adjustment or even new proposals might be in order.

At the beginning of this appendix I looked at the clinical focus of many toolkits. Therein also lies the origin of implementation science which has arisen relatively recently in response to lessons learnt when attempting to implement evidence-based improvements to practice in order to overcome obstacles arising from the separation of research and practical systems (Bauer *et al.*, 2015). I have noted separation of this kind in my chapter on research contexts. It relates to similar issues to those identified in clinical practice, including limited skills and knowledge transfer between the two realms, cessation of research focused funding at the point where handover might occur, and short institutional memory. This can also be seen in the

international sphere, in the examples identified above of research-focused toolkit projects which are now closed, and which provide limited applicability to new practical projects without additional support or knowledge sharing from participants. Web pages and archives remain but may not be sufficient to support change without this input.

Bearing in mind these caveats, bringing another toolkit into existence may appear redundant or even futile, but this need not be so.   A toolkit which, rather than focusing on the specifics of a given reconstruction project provides the pathway for practitioners embarking on a new project to make or source their own tools could still be of use.   At the very least it might help those practitioners to go through the thought processes they need to ensure the project is well grounded in theory, contains practical measures, and carries within it the means for reflection and evaluation.   Reflection and evaluation respectively will help ensure the project is responsive while in operation and will provide lessons for future such projects in an iterative process of improved effectiveness.

To achieve this such a toolkit will need to be practically focused and easy to compile and to use.   It should provide a signpost to existing resources but going beyond a simple bibliography or set of websites to contain or identify advice on its use.   Finally, it should be in a well signposted location to make it easily accessible, and that location should be one where such a toolkit might expect to be found or to be looked for.   These matters are discussed in my concluding chapter.   However, the next task, considered below, is to identify the outlines of such a toolkit, and the methods whereby it may be compiled.

What makes a useful toolkit for post-conflict reconstruction?

In this section I will consider more detail what the outlines of a toolkit for a heritage reconstruction project might look like.   As examined in my review of research contexts, heritage restoration projects are a place where heritage practice can be stretched in unfamiliar directions in responding to emergent heritage theory and complex reconstruction scenarios. Concepts of authenticity and the priority given to ancient fabric have in the past deterred people from attempting reconstruction as a form of heritage activity. The greater attention and priority now afforded in heritage theory to a broader range of stakeholders, coupled with the acknowledged urge by communities affected by heritage destruction to reinstate familiar and cherished environments, has challenged, and even reversed, that prohibition. A toolkit could therefore support familiarisation of heritage practitioners in the practical application of this theoretical approach through worked examples and providing tools for developing bespoke responses to a given situation. Translation of theory into practice is therefore a likely goal.

Although the desired outcome of a heritage restoration project is likely to be something akin to a pre-existing situation, ironically, a great deal of change will normally be needed to achieve this. This change will include activities in areas beyond the reconstruction of historic structures, to encompass improvements to sanitation, townscape, social and economic conditions, not to mention the array of practical measures sharply focused on critical issues such as site safety and security. In incorporating physical renewal the end product, therefore, will be different from what preceded it in significant ways, albeit in changes to construction or services which may be out of sight. Implementation of all these changes needs to be accommodated with heritage values and objective.   Management of change will therefore be a key factor in a toolkit for such projects. Again, the help that a toolkit might provide would focus on worked examples and the means to develop bespoke responses; in responding to these very practical and often complex issues, its value will be to reduce margins for error and optimise lessons learnt.

Reinforcing good practice may form part of such a toolkit, although given the relative novelty of reconstruction projects which are consciously attempting to put recent theoretical developments into practice and given the sometimes-contended nature of these developments, reinforcing consistency in established practice is less relevant as an objective. This may

be particularly so if the project is seen as an exceptional response to exceptional circumstances. However, achievement of consistency in innovative practice will still be important for clear evaluation and testing the achievement of goals.   I would characterise this as embedding good practice. Measures to achieve this will be focused inwardly on heritage and other practitioners within the project and other participants with agency in the reconstruction works, plus, using the terminology of the logic model, to some inputs and some internal enablers, including values.

As part of my initial approach of creating an evaluation methodology, I developed a Theory of Change or logic model, and I have described the role of logic models in my dissertation. When possible, toolkit content is mapped onto the logic model, there are areas of clear separation of project components between the two potential toolkit activities, but also areas where the two would overlap.   Restoring a destroyed historic building in line with the results of community consultation, for instance, is both a manifestation of new, theory-led practice in heritage and change implemented.

Fig. 2: Simplified Logic Model combined with possible toolkit coverage

The next step I have taken is to look at the theory of change through the lens of the three-stage toolkit structure discussed above – comprising preparation, implementation, and review/refinement (University of California Berkeley 2019; Thoele et al. 2020). It is a helpful parallel. I have sorted the components of the theory of change into two groups – those most closely related to translating theory into practice, and those most closely related to management of change. The groups include those aspects of a potential reconstruction project directly or indirectly related to heritage matters. In some cases they touch on wider social or economic issues, which are included in so far as they relate to heritage reconstruction. There are some components which fit into both groups, with a different emphasis in each. It is worth noting that these project components, and the arising toolkit needs are those which go beyond normal project planning tools such as project plans, Gantt charts etc., or which would involve a fresh look at and additional content to a familiar approach such as master planning.

On further analysing the toolkit phases and likely tools, below, it is also clear that they can be grouped under six headings, indicating a possible toolkit structure. These are: -

- Toolkit Design and Evaluation
- Identification and monitoring of heritage values
- Training Programme
- Communication/Dissemination Plan
- Stakeholder Engagement Plan
- Site Manual

Preparation/Initiation Phase

A given heritage reconstruction project will be run in the context of a national system for valorising and managing change to heritage. If this is not entirely fit for purpose, as noted above it will likely be beyond the remit of the project toolkit to remedy this, even if lessons learned from the implementation of the project might feed back into reforms of that system in some cases.

The project should be underpinned by clear identification of the heritage values of the site - those which have been lost, those which remain, and those which it has been agreed to recover. This would be derived from survey and data collection and wide consultation and contain a commitment to the agreed values which the project is seeking to protect or reinstate. A statement of heritage values should be embedded in project objectives but will also be important for communicating heritage objectives

and setting out how the values are to be respected and recovered in the programme of works. A toolkit could enable this through identifying good practice in survey and data collection and stakeholder engagement leading to preparation of a statement of heritage values.   Such a statement might also be supplemented by a conservation plan or mapped information indicating zones of heritage sensitivity.

Building consensus on and commitment to reinforcing the heritage values and the social and economic values brought to bear on the project can be taken forward through project induction and ongoing training.   As new or unfamiliar heritage practice is likely to be involved, those implementing the project, including, or especially, heritage experts of different kinds, would need familiarisation training to ensure consistency. This would be underpinned by a whole suite of training and implementation materials, ideally be bespoke for that project.

The heritage values of the project should also be embedded in working principles and practical guidelines forming part of the toolkit. Practical components could take the form of gazetteers of properties and works; practical conservation principles to guide day to day decision making; method statements or schedules for works; handbooks for site workers; plans and drawings; sample works.   These materials will also underpin training components.

Community outreach and engagement will be important in identifying heritage values and in informing the project methods and objectives.   Where wider social and/or economic improvements are to be incorporated into the work of the project, they will also be informed by the results of community engagement, and will feed into any masterplan, and into toolkit materials including objectives, practical principles and guidelines for site work.   For effective engagement training plus supporting materials could be contained or at least signposted in the toolkit.

Implementation Phase

Practical matters such as site security and safety of the country, region or site are vital. Achievement of these is out of scope for a toolkit, although there may be practical issues to be addressed nonetheless. Assuming wider stability and cessation of conflict allows the project to proceed, site-based issues such as structural stability of surviving masonry etc. and clearance of unexploded ordnance are practical issues to be addressed in the principles and guidelines for site work.

National and international commitment to funding the project is also beyond the scope of a toolkit, but fundamental to the establishment and progress of the project.   Return of displaced communities or resettling of new residents may form an important component of urban reconstruction schemes, and guidance and training to support heritage practitioners in this extension of their core skills may be needed.   Similarly, integrating sanitary and utility improvements into rebuilt structures or sites may need technical advice and training.

Going beyond the toolkit itself, heritage values and theory-led approach should be embedded in any masterplan, conservation plan or overarching work plan for restoration works. A clear statement of and commitment to the social and community values, and economic aspirations should also be embedded in the project objectives and general training and outreach materials.

Top-up, extension or updated training packages for participants and stakeholders may be needed as the project progresses.   In addition, once outcomes begin to be achieved, case study information and lesson learned can be shared with interested practitioners.   Outreach and educational packages could disseminate outcomes to wider audiences to support community and educational aspirations of the project. Updates and records following the progress of physical changes on site, including site diaries, photographic surveys etc. would supplement the practical materials and inform interim reviews and identification of lessons learned. Direct sharing of information and feedback with local communities will set out progress and achievements. Responses should be fed into project and toolkit review.

Records kept regarding physical change on site, including site diaries, photographic surveys etc. will supplement the site based and practical tools in the kit and feed into any review of outcomes and lessons learned.

Review and Refinement

The project should be reviewed, and results of the review used to give updates and feedback to stakeholders and funders, and if necessary to inform adaptations to the project.   The toolkit and its effectiveness should be reviewed at the same time, and refinements made to ensure it remains effective.   Review will be important to inform changes needed to ensure that long term outcomes are achieved.

Evaluation

Evaluation is a systematic review of the whole project against its objectives, to assess success. Just as a project should be evaluated, the effectiveness of the toolkit should also be evaluated at this stage. Good practice suggests that project evaluation methodology is an integral part of the project design, set out at the from the beginning.

If quantitative measures such as numbers of buildings restored, participants trained, jobs created, etc. are identified at the outset, and baseline data collected before the project starts, meaningful comparisons could be drawn from data collected during the life of and after completion of the project. In terms of assessing the effectiveness to the approach to heritage, the Heritage Impact Assessment is a useful tool in tracking the effects of the project on heritage values, including their strengthening, reinstatement or even loss/damage. Similarly, the toolkit should be evaluated against its objectives, which are likely to be closely aligned with the those of the project itself and using quantitative measures such as number of participants, number of buildings reconstructed, etc. Qualitative information from project participants and stakeholders will also be relevant. Evaluation of project and toolkit achievements are a separate exercise as, notwithstanding the closeness of their respective objectives, the reconstruction project is primarily about **what** is achieved, while the toolkit is more strongly focused on **how** this is accomplished.

If the achievements of the project and its toolkit are to live on after completion evaluation should not be a dead end. Good practice will be reinforced among project participants and flagged to others if those achievements are celebrated and shared. An effective evaluation exercise would enable the creation of a legacy plan for the recording, communication, and publication of results.   Publication might include a book, articles, or web presence.

* * * * *

On the basis of the above analysis, I have identified the toolkit elements set out in Table 3 below.From this exercise I have arrived at a list of possible toolkit measures and toolkit structure which would serve the toolkit objectives of rolling out new, theory-based practice and managing change on the ground. In my concluding chapter I will go on to fill in details of these possible toolkit components, based on my observations of active projects and investigation of existing heritage toolkits.

Table 2: Analysis of Heritage toolkits

Origin & Name	Preparation Phase					Implementation Phase					Review Phase		Evaluation
	Purpose	Audience	Field of Practice	Academic Underpinning	Consultation	Tools – Collated	Tools – Created	Terminology and Definitions	Underpinning Principles	Flexible or Fixed	Review	Project Evaluation	
Heritage Trust Network – Members' Toolkit	Providing advice to those conducting building regeneration projects on the practical aspects of doing so, including establishing and governance of an organisation for the purpose, defining significance and scope, identifying funding and project development and delivery mechanisms.	HTN members – mainly not for profit Building Preservation Trusts.	Established rather than new or developing. Required as BPTs are generally voluntary bodies and may be developing experience rather than established in this area. Also intended for new types of organisation taking on building regeneration projects.	None referred to.	None referred to. However, the potential audience is potentially large, changing and new to the field, so hard to identify	Builds on pre-existing guidance. Shared documents and templates from other HTN members. Links to websites and webinars 'Talent Bank' – links to consultants, trades etc.	Also incorporates new and expanded guidance. Case studies	Includes a range of legal definitions relating to planning, heritage and building control.	Conservation principles included. DDA requirements Use of case studies to demonstrate heritage principles. Includes detailed advice on the way to deal with certain materials and construction types – practical principles.	Flexible – can be followed by timeline or theme. No set path.	Review is encouraged once building works are completed.	Advice given on project evaluation.	A true toolkit, translating theory into practice for the benefit of those embarking on setting up and running a historic building project and seeking to guide them through the management of change through regenerating historic buildings. 1 &2
Historic Environment Scotland – Wrestling Social Value	Support for heritage practitioners in assessing social values in order to incorporate community understandings of place into routine heritage management and conservation work.	Heritage professionals working in an institutional context and involved in the management of historic places.	A new area of practice for the target audience.	Explicit – the toolkit has been produced as part of a doctoral research project resulting from an institutional partnership between the University of Stirling and HES.	The participatory approaches set out in the toolkit have been trialled in practice and the results fed into the published version. Feedback is sought from those using the toolkit.	None.	Online toolkit developed following the research. Includes process diagrams, lists of key questions, templates, Case studies used to demonstrate the application of differing approaches.	Clear definition of social value provided: the significance of the historic environment to contemporary communities, including people's sense of identity, belonging, attachment and place. Glossary of other terms and concepts also supplied.	Principles relating to ethics, data protection, and working with children are set out, and guidance given on following them.	Flexibility and responsiveness to context are encouraged, although a clear pathway is provided.	Review and reflection are encouraged, as is checking back with the participating communities to identify omissions or errors.	Project evaluation processes not specifically identified.	This is a toolkit focused on the translation of theory into practice, the practice in this case being engagements of communities and information gathering. The toolkit does not extend to putting into practice the results of this research. It would need to be used in conjunction with further advice to do so. 1

Origin & Name	Preparation Phase							Implementation Phase			Review Phase		Evaluation
	Purpose	Audience	Field of Practice	Academic Underpinning	Consultation	Tools – Collated	Tools – Created	Terminology and Definitions	Underpinning Principles	Flexible or Fixed	Review	Project Evaluation	
Historic Environment Scotland – Heritage Volunteer Organisers Scotland Toolkit	Encouraging and using volunteers in the museums and galleries sector in Scotland.	Volunteer managers in the heritage sector.	Established.	None mentioned.	Yes, with the audience, through workshop sessions and comments on draft toolkit.	None	All. The toolkit consists of a single document incorporating guidance, templates, forms, checklists, and policies. Links to further bodies and information are also provided. Case studies are provided, although they are hypothetical situations against which responses can be developed as practice exercises.	Definitions offered in respect of volunteering and employment legislation, insurance, safeguarding, equalities, health and safety and data protection.	The toolkit is referenced back to the National Occupational Standards for the Creative and Cultural Skills Sector.	Flexible, although a clear pathway is provided.	No review period is mentioned, although the review of individual volunteers is a recommended practice.	No evaluation process is recommended.	This is a toolkit, transferring theory into practice. 1
Institute of Conservation, Historic England and Chartered Institute for Archaeologists – Heritage LMI Toolkit	To provide tools for gathering labour market information and generating labour market intelligence (LMI).	Bodies working across the sectors and sub-sectors of the economy which deal with heritage with no prior experience of LMI research.	New practice for heritage or related professionals.	None mentioned.	None mentioned.	None.	The toolkit is a quantitative research method based on survey, with some follow-up qualitative assessment. It includes guidance and templates.	Glossary provided.	None mentioned.	Flexible.	Review of stages recommended.	Not referred to.	This is a toolkit translating theory into practice for gathering and interpreting labour market data. The implications for practice, however, such as translating labour market intelligence into changes to working practice are not covered. 1
Institute of Historic Building Conservation – IHBC Toolbox	A series of guidance notes for conservation practitioners to support practice.	Heritage practitioners, and 'anyone interested in heritage' (but the technical nature of the advice suggests a technical audience).	New practice for established heritage or related professionals.	General and mixed, with some specialist legal and structural inputs.	None mentioned.	References to existing tools endorsed by the Institute.	Largely consists of guidelines produced by the Institute itself.	None mentioned – some definitions included within individual advice notes.	Standard principles of conservation work implicit or mentioned in the advice notes.	No one activity is covered, rather a range of extensions to normal practice, with notes to be taken up flexibly as needed	None mentioned. Some advice notes have been in place since 2014. No obvious programme for review/ replacement.	No evaluation process is mentioned.	This is a toolkit intended to support extension of existing practice into novel or more complex areas. 1 & 3

Origin & Name	Preparation Phase					Implementation Phase					Review Phase		Evaluation
	Purpose	Audience	Field of Practice	Academic Underpinning	Consultation	Tools – Collated	Tools – Created	Terminology and Definitions	Underpinning Principles	Flexible or Fixed	Review	Project Evaluation	
British Property Federation - Heritage Works: A toolkit of best practice in heritage regeneration.	Integration into regeneration schemes of historic buildings, finding a viable economic use to maintain them and provide the owner or developer with a reasonable return on their investment.	Developers, owners, community groups, practitioners and others involved in regeneration schemes.	New practice for heritage and development professionals.	None mentioned.	The document is based on research among various stakeholders in heritage regeneration.	None.	The toolkit is a document, providing guidance and brief case studies.	Definitions provided within the text.	Constructive conservation which allows reasonable change to historic buildings to sustain them in use.	Pathway provided. The need for flexibility is not mentioned and may not be a priority.	Not referred to.	Not referred to.	This operates only as a very high-level toolkit, seeking to support change management and secure consistency in heritage regeneration. It may more accurately be considered to be an advocacy document. **2 & 3**
Hockings et. al. for UNESCO – Enhancing Our Heritage Toolkit: Assessing management effectiveness of World Heritage Sites	Assessing and improving the effectiveness of management of natural World Heritage Sites in order to prevent them losing the values for which they were established.	Managers of natural world heritage sites as detailed technical guidance designed to help them in ensuring effective conservation and management of this heritage.	Established, but seeking improvements in effectiveness.	Founded on the World Commission on Protected Area's Management Effectiveness Evaluation Framework – a generic theory of change model.	Some limited consultation.	Additional, freestanding advice is also signposted including ParkPlan, a software package developed at the University of Queensland and The World Heritage Business Planning Guide, developed by the Shell Foundation.	Twelve generic survey, development review and assessment tools are included, supported by worksheets, with detailed advice on process and on completing the tasks. Information was supplied in paper form and electronically on a CD attached to the original document (no online links were seen).	A glossary is included.	World Heritage Convention; Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) Programme of Work for Protected Areas (2004); World Heritage Sites Operational Guidelines.	Flexibility and a response to context are encouraged, including adaptation of the tools. It is suggested that they could, with some little adaptation, be applied to cultural heritage sites and one chapter of the toolkit document advises on how this may be done.	Review and verification of the completion of each stage of the process is included, but not any overall review of the effectiveness of the toolkit.	No overall evaluation mechanism is identified. The operation of the toolkit is seen as an evaluation exercise, evaluating the management of the natural WHSs, but this does not mean it cannot be assessed against its effectiveness in reaching the objectives of the process.	Overall, this is a toolkit, intended to ensure consistency of practice in the management and conservation of World Heritage Sites. The broad range of sites covered mean that there may be issues of whether sufficiently relevant support can be given for their managers in one toolkit. Resourcing or local resistance may also be a factor hampering implementation of the toolkit. **1 & 3**

Origin & Name	Preparation Phase					Implementation Phase					Review Phase		Evaluation
	Purpose	Audience	Field of Practice	Academic Underpinning	Consultation	Tools – Collated	Tools – Created	Terminology and Definitions	Underpinning Principles	Flexible or Fixed	Review	Project Evaluation	
Contextualising a heritage assessment toolkit at the pre-planning stage of the historic urban landscape approach: the case of Mrauk-U, Myanmar Xihui Wanga et al 2021.	Use of participatory urban morphological methods in heritage identify cation and assessment in order to develop a more contextualise d Historic Urban Landscape toolkit at the pre-planning stage to create a dynamic framework.	Multiple stakeholders, mainly from higher levels of decision making.	Urbanism and mapping		No		Based on the four general principles of the UNESCO Historic Urban Landscape Recommenda tions.		As above	The study investigates one set approach.	No	No	This is the working through of a partial toolkit translating theory into practice. The study examines the possible implementation of one part of the UNESCO HUL Recommendations approach. The translation of the principles into practice appears to be very top heavy and based on the involvement of relatively large numbers of international experts. It is not therefore likely to be practically applicable. **1**
The UNESCO and World Bank CURE Framework	City reconstructio n and recovery after conflict with culture at its heart.	Multiple actors	Heritage Finance Reconstructio n	Shows some awareness of implementati on science approaches.	Involvement of case study areas used to inform the underlying principles.	Yes The Framework references UNESCO's Historic Urban Landscape Recommenda tion.	Yes The Position Paper in which the Framework is set out also contains Operational Guidelines	Glossary provided, including terms such as reconstructio n, recovery and 'Build Back Better'.	1. City as cultural construct; 2. Re-conciliation by (re)construction of cultural landmarks 3. Cultural expressions to combat trauma; 4. Prioritize culture early; 5. Local engagement throughout; 6. Immediate balanced with medium/long-term needs; 7. Balance people's needs and historic character.	Flexible. Intended to: - support a flexible, iterative process vs a sequential/ linear process; be adapted to the socio-economic specificities of each city; to apply to the entire city, not just historic areas; to reflect the need to provide rapid responses to emergency situations, while allowing sufficient consultation to inform actions.			This is in effect a high-level toolkit intended to translate theory into practice, support change management and secure consistency of practice. **1, 2 & 3**

Origin & Name	Preparation Phase					Implementation Phase					Review Phase		Evaluation
	Purpose	Audience	Field of Practice	Academic Underpinning	Consultation	Tools – Collated	Tools – Created	Terminology and Definitions	Underpinning Principles	Flexible or Fixed	Review	Project Evaluation	
ICOMOS ISC20C Heritage Toolkit	A web-based toolkit of reference resources for conserving the heritage of the Twentieth Century.	Members of the ICOMOS Scientific Committee of the Twentieth Century. Also available online to be accessible to everyone.	Built heritage conservation	-	No consultation programme referred to.	On-line reference collection of benchmark "best practice" documents, globally sourced. Includes existing technical books and documents from national and international heritage institutions. Only English language used.	No	-	Getty Conservation Institute publication "Conserving Twentieth-Century Built Heritage: A Bibliography" as an organizing framework for the presentation of the documents.	No pathway or order for use recommended.	No. The showcased documents have been collated by members of the scientific committee in a seemingly one-off action. It is not clear whether the list will be curated or added to as new materials arise.	No	A simple collection of collated documents which could be used to reinforce consistency in practice. This role could be strengthened if the documents were set in an overarching framework, say, guiding the user through the stages of conservation project or presenting common challenges for the preservation of C20 buildings and giving pointers to good sources of information in formulating responses. **3**
Connected Culture and Natural Heritage in Northern Environment (CINE) Adapt Northern Heritage Toolkit Produced by Northern Periphery and Arctic Programme Partnership and the European Union	Provide guideline and toolkit for historic buildings and places affected by a changing climate to assess risks and plan for adaptation; create adaptation action plans to demonstrate how the environmental impacts of climate change and associated natural hazards can be integrated into conservation planning; create a network for stakeholders concerned with the conservation of northern cultural heritage in the context of a changing climate.	Local public authority; regional public authority; national public authority; sectoral agency interest groups including NGOs; infrastructure and (public) service provider; enterprise, including SME; higher education; and research.	Built heritage conservation	Built heritage conservation; Economics; Governance; Environmental sustainability; nature conservation.	Engagement with existing and potential stakeholders through planned communication and consultation with existing stakeholders – programme bodies, regions and potential beneficiaries.	All tools created.	5 tools to help understand better how climate change will affect northern historic places and explore options for what can be done to respond to this change: guide to assessing risk and planning adaption; adaptation stories in the form of case studies; conservation factsheets; information sources; workbooks and slideshow tutorials.	None noted.	Response to the 2010 report 'Climate Change and Cultural Heritage in the Nordic Countries' produced by The Nordic Council of Ministers and the Nordic Council	The materials provided allow a flexible pathway to be followed.	The toolkit production was a discrete piece of work completed in 2020. No review of the use or effectiveness of the toolkit is referenced.	Yes, full overarching project evaluation was planned and conducted. https://cine.int erreg-npa.eu/outputs-and-results/	This is a fully developed toolkit formulated in a bespoke way for well-defined purposes and intended to translate theories of climate change and its effects on built heritage into changing practice, while managing change to heritage assets and that practice brought about by changing climatic conditions. **2 & 3**

Origin & Name	Preparation Phase					Implementation Phase					Review Phase		Evaluation
	Purpose	Audience	Field of Practice	Academic Underpinning	Consultation	Tools – Collated	Tools – Created	Terminology and Definitions	Underpinning Principles	Flexible or Fixed	Review	Project Evaluation	
Historic Environment Scotland – Together for Our Planet	Facilitating communications and online campaigning to raise awareness of climate change following COP26.	Non-heritage professionals wishing to engage in or initiate conversations regarding climate change.	A new field for professionals such as teachers, community leaders or representatives of other bodies and businesses.	None.	No.	None.	Templates for social media activity.	None.	Underlying principle is to mobilise participation in responses to climate crisis.	Flexible.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	This is not strictly a toolkit, but an individual tool or support pack for an activity which is singular or repeated over time rather than a process. There is no direct focus on heritage. **0**
Circular models Leveraging Investments in Cultural heritage adaptive reuse (CLIC) Project Toolkit: Investment Leverage for Adaptive Reuse of Cultural Heritage CLIC consortium funded by the European Commission	To develop and validate innovative funding models for the adaptive re-use of cultural heritage sites as part of movement towards a circular economy.	The audience is unclear. While multiple potential stakeholders are identified in the project literature, including policy makers, entrepreneurs, investment funds, communities and civil society organizations, in practice, there is no clear identification of how they are to use the toolkit beyond learning by example.	Mixed – encouraging trans-disciplinary work by established practitioners in different fields.	Economic and urban theory involved – a number of universities form part of the coalition developing the toolkit.	There was collaboration with the stakeholders within the projects involved in order to test and collate the data collected. Other stakeholders are mentioned but with no indications of how they are to make use of the toolkit except by example.	A database of 124 adaptive re-use projects. These had been developed and validated using new integrated approaches and tools for the evaluation of cultural heritage adaptive reuse projects. These tools are not presented as part of the publicly available results of the project.	The database is capable of being interrogated to create groups of projects based on various characteristics, or the Query tool allows access to aggregated data on 31 different aspects of circularity in the adaptive reuse of cultural heritage. Other outputs included a number of reports including finance and business models and web pages.	Some definitions are provided.	Nothing explicitly stated.	There is no clear pathway to implementation through the data provided.	The project is now closed.	Evaluation was carried out. Achievement against objectives was measured in terms of documents, reports, articles, websites etc. published.	This is a closed, research project providing a database of adaptive reuse projects. However, pathways for moving this material into informing further practice are absent. This is not a toolkit in the exact sense. **0**

Origin & Name	Preparation Phase						Implementation Phase				Review Phase		Evaluation
	Purpose	Audience	Field of Practice	Academic Underpinning	Consultation	Tools – Collated	Tools – Created	Terminology and Definitions	Underpinning Principles	Flexible or Fixed	Review	Project Evaluation	
UNESCO Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation 2011 **The Heritage Urban Landscape Guidebook: Managing heritage in dynamic and constantly changing urban environments: A practical guide to UNESCO's Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape 2016**	This is a high-level approach – an uber-toolkit – recommending handling of living historic cities in response to pressures arising from increased urbanisation and climate change, in order to develop them sustainably. Applicable to all historic cities, not just world heritage sites.	Stakeholders identified in the documents are communities, decision makers, professionals and managers.	Planning, architecture, and others relating to urban change management, and academics, extending their practice to take on this approach.	Nothing explicitly referred to.	No		Four general headings identified: - Knowledge and Planning; Civic Engagement; Financial; and Regulatory Systems. No practical details are specified. Very brief case studies provided in 'New Life for Historic Cities' (UNESCO 2013).	Glossary provided.	All previous UNESCO recommendations and charters	Very generic, and so allowing for flexibility. Broad pathway set out: - Identify city's resources; Consult to decide on aims and actions; Assess vulnerability to risks; Integrate urban heritage values into a wider framework of city development; Prioritise policies and actions for conservation and development; Establish appropriate partnerships and local management frameworks; Develop co-ordination mechanisms.	No.	No.	This is very high level and generic, with limited practical application in translating theory or principles into practice. It is not therefore a toolkit. 0

Origin & Name	Preparation Phase							Implementation Phase			Review Phase		Evaluation
	Purpose	Audience	Field of Practice	Academic Underpinning	Consultation	Tools – Collated	Tools – Created	Terminology and Definitions	Underpinning Principles	Flexible or Fixed	Review	Project Evaluation	
ReConHeritage – a collaborative project between a number of universities and research funders	To develop an interdisciplinary approach using arts and humanities research to respond to a critical global challenge of the continuous destruction of cultural heritage in conflict regions. Objectives: - To develop transformative models of regional partnerships on sustainable transitions of peacebuilding and cultural exchange. To establish a sustainable digital platform, supported by local young people, with help from three major international research universities.	Multiple: - Academics, museum professionals, educators, practitioners, young people, key stakeholders and local experts	Cultural heritage in a broad sense	Cultural heritage	Workshops held with target youth audience.		'Building Participatory Heritage'' Toolkit to strengthen the capacity for heritage protection in conflict societies - a research-led interactive digital platform to build new cultural exchange platforms to enable communities and institutions to share and translate cultural responses to ideological conflicts and developmental challenges. Three manifestations of the toolkit in Iraq, Lebanon and Kosovo – see below for Iraq and Lebanon (Kosovo is museum focused).	None	None referred to.	Flexible.	None referred to.	None referred to.	The overarching aspect of the ReConHeritage project is the high level research design for the individual, country-based elements. It is not a toolkit in its own right. 0

Origin & Name	Preparation Phase					Implementation Phase					Review Phase		Evaluation
	Purpose	Audience	Field of Practice	Academic Underpinning	Consultation	Tools – Collated	Tools – Created	Terminology and Definitions	Underpinning Principles	Flexible or Fixed	Review	Project Evaluation	
ReConHeritage Iraq Toolkit	Revitalizing preservation culture and activating the role of youth in saving cultural and architectural heritage through collaboration between higher level decision makers, heritage experts, professionals, scholars, and the public. Also mobilising international support.	Multiple stakeholders from Iraqi governmental intuitions, NGOs, and Universities	Cultural heritage, architecture, engineering.	Cultural heritage in its broad sense.	Professional and academic seminars; documentation training workshops; discussion panels and other events and activities.		1. Higher Preservation Committee; 2. Research programme; 3. Academic programmes in Iraqi universities; 4. Biennial conference; 5. Support and grants, to small-scale projects; 6. Academic fellowships, grants & scholarships.	None.	None referred to.	Flexible, but a roadmap and action plans have been identified and are being followed towards raising awareness and activating the role of youth, including through the use of 3D models and social media.	None referred to.	None referred to.	Many of the potential tools identified in this toolkit are in fact basic requirements for a functional system of managing built heritage. Some potential IT and social media tools for extending professional practice are identified, incidentally, but not developed in any depth. This is not strictly a toolkit. 0
ReConHeritage Lebanon Toolkit	The toolkit provides an opportunity and a guideline for designing an effective participatory approach, digitally based, that will allow the youth to preserve the cultural heritage	Youth and stakeholders sharing the interest to involve the youth in preserving cultural heritage.	Cultural heritage	Cultural heritage	Live webinar involving a number of different scholars, NGOs and activists from Lebanon, Egypt and the UK, in addition to selected youth participants. Training workshop for the youth that included digital data gathering techniques and presentation methods using online digital platforms; raising the awareness of the contested heritage in general; and presenting selected cases studies.	Existing apps, programmes, and equipment.	A number of headings for tools identified at high level: a) Multiple digital platforms, infrastructure and services to support more effectively large-scale integration, interoperability and multi-disciplinarily of heritage research; b)Support to field survey locally and internationally to visit and learn from other's success stories. c)Partnerships and collaborations (research and non-research.	None	The priorities for cultural heritage research and an outline of specific 'areas of intervention' identified within the project.	Intended to be flexible in order to reach both youth and other stakeholders	None referred to.	None referred to.	Potential IT and social media tools are identified, but not developed to the point where they would be able to be translated into practice by others. This is not strictly a toolkit therefore. 0

Table 3:   Toolkit Components:

Toolkit Phases:	Toolkit Design and Evaluation	Heritage Values and Heritage Impact Assessment	Site Manual	Training Programme	Communication/Dissemination Plan	Stakeholder Engagement Plan
Initiation	Toolkit set up document, including statement of objectives and evaluation criteria Baseline survey	Advice on producing a statement of heritage values Methodologies for survey and data collection to help identify heritage values Templates/advice on producing a conservation plan or heritage sensitivity map Heritage Impact Assessment	Practical Principles and Guidelines for site work Practical supporting information for site work: - o Gazetteer of properties or sites within project o Structural and architectural surveys o Plans and maps o Method statements o Site handbook o Sample works on site	Induction training package for project participants Induction package for project stakeholders	Information/ publicity/learning packs for external interested parties	Advice on planning designing and running effective community engagement

| Implementation | Masterplan/Project Plan with review milestones and informed by heritage values and objectives | Survey and archive material collated and made accessible

Interim reviews of heritage outcomes and lessons learned | Updated practical tools, incorporating sanitary and utility improvements as relevant | Interim or refresher training for project participants

Additional training for heritage practitioners | Communication Plan and materials for sharing information and feedback on progress with local community and other stakeholders

Sharing of training materials and lessons learned with heritage practitioners | Stakeholder Engagement Plan

Interim reviews of social, economic and community outcomes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Review | Review of project outputs and outcomes identified to date | Review of heritage values of site to assess how they have changed or been reinstated during progress to date | | | Lessons learned and useful information, to be packaged for sharing with community, stakeholders and other heritage practitioners | Feedback to stakeholders |
| Evaluation | Toolkit evaluation methodology against baseline information | | | | Legacy Publication and Dissemination Plan | |

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Appendix 4: Transcripts of interviews relating to the World Monuments Fund Project, Amedi

Contents

Interview with John Darlington

7ᵗʰ June 2020

Summary

Minute(s)	Subject Covered
1	Introductions
2	Introduction to the Amedi project and it's set up and work of the WMF
4.30	Nomination of Amedi to the WMF Watch List
6	Description of Amedi and Sulav – the contrast between the historic town and its more popular neighbour.
8	The Amedi Masterplan and the value of viewing places such as Amedi holistically as a settlement.
13	The choice of the three projects and their value for piloting and rollout out approaches to different character areas within the town.
14	The value of more recent examples of heritage buildings which still embody local building traditions.
16	More regarding the Masterplan.
17	Potential for transfer of this approach to other north Iraqi towns.
19	Discussion on how conflict has effected heritage within the town – primarily through abandonment and lack of investment and development exacerbated by the war.
22	Iraqi approach to heritage – focus on 'monuments'.
24	Adaptive re-use of historic buildings and the disruption by Covid of the initiative to conduct talks with developers to encourage this.
25	Guidelines for development to be produced – not yet commenced.
26	Local concerns that people would be displaced in the event of heritage sites being rehabilitated the example of the citadel of Erbil.
29	Small garden spaces and their value to local people.
31	Values attached to places by local people – for instance open spaces and food traditions – and the need to ask directly about them.
33	Tension between the local preference for expert input to the Masterplan and the project desire to give local people more agency in developing it. Cultural ingraining of a more dependent approach to such projects.
36	Example of Taiz in Yemen showing that there may be capacity in heritage projects, but that local professionals may not have had access to the latest developments in their field.
38	The approach to evaluation and measurability of outcomes.
41	The visitor preference for Sulav rather than Amedi due to the facilities available and preference for visiting nature and experiencing the food culture. Lack of visitor facilities in Amedi.
43	Lessons learnt – the need to be embedded in local thought, adaptability of Western ideas where there is no existing cultural resonance, and lessons that can be brought back to the western context.
45	The effects of Covid pandemic on the progress of the project.
46 - 48	Final remarks and thanks.

Interview starts with introductions and Interviewer describes research.

Interviewer: ….. What I'm really testing (is) the idea that Heritage has a role to play in societal reconstruction after conflict. And if so the degree to which that relates to the amount of community engagement and how well that Community engagement goes. I want to challenge the concept of authenticity in the way that it's often thrown at reconstruction projects, as a reason not to do stuff, particularly if it's not very well defined and doesn't take into account heritage values, you know, the full range of heritage values. And I'm also interested in what I call [00:01:00] normal heritage, so the urban heritage working places where often, you know, local people and national bodies are left to get on with it without too much international involvement, but obviously often with fewer resources, but, you know, these are places of living value. So that's the sort of area, I'm interested in. And obviously the Amedi project strikes me as something that's in in that area. So I'm looking for successful examples of projects that are set up, you know, following a lot of principles [00:01:30] which I think you'd recognize in this country and see what gets them over the line in terms of practicing practice, in terms of good practice. So that's just a few things about me just to get kicked that off. I thought just ask a few sort of gentle questions to warm you up, really. What is your position in the World Monuments Fund?

Interviewee: So I'm the executive director for [00:02:00] World Monuments Fund Britain. So essentially I run I run the affiliate which is one of five Affiliates connected to World Monuments Fund in New York.

Interviewer: Okay, that's really helpful clarification. Thank you. And what has your role been so far in relation particularly to the Amedi project?

Interviewee: So well, basically, I'm in many ways, the instigator of the project. So, [00:02:30] we, I, lobbied the British government for to put more, well to put resources into International cultural heritage as a way of promoting UK, soft power and, you know, our skills and to showcase to the world. So I've been lobbying for that since I've arrived at World Monuments Fund, which was about five years ago. Consequently to my [00:03:00] lobbying and many others, the Cultural Protection Fund was born and therefore I was casting, I had been casting around, knowing the parameters of the Cultural Protection Fund, where can the World Monuments Fund add value in a way which overlaps with our work, because, you know, we're not about chasing the funding, we're about delivering things on the ground. So, where does it overlap with our work? And basically, Amedi [00:03:30] was on our World Monuments Watch List in 2016, I think. We've done our kind of …. that's our kind of gateway to getting support from World Monuments Fund. So essentially it's that mix of, here's a new fund, here's a watch site which has particular issues, and therefore, I led on the creation of a project which

addressed both Cultural Protection Fund needs, [00:04:00] and the needs that we identified through Amedi in the Watch (List).

Interviewer: That's really helpful. Thank you. As a matter of interest, how did it get on to the watch list?

Interviewee: Yeah, I think, if I recall, I mean we've been working in an Iraqi Kurdistan for a number of years and working in Iraq for many years. So we have lots of local partners across [00:04:30] the country. This one came through the University of Duhok as they nominated it as a place which they've got a research interest in. And they felt that their nomination would make for a good watch site back in 2016. So they were the nominators, it would have been gone through a pretty rigorous process where it would be in up against …well it was up, as I was in all the meetings [00:05:00] up against hundreds of others sites to actually whittle down to a Watch Llist of about 25.

Interviewer: Yes, there are normally 25 every year.

Interviewee: It's been more in the past but in the last three watch cycles, we've been reducing it right down so that we can have a bigger impact on a smaller number of sides.

Interviewer: Okay. That makes sense, doesn't it? Okay thank you. And have you ever been able to visit it?

Interviewee: Yeah, [00:05:31] three times now.

Interviewer: Thanks. And what were your impressions of it as a place, in a general sense?

Interviewee: Well, I'm an archaeologist, anyway. So this is, this is part of the landscape of Northern Iraq and Kurdistan, (which) is one of the, one of the birthplaces of civilization in a way. So, for me, there's a bit of a, an archaeological homecoming. But when you see Amedi itself, it [00:06:01] just strikes you as a very beautiful icon, icon actually, of Iraqi Heritage which is, which isn't well known outside of Iraq. So it's a very …. Well the mountainous setting is amazing. So the mountains in a kind of bizarre way, they're interrupted every now and again with kind of a small patch of no mountain. So the whole landscape looks rather like a strip of film with [00:06:31] little gaps between panels – I hope that makes sense. But it's a very distinctive landscape. Very beautiful. And, and interestingly, and we'll come on to this, I'm sure Amedi versus the village down the hill …. Amedi, whilst it's the icon, it's the symbol of an element of Kurdish heritage, most of the local people will visit the valley down below [00:07:01] and won't go up to the town …

Interviewer: Because of the natural heritage is that?

Interviewee: Yeah. Yes, it's to do with Nowruz, and as you say, natural heritage, water, picnicking and the facilities to do that.

Interviewer: Interesting. Yeah, okay. Thank you. Can you hear me okay? ......

Interviewee: No, it's fine. I can [00:07:31] I can hear you alright.

Interviewer: Great. Sorry - everything just cuts out. I think we've been using so much technology recently that there's always the odd failure.......

If I could move on now to talking about the Masterplan which is obviously an important element of the project, and that's one which does interest me because [00:08:17] from my point of view and working in this country, looking at Heritage in the context of a Masterplan makes good sense. And particularly if you're looking over … on a settlement wide basis, and also, I think to look at the heritage of the holistic entity rather than a series of individual buildings. Well, I know that that's not as often done as it might be, certainly not in even in this country, but I think around the world. So I just wanted to talk about your take on that. Was that an important element of the project [00:08:47] for you in setting it up? And is it an approach that the WMF uses … follows very often?

Interviewee: So, yes and yes. The short answer is. In terms of … last one first …. yes, the World Monuments Fund is a great promoter of good planning, whether it's Masterplans, whether it's tourism, segmentation plan, whatever it might be. So, that idea of having a [00:09:17] thorough piece of research, which sits behind what you're trying to do … so, that's it's rooted in some academic and practical rigour, so the two things are not … yeah, are complimentary. So yes. So our planning side is strong, I'd say, and an important part of this project. Yes. Absolutely. The … and again I'm sure we'll expand this conversation … but the idea of Heritage is [00:09:47] in Iraq and in particular, in Amedi is very point specific. So people talk about heritage, and they would talk about the Mosul Gate or the minaret of the mosque or the gate or an archaeological site. And that was, that was heritage as opposed to - here is a historic settlement which in its entirety has a character which is very distinctive yet is at risk. [00:10:18]

Interviewer: Okay, yes. That's really helpful and that's interesting because that's my, certainly my perception of how perhaps it's looked at and, you know, not just in Iraq, but in many places. It's a lot of the discourse in this country is also just thinking it obviously in that, in that sort of point-based way rather than thinking of it as a totality of settlement.

Interviewee: ….. And by way of background. One of my … I used to be amongst many other things the county archaeologist for Lancashire and [00:10:48] involved in historic landscape characterization when that was happening 20 years ago, and they've done the urban equivalent. So I think I could you let actually led one of the reviews on it.

Interviewer: Okay, well that's very much an approach that you'll be well grounded in and understand. And I guess it's something that the WMR would continue to look for in projects?

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Interviewee: Yeah, I think the holistic overview - not necessarily using the same methodologies, because you, [00:11:18] you adapt to people's understanding, their capacity, etc. etc.. But that idea of taking a whole site approach is very important.

Interviewer: OK. Thank you. That's really interesting. Okay ….. just a factual question - has that has the Masterplan now been approved? [00:11:48]

Interviewee: It has not been approved yet. Obviously Covid has struck ….. So it has been through ….. and I was there for the presentation processes. So it went through presentation in Duhok, and it went through presentations in Amedi itself, and it went through presentation in Erbil. So it's been through kind of three tranches of presentation, and question and answer to a local authority, academics, and national representation. So it's been through those processes, but the actual point of adoption has yet to happen because I think people are [00:12:18] are looking elsewhere. And to be honest, we're still ….. there's elements of the translation of the documentation which we, we are completing as well. It's all been interrupted by Covid.

Interviewer: Yes, of course. So would it have been translated from English into Arabic or Kurdish ….

Interviewee: Yes, into Kurdish.

Interviewer: And which actual body would have ownership of it. I have tried to get my head around the various layers (of administration), but need help with that [00:12:48] ….

Interviewee: So, it's the municipality. ……… Obviously, it's led by and approved by the DGA&M and their representatives, but essentially, it's the mayor of Amedi in the municipality, which is the critical thing.

Interviewer: Okay. That's really helpful. Thank you. Okay, going through to look at …… and I was interested in three projects chosen for the conservation management plans. (They are) [00:13:18] really interesting sites obviously and they seem to me to be proxies for….. you know, you could use that approach for other heritage sites within the town. Am I correct in thinking that the idea is that the methods and lessons learned from those sites can then be rolled out and used in other places within the town?. And do you think that's going to be fairly straightforward to do?

Interviewee: So yes, absolutely, the methodology is designed so you can take a type of [00:13:48] …. sort of character element of the town, and then you'd apply a similar methodology to other areas of the town. So, yes, that's actually deliver ….. (recording unclear) …… hence the market which is obviously a commercial hub. But it is as much about the open spaces as it is about the closed space. The Kutani houses, the Kutani house, which is kind of single mansion and then three houses in a state

of disrepair, [00:14:18] they can represent probably about 80% of the issues which Amedi faces.

Interviewer: Yeah, it struck me …. one thing that I always notice, is that often the more recent heritage - and I think the three houses were 20th century in origin - more recent heritage isn't really counted as heritage, and very often you can lose a lot about what's interesting and special about a town by just saying 'oh it's not really heritage we could, you know, supersede it as it were.' [00:14:48] So I was really interested in something relatively late like that because I think there's an awful lot of value in things like that.

Interviewee: Yes and I suppose part of what we were trying to do was to raise the profile about the value of more recent heritage. And there's …. there are …. they still continue traditions which such as flat, earthen roofs which are rolled each year to make them waterproof. You know that, so those things [00:15:18] will survive, but at the same time to complement that with design guidelines which were about - yes, of course you can build new, but if you do it in such a way, then it enhances the historic character, the spirit of place. So you don't cut across that grain which we see is essential?

Interviewer: Yes, thanks, [00:15:48] the grain that's good. Thanks. And how will they, these character study sites, how would they link into the Masterplan? Yeah, I'm just wondering how they would be connected to it.

Interviewee: Okay. So …..essentially the Masterplan includes the three sort of more detailed pieces of analysis, which have policies attached to them. But if you step back [00:16:18] from that, the Masterplan also has a number of different layers which were produced by Duhok University, which divide the town up into its attributes and areas. So essentially what you've got is you've got a broad-brush approach which looks across the whole town, and then you've got …. and here are the details, this detailed analysis which is replicable across other parts of town through the three case studies.

Interviewer: Okay, will it be available [00:16:48] at some point… available to see when it when it's been adopted?

Interviewee: Yeah, absolutely.

Interviewer: Yes, because that would be really interesting in due course. Okay, thanks for that. And is there any sense that you have there might be take-up of a similar approach in other towns in Kurdish Iraq?

Interviewee: So we deliberately invited people from other municipalities …. so they can be part of the process. So there's a Christian town. [00:17:18] a predominantly Christian town nearby ….. there was about, I think, two or three representatives of other similar, historic Kurdish, hilltop towns. So the spread of knowledge hais gone there. I think it really depends on ….. the role of both the person who attended and contributed towards

the Amedi study [00:17:48] and what was their level of importance in the municipality. So do they have the authority? So they're going back with a great idea, but can they put that idea in place? There's something about the DGAM saying to those other towns - 'this is a great model, follow it'. So you need to have ticks in both those boxes. And then of course (there has to be) another tick in terms of what the local economy is doing in those other towns. So what's the economic driver there? [00:18:18] Amedi is perhaps slightly easier in that the economic driver is - one potential future economic driver is – tourism, because it already receives a large number of local and Iraqi tourists. So whereas in some of these other towns that driver is not tourism and will never be.

Interviewer: Right, okay, that's interesting. Thank you. So, so it is a question that there might be take up [00:18:48] but we're not, you're not really sure.

Interviewee: To be honest, we don't know. It was a pilot project. We think it was largely successful. I think the proof of that success or otherwise is actually what happened next in Amedi.

Interviewer: Yes, exactly, that's indeed the truth. Okay. I just have a few questions about the heritage of the place. So what I'm reading is that wasn't actually any direct [00:19:18] physical damage from bombing, or looting, or any other harm to the town as a result of the conflicts or was … or is that a myth?

Interviewee: No, that is largely true. You might argue that the town is more seriously threatened by Turkish authorities, some of whom are actually based there. The Turks have bombed the approach road. [00:19:50] and various parts of the Amedi district. So there's a different part of the war which people don't see so often. So I guess the major, major risk with Amedi is all about development or lack of development. So it's around abandonment, which is all the consequence of the war and the economic situation. So there's abandonment, and then there's renewal and the renewal taking place in a way which [00:20:21] cuts across that grain, that spirit of place of what Amedi looks like. So therefore if Amedi turns into an …. anywhere town, then it kind of loses its unique selling point and therefore a major economic driver for the future. So it's very much based on poor dev element decisions or no development decisions, or abandonment, which are all, all a consequence of the war. [00:20:51]

Interviewer: Right. Yes, yeah. So, in another sense, would it have been on a similar trajectory had not the war been going on – was it was it sort of, you know, chugging along okay before the War, I suppose is the question, because some places that reached that cycle of decay anyway - but I'm sure war exacerbates it. I was just wondering (if that was the case)?

Interviewee: Yes, actually, war has absolutely [00:21:21] exacerbated that and of course, at the same time, you have the loss of expertise, you know, and

the lack of infrastructure because infrastructure is pointing in another Direction because it's either being bombed a bit by Saddam Hussein, or it's being involved in the crisis with – Daesh. So, it's absolutely, it's - focus happens elsewhere and therefore, you kind of abandon all the norms and [00:21:51] rules of society because other things take precedent.

Interviewer: Okay, thanks. So it's that's really helpful. I'm not quite sure - I have been trying to find out clearly – what the system for recognizing and perhaps protecting heritage is in Iraq. I'm assuming it's more sort of monument focused ….?

Interviewee: It is, it is entirely. It's definitely, as we said before it's [00:22:21] those superstar structures. So in Amedi it's definitely the Mosul Gate, it's the Hammam at the bottom of the hill. It's all of those things rather than the historic fabric in in even in the sense of conservation area. It's definitely site-specific, and, as you already picked out, something which is perceived as old as opposed to something [00:22:51] which is less ancient but still historic.

Interviewer: Yes, traditional …. as a complete aside - I would imagine there being awful lot of stuff - you know archaeology - under a town like that if there's been so much continuous occupation and it must be absolutely stuffed with archaeological potential as well as I suppose things like, you know, the actual urban pattern and urban grain, as well being in their way very [00:23:21] ancient. You know the bazaar street, for instance, has probably been like that for a very long time so - sorry that was just a sort of remark really – it may be under-appreciated I would have guessed.

Interviewee: Yes, and you're right. And that's the case with Amedi, and it's even more the case with other settlements where kind of long duration of occupation creates those Tel-type sites. Which yeah, we are familiar with, but in Amedi for sure. And there are [00:23:51] archaeological sites and there are, you know, there's long evidence of occupation in the place.

Interviewer: Yeah. Thanks, that's interesting. Right, I've come to one of the questions that really - and there's two or three things that really sort of stood out for me - that I really wanted to ask about. The evaluation report says that the World Monuments fund has held discussions with developers to encourage the adaptive reuse of historic buildings and the use of traditional building techniques in their repair. I [00:24:21] just wanted to hear about – have you made any progress in that? Are there any outcomes that you can share with me? Or again, has it been disrupted by … (Covid) ..

Interviewee: Yeah, I'm afraid it has somewhat. So yes I mean we certainly, from the very early outset we spoke with people who were in the development realm as much as in the kind of the resident realm. So we spoke with

them trying to get an idea of what their needs [00:24:51] were. And it became clear, their needs were for, for more modern spaces, for more space for access for cars - all the things which can be accommodated, of course, within the historic environment, but you need to accommodate when cleverly. So the answer is, yes, we did have those conversations from the early days, but in terms of picking [00:25:21] that up right now. No, it's - we're kind of waiting for it to go through the planning process finally before that gets picked up again.

Interviewer: Okey then that is something that you would be looking taking forward in future.

Interviewee: Yes, I mean, in an ideal world we would be working again in Amedi with, probably, with Donald Insoles, the architects firm, who obviously work across the world. And what we wanted to do with them was [00:25:51] to come up with some - we've got these guidelines - we want to come up with some solutions which show what new development could look like in this context. So rather than rather than just tell, it's a bit of show, to inspire people, and the people in Donald Insoles that were talking to are people who know this region. So it's not a case of applying a European sensibility to it - it's a case of applying [00:26:21] a Middle-Eastern sensibility to it. But that unfortunately hasn't happened yet - that would be on my shopping list.

Interviewer: Okay that's really interesting because I was going to ask about the future and actually there's another question that struck me really forcefully as a follow-up to that really and kind of relates to it. I noticed some quotes within the evaluation report, and it was interesting there were at least two of them, that seem to indicate that local people are concerned basically - that their take on [00:26:51] heritage, was that if there was, you know, if it was given more importance and there was more focus on it, that would mean that residents would be displaced. I think somebody actually says, well, I wouldn't really want to move out of my house, but I do value the heritage. And it's this sense that - I mean something I've observed in other countries like Egypt you get the sort of this creeping death, the open-air museum, where you, you do up an area or a house or a special building and you kick out everybody local. And I don't know – is that an idea that they've [00:27:21] sort of, you know, is that something that's happened perhaps elsewhere in Iraq, or idea that they're going "you know, heritage and people aren't compatible"?

Interviewee: It's a good challenge. I think it's not something which we have promoted or would ever promote that ….. I think it's people have seen maybe what's happened elsewhere and I guess the most likely place they've seen it is in Erbil, where [00:27:51] the Citadel of Erbil was effectively emptied when it became a world heritage site. And no one lives there anymore. It has become a museum space. The authorities are now absolutely trying to address that by creating spaces for

people to live in. But in terms of Amedi, it's a feat that we did come across. Not that often, but you know, we want to be honest [00:28:21] in the evaluation.

Interviewer: Yes, it was mentioned twice.

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah. And I think it's a misunderstanding - that the future of Amedi is based on a fossilized heritage as opposed to actually the future of Amedi is based on the fact that it is a vibrant, used historic town which functions in the modern era, but keeps the [00:28:51] character and the spirit of its historic place.

Interviewer: Yes. Okay. And is there anything that you can do - what do you think you can do to reassure people about that? Or do you think it just comes out through your interactions with them through the project?

Interviewee: What I think, we did apply for a phase 2 for the project and this perhaps picks up another question. And that is one of the things that we expected, but we didn't expect it to be quite [00:29:21] so loud. Coming out of the project was people's value of gardens both individual, and collective. And the more you get to know Amedi the more you get to see that every house has a little plot of land, and that plot of land will inevitably have a pomegranate tree, a peach tree and a space to sit. And that's actually pretty critical to the [00:29:51] character of Amedi. So I think our - what we were planning for a phase two - which didn't make it through the last British Council evaluation process, was that we should be looking at how we can restore more of the public gardens. So people, local people could enjoy them, because that was one of the things they were picking out something very important to them - that you don't - and if you don't have that space then, [00:30:21] you know, old people don't meet, they don't communicate. It's part of mental health as well as physical health to have these kind of outdoor conversation spaces and relaxation places. So they - that came through - we knew it would come through because we worked in in this coming round before, but it came through really strongly the need for green space of a specific sort. So my reassurance back to them would be - [00:30:51] "we've listened to what you said, and our plan is with you to create some communal green space is which something which you value".

Interviewer: Okay. So you're demonstrating that you are taking - listening to what they're saying on all fronts really…..

Interviewee: And demonstrating that the idea is that this is a place to involve people [recording unclear] the spirit of Amity, okay?

Interviewer: That looks [00:31:21] really interesting because I was going to ask you about how the obviously the project has made great effort to understand values attached to the town by local people. I was going to say – were any of the values a surprise to you? And you've obviously discussed that that interest in gardens, which probably was slightly ……

Interviewee: Yeah, I think other things, which are the bits which you never really pick up until you do this kind of work, which is - we can identify the physical heritage in physical [00:31:51] attributes of a town, but it's the intangible ones which are the ones which they, they're the ones that just come as a surprise and you have to have that local input. So the fact that Amedi is these green spaces as communal, talking, social spaces, the importance of the production of tahini and sesame and fruit leathers. So food, music ……. [00:32:23] … Yeah if you are a foodie it's an interesting place that's for sure.

Interviewer: Okay. That's really interesting. Yeah and I suppose that is presumably something that you know is applicable to any project of this kind, that you've got to ask, because you can't predict what people are going to going to tell you without asking.

Interviewee: Yeah, and certainly if you do it a distance, which we didn't - we had the advantage of being able [00:32:53] to go from house to house to interview people. But if you are doing it from a distance, then it comes even more important. Because, you know, we actually, when we stayed last time, I think we stayed in a hotel which was above a tahini factory. So if you didn't want the value of tahini to this culture, you certainly did afterwards, and many days afterwards – the smell would stay with you.

Interviewer: Not a bad smell though!

Interviewee: No! If you've never had Kurdish. [00:33:23] tahini from Amedi you really have not had tahini!

Interviewer: So that this is the ultimate ….

Interviewee: Absolutely. It is the Grand Cru ….!

Interviewer: Good - that's all the more reason to try and get them one day. Okay. I just want to move on a little bit to the evaluation project, now because I'm conscious of time. I'm not sure – do you still have to leave at four? ….. Then there was another standout question [00:33:53] I noticed in the evaluation report that that the desire was expressed locally for expert-led drafting of the Masterplan and the conservation management plans rather than local authorship with expert facilitation. And I wondered, if you could expand on that a bit. Was it basically "no, you're the bloody experts, you do it!". Or was it a sense that people weren't confident enough to feel that they could have that local authorship role?

Interviewee: Yeah I think -there [00:34:23] is an element of "you're the experts" which we pushed back very strongly on. Because the point to this project was actually – "it's your project, it's not our project, it's your project, you are the owners of this". And if it just becomes us telling you what this looks like, then we've kind of failed, so that was the tension in there. And I think, particularly [00:34:53] around the - maybe the

University – we had a lot of students, postgraduate students in planning and architecture and we were trying to – no we were - we guided them through the process. They would be - you build capacity for understanding of these methodologies for future generations. So that, that was a key part of the project, but inevitably, when you do that you get a bit of that kind of reversion [00:35:23] back to kind of parent-child. And we wanted adult adults. And we got there in the end, but there was that tension, and we should be honest about that.

Interviewer: And that's very interesting. So, what ……I suppose, the first question is, is that something you've come across in other projects where you've been doing something similar?

Interviewee: Exactly, I think so, because it's kind of - [00:35:53] unfortunate it's culturally ingrained into because, because … I needn't trace this back to whatever. But essentially the idea the West has these great ideas and has great educational advances, blah, blah, blah, and therefore it's experts coming in telling people what to do and disappearing. Which is completely contrary to what our values are [00:36:24] which are about supporting the community, building capacity.

Interviewer: I'm guessing in the past, it would have been more like that, and I would imagine that in the past nationally, there would have been a fairly top-down approach to most things …. So cultural ingraining would be …..

Interviewee: Yes, but interestingly, so an example of where you can just feel it, feeling the new philosophy taking root is that we have just finished the restoration of the national museum [00:36:54] in Taiz, in Yemen, another cultural protection fund project which I've run. And we probably started out with the idea that this was a capacity building workshop, training workshop for the GOAM, which is the national heritage organization staff from Taiz. And we soon, yeah we soon adapted and modified that [on the grounds] that that these are actually really [00:37:24] good professionals but they just don't have access to some of the latest techniques and methodologies and thinking. And they don't have anyone to bounce ideas off because they're working in isolation. So you can see, we end up not as a capacity-building one, but almost a mentoring ….. and so, a different approach.

Interviewer: Yeah, which I think, I got a sense coming through the evaluation document, that was something also in Amedi you were looking at. [00:37:54] And actually part of the problem of conflict was isolating people in Iraq from wider currents of thought and techniques.

Interviewee: Exactly.

Interviewer: Okay. Thank you. Moving swiftly down my list of questions – I think we're nearly there …. I've looked at the evaluation report, and I'm not here to criticize it. I think it does very fully and ably list the outputs of the project, but do you think it might go [00:38:24] a bit further in analysing the outcomes of the project? Because I have a feeling this, there are

still things I want to know about how the project - how it has landed and what effects it has – maybe because it's too early to ask about those do you think?

Interviewee: Yeah, probably that's justified, it is quite early. It is - whilst the valuations are a really important part of these projects – we're only talking about a project which was valued at a hundred thousand [00:38:54] pounds. So, a hundred thousand pounds – there's a lot you've to squeeze in. So the amount of resource we have for the evaluation is relative. So I'd say I'd say, it's a fair challenge, I'd say that right now, the situation doesn't help. And yeah, I think it's also a more difficult one to do that outcome-based evaluation on as [00:39:24] compared to another project were running in in Jordan or just completed in Jordan, which thought about training Syrian refugees in stone masonry where, if you know, they're either employed or not employed. And that's so there's measurability in the context of this work versus other more easily measured outcomes.

Interviewer: I suppose I was going to ask the next steps. Is there any follow-up work you're trying to do? You've obviously [00:39:54] mentioned some of it, but I was wondering - including following up with local people to see how they've responded to the project and how, I guess, how they feel about their heritage now, compared to how they thought about it before the project started.

Interviewee: Yeah. And it may not take its form as in the traditional kind of Western questionnaire type form. So we still have actually yet to do the final celebration on this project so it's kind of [00:40:24] …. We've done all the work, all the hard work's done, and then it's got to be adopted. But we still need to celebrate. And when you have that celebration, that's going to be a chance to check back in with people - see how they feel about Amedi; how they feel about what we've done together and what the future holds. So I think there is that. I think that the really interesting thing, which you haven't asked the question - but just [00:40:54] to say, the interesting thing about how Amedi this split, the fact that it's a, it is a tourist town, but the actual citadel isn't a tourist town. So it appears on countless photographs, which I'm sure you've seen.

Interviewer: Yes, you see photographs of it, perhaps in the background, but not in it.

Interviewee: Yes, so 90% of visitors, go to the valley below which is crammed with shops and restaurants. And the valley itself [00:41:24] it's like the Italian Beach, you go up, and there are places where you can rent out space. And this time of year in the hot summer or during Nowruz, it will be absolutely heaving with people needing their food. And so part of what this project was trying to do is to say, look, there's an opportunity here to connect where people already go with the real thing on the hill. And so that, for me, [00:41:54] is the future, it's how do you translate

some of that tourism potential up into the citadel? Where you can't even stay. So if you wanted to live, if you want to stay in Amedi, there's no place in the Citadel where you can stay. So why isn't there an air B&B or whatever it might be? So I think that's part of its future.

Interviewer: Ok and I hadn't quite picked up on quite how intense, the tourism was outside of town.

Interviewee: [00:42:24] It's very its local, as in Kurdish. Second circle is Iraqi - so it's known throughout Iraq. And then the third circle is probably the kind of the Arab states, Gulf States. So, it'll be known in those circles and people literally, you, you go to the road at the bottom of the hill and every other place is a shop selling tahini, [00:42:54] honey, fruit leathers, fruit, nuts, you know? All the things which are local. So it's a really important case of tourism, foodie, cultural, pilgrimage in a way.

Interviewer: That's interesting. And is there a tourist body? What is the tourist authority as it were for the town?

Interviewee: I'm just I don't think there is. There's various different tourist operators but in terms of the [00:43:24] tourist body for to the nearest - and forgive me, off the top of my head I don't know - but it will be Duhok or be in the nearest regional centre which promotes tourism, but it's pretty ad hoc to be honest.

Interviewer: Okay, that's interesting. Thank you, and quickly, just to wind up it, I suppose – well two questions. Lessons learned – it seems that you may be applying very similar principles to your other projects where you can. Are there any, is there, any one big lesson or any lessons you got from [00:43:54] this project that have influenced your thinking in other areas?

Interviewee: I think there's lessons of affirmation - so there's things that we know we've got right, which is rooting things in the need to talk to local people. There's certainly lessons in terms of how you deal with expectations and partners within the context of Iraq. So [00:44:24] we've alluded to some of those. In terms of lessons learned for the wider organization, I think it is more along the lines of how you adapt, again, some of those Western ideas to cultures which for those principles, those ideas, have no resonance at the moment. So how do you adapt those? And then what things can you take back from Amedi [00:44:54] to apply in the western sphere? So those I'd say those are the headlines.

Interviewer: Okay. That was great. Thank you. Also, quickly, has …I mean obviously the global pandemic has changed everything for everybody. It's is there anything in particular? I mean obviously there's been a pause now because you know, you can't get on with things. Do you think there's ….. will this affect anything else in respect to this project [00:45:24] specifically? It feels so early to work out …..

Interviewee: Yeah, it does. I think I mean we know that we're still working in Erbil, we are working in Mosul, we're working in Sinjar at the moment. So those departments are still out there, the issues which are underlying our interest in this region have by no means gone away. You know, you read reports of, and you see pictures [00:45:54] of Daesh moving across Syria. So, last time I flew out, you know, I could lie could see parts of Syria lit up by bombing so it's, it's something the …. Yeah, covid is important, but there are other fundamental issues.

Interviewer: Yeah, thank you. Well and I could I just ask just three cheeky things really. Are there [00:46:24] any other project documents you're able to share with me? I've only seen the evaluation document, but I'd be interested to see really anything like, you know, your project plan or any initiation documents, anything that you feel able to share with me.

Interviewee: I would have to take a little time just to think about what those might be.

Interviewer: If there's anything you could send me, I'd be really grateful. And obviously it's all treated with complete confidentiality and not shared [00:46:55] anywhere. And the second cheeky question was, are you able to put me in touch with other project participants so I can also interview them so I can get, you know, really fill out, my understanding of the project. Again, if you can, if you think about that - you don't have to respond immediately. Thirdly, do you think there are any other of your own projects that might be relevant to the area of research I'm looking into?

Interviewee: Almost certainly, yes. [00:47:25] But again, if you can leave that one with me.

Interviewer: Yes, of course, I don't want to put you on the spot and also because we're very pushed for time. Well, maybe I will just send you a quick follow-up, email, just to remind you of those points,

Interviewee: Yes, if you could remind me of those three points, then that means I've got that on my little list.

Interviewer: Okay. Thank you very much. So in conclusion, I'll just say, thank you so much for your time and I'm sure you're very busy and clearly you're struggling with IT and with a, you know, an imminent webinar. [00:47:55] So thank you, thank you. And tell me, is there anything you want me to share with you once I'm done my analysis or written up a chapter for my dissertation. I'm quite happy to do that if you want to see it.

Interviewee: Yeah. We're always interesting that feedback and what you've come up with both from our project and in wider scheme of things – always interesting.

Interviewer: Hopefully, I'll be able to draw some lessons from looking and this and other projects and it might be helpful. Thank you. And is there anything

else [00:48:25] you'd like to ask me or you – you understand what we've just done.

Interviewee: No, I think not. I think it sounds fascinating piece of work and I shall look forward to reading the outcome, Sarah, when you get there.

Interviewer: Well fantastic. Thank you so much for your help. I really appreciate it. And yeah, I'll send a quick email and otherwise yeah, thanks ever so much.

Interviewee: Nice to speak with you and good luck.

Interview terminates. [00:48:55]

Interview with Jala Makhzoumi

4ᵗʰ December 2021

Summary:

Minute(s)	Subject Covered
11- 14	The nature of landscape in framing and contextualising heritage and being multi-layered. It relates to identity construction. It is a complex concept. Heritage itself is multi-dimensional – it can be natural or human-made.
14- 16	Dangers of seeing heritage in a limited form – this diminishes understanding and identification. Expansive concepts of landscape enables inclusion.
17 - 20	Landscape relates to human development. The interaction of environment and society is place, or landscape on a larger scale. Interviewee elaborates on work she has done in Lebanon regarding landscape in the post-war context.
21- 25	Discussion on the work of Solidere in the reconstruction of Beirut and the lack of real attention to heritage.
26	Discussion on spirit of place or genius loci/genius regionis – people are at the heart of this. In Amedi, value arises from people's appreciation of view out from the town to its surroundings.
27 - 30	In the Amedi project the focus was originally simply on the architecture. It needed careful thought to identify the presence of the small gardens with their trees and their value to people – they too constitute heritage. Part of the value is in the trees – most have a pomegranate or fig tree, some have pistachios. Discussion of the lady who took over a part of the public gardens as her own private garden space had been built on.
31	Confirmation that the small garden spaces adjoined the public realm.
32	Some people want to install lawns and roses, which won't be successful in this location.
33 - 36	Use of the gardens for domestic chores and incidental social interactions. The pleasure arising from production – the little gardens are also mini-orchards – and pride from being able to share produce with family and neighbours. So they are supportive of social interaction.
37 - 38	Discussion on the concept of public realm, or public land, as the interviewee prefers. This includes streets, plazas, parks or anywhere the public can go.
39 - 40	The shrinking public realm in Beirut resulting from privatisation of the public realm through securitising and control of who is welcome there.
41- 42	Discussion on elements which can contribute to the public realm, such as landscaping and trees, even if they are not located within it.

43 - 48	Discussion on the positive and active nature of the urban landscape as a place where social interactions occur. Also, the differences of scale between rural and urban settings and differences in interaction with the environment. The strong attachment to place and community in villages and neighbourhoods, which is not possible in cities. This is to do with the ease of identifying with a community or place. Some buildings, such as the traditional pub offer a place for social interaction, but in cities, again, this effect is diluted by the numbers of people visiting.
49 - 55	Discussion on the Interviewees role in the Amedi project, and so the attention given to landscape considerations. The interviewees role in drawing the project's attention to issues such as the privatisation of views out of the town to the mountains, and the creeping privatisation of abandoned spaces which accompanied this. This emphasised the need for a more holistic view and understanding of landscape, and acknowledgement of its close relationship with heritage as defined by the community. Local people were more likely to consider the natural environment in all its forms as heritage and were less interested in old buildings.
56 - 57	There is no word in Arabic for landscape in its broad sense, but when asked local people's responses made it clear that this is what they were most interested in. For them, it includes views, gardens, the natural world, springs, orchards, woods and other natural features.
58 – 59	Local people were not specifically asked about landscape issues, but they mentioned them anyway. There was not enough time to probe this issue.
1.00 - 1.01	The Interviewee mentioned a more advanced understanding of the concept of landscape evident in the UK, even among students.
1.02 – 1.04	A comparison between the landscape and climatic qualities of Amedi and Erbil. The former, being in a mountainous area is more Mediterranean in character, while the latter is between the mountains and desert and has a more arid climate. The landscape around Erbil is discussed as being denuded of its formerly wooded setting, which has not been renewed. There is low level farming around Erbil.
1.05 – 1.10	Discussion on Amedi's connections with its hinterland historically, and its past economic role as a successful marketplace where supplies were brought from a wide area around, for instance for the production of tahini. The souk was a significant one. Once motorised transport was available, Dohuk was the preferred economic centre and provider of health and education services, with an accompanying decline in the economic vigour of Amedi and its power locally.
1.11- 1.14	Discussion on another project in which the Interviewee is involved looking at villages in the hinterland of Erbil.

Interview starts with introductions and Interviewer describes research.

Interviewer: (7.01) ….. So, [what I am looking at is] the role of heritage in social reconstruction and physical reconstruction after conflicts and how that relates, the success of that, might relate to the amount of community engagement and the meaningfulness of the community engagement and …. because I think it kind of leads to thinking about authenticity. And, you know, the idea that if you reconstruct heritage, it's not all authentic - in one sense, the very technocratic sense, that it's not the same fabric in, you know, archaeologically, in the same place. But actually, it can be very authentic for people who see it as a place, you know, of memory and appreciation and part of the backdrop of their everyday lives. So looking at that tension, and I'm interested in urban heritage, so not the big sort of set piece archaeological sites, but actually just places that people use and live in in urban centres. So that's, in a nutshell, what I'm looking into, and I'm looking at projects and practice as well, and seeing how, you know, what, what really comprises good practice. That's what I'm trying to identify, and some of the principles of what will make a good project in this area? So I've had a look into the Amedi project, because I got some information from the British Council who have been very helpful and I interviewed John Darlington as well. So he was very helpful. And I noted your involvement in the project. So I did a bit of reading of the articles of yours that I could get hold of, and that raise some new and interesting idea, particularly about landscape and what it really means and what it means in an urban context. Because traditionally, you know, in this country, we are probably using the term 'landscape' for something like

open spaces, for the countryside, not for the urban space. And your very particular take on how urban landscape works in Arab cities is really interesting. And yeah, I'm very pleased to have a chance to chat with you. So could I, if I could ask a few questions in a general sense, and then and some a few questions about Amedi itself….

Interviewee: Yeah, of course …….

Interviewer: Thank you very much. So I think what comes out and what you've written is to me that landscape is a human construct. It is, obviously, partly nature and topography, but also what people bring to it and what people project onto it …..part of what landscape is that it's that it's multi layered. And it has tangible and intangible elements, that its objective and subjective. And I think that it that was a very interesting thought, because that reflects almost entirely the way people think about heritage now, in heritage theory. I was wondering about your thoughts on actually whether heritage and landscape are more or less the same thing? Or are they, you know, part of a continuum, because you could see one as part of the other, but they seem much closer than that - what are your thoughts on that relationship between heritage and landscape are really?

Interviewee: (11:12) So, it's interesting, I think they are different, because what landscape does is that it contextualises a problematic - this, for me is the key potential of landscape. And this, this contextualising is very, very layered and rich, because landscape is layered, what all the things that I've been talking about, like it is, it is it is tangible, and intangible. It is conceptual ideas and, and values that society holds. And at the same time, something very tangible and spacious, something spatial. So, in that sense, I've argued in other places that landscape, contextualises a problematic - if it is heritage, then what it does it frames heritage and this framing is a very, very important way, because if you think of heritage, not only as something tangible, but heritage as this interaction between people, and history and what's out there. So it's about identity construction. And this, this process is very, very complex. And it's very difficult to grasp it, it's very difficult to get a hold of it. So what landscape does, it sort of anchors it in a space, in a time, in society, in their values. So it's not a straightforward relationship. It's a very complex relationship. But this is what landscape does to heritage, I believe, because this is what landscape does to something else as well, not just heritage. And again, heritage - heritage in itself is also tangible and intangible. Now, finally, they've recognised – not finally, a while back - it has been recognised that there's also intangible heritage. Yeah. And heritage is also, it could be natural, and it could be human made or managed. So all of these, so these are, again, overlaps between landscape and heritage. And, again, landscape framing could be in a rural site, and it could be in an open site. They're both landscapes and the whole dynamic construct - a dynamic relationship exists in both. Okay…..

Interviewer: (14:16) Thank you. So, so, landscape can be sort of a pathway to, as you say, to framing and understanding heritage. That's really interesting. So I think, I mean, there is still, even so, a tendency sometimes for people to think is of heritage as being rather discreet blocks of things, rather than the whole ……

Interviewee: (14:38) That's very dangerous because it's dangerous because first of all, it reduces your heritage. Heritage is what a society makes of its past. Very briefly - so the thing is that it when you freeze it on an object in a way you exclude - which object, why? Who decided that it is there?

Interviewer: So this is just (15:11) narrowing it down to one thing, and that gives you the chance to exclude others…..?

Interviewee: (15:17) Yes, you need to expand, you need to expand because also, landscape is a way to bring in people. Yeah, that's another thing. I mean, I work a lot with participatory approach to development to heritage, conservation, biodiversity conservation, or it could be water resources, or any …. – it doesn't matter. I mean, the same formula works very well, for both. So in a sense, yes, it may be that is really what I like about landscape, apart from the fact that I work with landscape, is that it expands really, it is expansive. And I use this term, an expansive landscape framing, because it's beyond what people think of landscape is only tangible or as only space

Interviewer: And scenery too, I think … (16:14) – it's my observation - it's also more accessible for people, a wider range……to understand and to relate to respond, or - people do respond to heritage, but you know, they maybe feel they don't know why, because it's technical and difficult with some somebody very learned telling them they are wrong. But I think landscape invites a response more easily, perhaps?

Interviewee: Yeah, absolutely. I think so. I think so too.

Interviewer: Thank you. That's really helpful. I think that really - it's contextualising it for me. So that was brilliant. And, yeah, and I think you've discussed the fact that it is dynamic, and a responsive thing. And I think I'm also drawing from what you've said, and what you've written that landscape, it's not, it's not simply a sort of an object. You know, it's not the sort of passive recipient of values, but it also helps to shape them and respond to them as well, you know, that that dynamic goes both ways.

Interviewer: (17:19) Absolutely, it's, it's, I mean, especially in, especially in the Middle East, I mean, in places where there has been a long history of settlement, mainly, landscape and people - actually sits not landscape - people, and environment co-evolve. Landscape. is part of this co-evolving, this interaction. I mean, the diagram I've used often is that you have environment and society. Their interaction is place. The bigger one is landscape. It's really interesting. This is this is in a, in a book

you might find interesting, it's a chapter in a book by Harithy on post war reconstruction, in Lebanon, post 2006. It's a Routledge publication, I can send you the details. And that is something very interesting. You can read because Hawayda Al-Harithy, the editor of the book, she's an amazing person. She's a heritage person and she's written a lot about heritage. And again, you will find a lot of the issues - I mean, we think like I, I'm, I'm mainly in my landscape field, she's mainly in her heritage, but we cross over, and we were … yes. But that's the book, I think you would find interesting. It's specifically on Lebanon, some of the reconstruction - the authors - because this was the post-2006 Israeli bombardment of Lebanon - what's happened is that all of us as part of the American University of Beirut came together and established the Architecture Department Reconstruction Unit. Okay?. And so in a sense, we, each one of us, took charge of a village or a suburb of Beirut, or one of the towns in the south that were badly damaged. And the book is a product of those different approaches.

Interviewer: (19:38) It will be really interesting, because I think, yes, that the things have been completed?

Interviewee: (19:46) Yes, and no, I mean, my case study in a village was - part of it succeeded, but it was a studio - a lot of us structured, because we were teaching, so we structured that as a design studio, which is great for the students. It's an amazing, amazing learning experience. But at the same time, you know it's not an office. So we move on to another term, academic term. And we - and the project is forgotten. So there was an impact, but it wasn't so much like implementing. But the discourse is very interesting from very different approaches and different academics and practitioners.

Interviewer: (20:33) Okay, great. Well, yeah, I will track that down if you can let me know. That'd be fantastic. Um, just as just as an aside, really what I mean, I've been to Beirut and see the reconstruction. Well - not reconstruction … but you know, a lot of the city that what, used to be that historic city, a lot of it's been well, it looks like London's Docklands to me. Quite exclusive, you know, quite dead, you know, quite quiet on the street. What was the response, you know, from people such as yourself and your colleagues to that?

Interviewee: (21:18) Well, we were very much against it, because it was unjust socially. What happened is that - you've read about it - Solidere took over. And the land was acquired, almost forcing owners to sell, making it impossible for them to hold on to their own property. This was one. Second was, I mean, the stages, it was a complete revamping of the town, but then with a lot of opposition from intellectuals and architects they conceded, and they kept some more heritage. But it's very, very gated, very exclusive, very neoliberal, and very much part of the global city. Really, it's very, very market driven. And this is why we are against it. And if you can, I mean, this, there's an article I can send you, I wrote, it's just - this is the draft, it hasn't been published yet, on Al-

Shuhada, which is Martyrs' Square, to look at the history of Beirut. And you can see I mean, heritage and landscape and social networks and how people, I mean, the changing, the evolving fate of this iconic space, because, you know, it's appropriated then planned in a very, very rigid way. People seem to come back and appropriate it as they feel, it's a very empowering space. I can send you a copy of that article as well. But you see, this is the problem with Solidere. It just took and the very vibrant, inclusive, city centre - turned it into – it was museified, it was gated, you know - so this is really, there are chances….. I mean, I had the Master's degree students looking at ways that Solitaire can overcome - this if they want to overcome it. I mean, a lot of cities like Amman are asking for Solitaire to develop the same in Amman already. So I don't think Solidere sees there's anything wrong with it and I guess it wouldn't blame the failure of Solidere or 'this is empty economically, it's no longer feasible' on the political situation - it will not see that it was exclusive. Really. I mean, it's there's a lot - I'm sure you you've seen a lot written about it.

Interviewer: (24:20) Yes. Yeah, indeed. Sorry, that was a distraction. I worked in the East End of London around the docks area, London Docklands Development Corporation. Again, it's sort of a neoliberalism, privatisation of space, and about appropriation of a lot of it. A lot of the heritage also got mysteriously burnt down beforehand.

Interviewee: (24:46) Yeah. Yeah. To make to make space for profitable - more profitable - heritage is not profitable. But the difference I think, I mean, I don't know you will correct me, but the Docklands is not a city centre. But Beirut was the heart of Beirut. I mean, at first when I first arrived in Lebanon it is to say that it's like a doughnut. You know, you have a city which does with the hollowed centre. Centre is no longer .. doesn't belong to the people. So it's hollowed in a way. It's the Docklands in a way, yes, it was gentrified. It's very market driven. It's, at least it was an industrial site, you know, more or less so at least you can find some justification. But the heart of Beirut – it was very difficult.

Interviewer: (25:41) Yeah, it was a real living place, as you say. Anyway, sorry. Thank you for that. That's really hard. And just rolling on still, in general terms of Amedi, the Amedi document often uses the term 'spirit of place'. It is on the face of it really helpful term. But I think of when I was having one of my supervisions on what I'd written about Amedi, they, they challenged me. So what does it mean? And I think sometimes we define it differently every time we use it. And I just wondered what it meant to you as a term and how it relates to landscape as you identify it?

Interviewee: (26:21) Yeah, I think it genius loci or genius regionis, etc. Because it's its place slash - sometimes I say – region; sometimes it's not just the place, it's a more regional flavour. I think it is really a summation of an active use of a landscape. So you almost feel the accumulation - it's very difficult to say that a place or a landscape has a spirit of place if it is

empty of people, you can't use it that way. The spirit must be alive. So it's really this, this interaction, or this lived heritage, that gives the sense of place, I think that captures the sense of place. And with landscape, it has to be landscape, because in Amedi, what gives the sense of place, the spirit of place, it is really the whole town and the people and the souk, and the houses and, and whatever, they have - the gardens. So it's all these that that put together - the summation is the spirit of place. So, so this is why, it's I mean, I can't - I find it difficult to, to see a spirit of place from an architecture point of view. Urban, yes, because urban is the total. I put the landscape more because in Amedi its views from outside the town to the town and views from the town to the mountains. A lot of the people spoke of how much they valued, the view, view sheds, and vistas from that town to the surroundings.

Interviewer: Yes, it must be spectacular.

Interviewee: Yeah, it is an amazing place. For example, this project. When we went there, that heritage, it was really a community-based heritage approach to enabling local players to look at heritage. Nobody had looked at the gardens. There were, I mean, there was an English firm that work with heritage architecture. They were looking at the buildings. And so there were houses. Another group looked at the souk and one of them looked at the very old house, the Kitani house. As we went around, I realised every single house in Amedi, every single house - they're really small houses - had one pomegranate and one fig tree. Now isn't this heritage? It's incredible. And, and nobody noticed it. It didn't come - I mean, nobody thought of it as heritage - nobody gave it [significance] and yet it is so important because you saw pomegranate trees overhanging the narrow alleyways. People were cutting up the pomegranate, drying them to make pomegranate molasses. And in the end, I had to go around and count the houses. And in one case, the lady - there was no garden and I said, 'It's a pity you don't have a garden'- because they had built the new house on the footprint of the old and demolished the old. There was just a concrete one by four metre frontage. She said 'No, but I have a garden'. Where? And she pointed to the public garden, she had planted her pomegranate in the public garden. Look how important it is to them! Yet it would have gone unnoticed if I had not been there looking at this item. They had an amazing it's a Mediterranean species which is bistasha. Bistasha is from pistachio, I mean basically especially [Pistacia] palestina, Pistachia lentiscus is another - this species is amazing. They had in the cemetery, which is a multi-faith cemetery. They had four amazing trees. And there was another one which was in a religious - on a religious ruin ……. They had green (31:23) ribbons tied on it, it's a wishing tree, like a wishing tree. So these are just as much heritage but as I said, you know, maybe this was my role, as you know, looking at the landscape, which ……

Interviewer: (31:36) Another pair of eyes looking at something different? That's really interesting. So those little spaces where they had those trees where they were, they were sort of outside the house, they weren't sort of a courtyard that enclosed, they were actually outside the house?

Interviewee: (31:52) Yeah, yeah - not a courtyard because the houses were so small and courtyard type houses are in more temperate climates in the south maybe. But in the cold – it snows, it's snow covered for a couple of months - so what they have is just the house and then there is the little garden in the front or on the side, or maybe a small L - sometimes the house has an L shape - so it's changing. But now as people rebuild their houses, they're filling up the blocks because they are land locked because it's - there's very little space. So the pomegranate and, and fig trees, that would be one or two or three, it depends on how much space they have. But they have to have it. We saw two or three houses, where there was a garden and they had wanted to put a lawn, which is very silly. And this is because this obsession with lawns and roses to have in a garden, but the thing is that they what they have is so much more valuable.

Interviewer: (33:10) Yes, lawns and roses are over overrated in England, let alone in Amedi. And just one more question about those spaces, because I think John Darlington mentioned that they were placed where people might meet, you know, meet and chat and sort of spend a bit of time you know?

Interviewee: (33:31) I mean, some of them were very small, some of them, sometimes the house, the kitchen, part of the kitchen and cooking process takes place outdoors, so they would sit there, peel the potatoes or the cucumbers or whatever. So they would use it this way. It depends. Some of them were larger, some of them were smaller. So they were functional, but I know from studying gardens in southern Lebanon, again during the 2006 war, it's a very, very interesting typology, which is really, I call it an orchard slash garden. Because it's very important throughout the eastern Mediterranean, really, where the garden traditional rural garden domestic garden is a place for production and pleasure. And pleasure comes out of the production. So that you have in South Lebanon, you have two kinds of gardens within the garden. There is what they call the bustan, which is the orchard, and it would have trees and fruit trees, of many, a very big diversity. They don't plant the same thing. And the other one they call sahara. Sahara in Arabic is desert. And it's wondered why - because there are no trees. It is low lying - like herbs and tomato. And so for them, it is no tree, this is what they have. And it was amazing. Again, I've published this if you're interested. It is, it was a very, very interesting study. Because as we look for what landscape is in the Middle East, and there's very little understanding of landscape. And there's the danger of borrowing and literally transporting the landscape from, from a temperate climate, European mainly, because they say we have no

landscape because they don't see the rural landscape as landscape. So it's good to look at these and understand how was this kind of garden heritage looked upon, by rural culture, because rural culture hasn't been disrupted with modernity and with the with Western influences ….

Interviewer: (36:04) With the desire for formal parks? So these little gardens, they're using them for production?

Interviewee: (36:13) Yes. I mean, yeah, but the production is …. they might sell one or two cases - selling – but [it is for] their own use, and also the pride of giving, sharing them with neighbours and family. That was a very important. Sharing was a very important part of having the garden - sharing the produce.

Interviewer: (36:36) Yes. Again, it's supporting social interaction by giving and receiving. I hadn't picked that up at all, from what I found out so far. That's really great thank you for that. That's a real insight. Thank you. So I think we've discussed a lot of the general things that I was going to ask about. I was just asking - just wanted to check in with you on the term public realm because I'm just rereading your article about Saida. And I think perhaps you're seeing the public realm was quite a broad area and encompassing the area around the town or the city, as well as, you know, the city itself, because I think in this country, we've tended to look at it slightly differently. Because if you're working somewhere like London, it's so big that you have no sense of the rural hinterland. It's so far away. And this might be a product of industrialization, I suppose. And the evolution is towards really big cities. And I can see it makes sense in a smaller city where you're aware of its surroundings. I just wanted to check that - I understand that by public realm you're thinking about publicly owned land or public land on a wider scale?

Interviewee: (37.54) Yeah. The other word that is used is public space. In a city, urban public space, but I don't like urban space. And I again, I have - Tim Waterman at the UCL, he's now at UCL, we - he's publishing a book with Ed Wall, 'Landscape, Citizenships'. Again, I wrote a chapter there talking about the public realm, Beirut's shrinking public realm, but public land is preferable. It's an old term from the 60s really, basically, what it means it's those areas of a city that are accessible by the public. So streets, plazas, public parks. Sometimes, I mean, sometimes you can say, I mean, a railway station in a way is public, because anybody can go into it. Generally public realm is - it could be that, but generally it is open it is really open – it is landscapes, so really streets, plazas, and gardens and parks. This is really what is meant by public space.

Interviewer: Okay, thank you just wanted to make sure. Obviously, you know, it can be susceptible to being privatised also - accessibility being limited.

Interviewee: (39) Yes. Absolutely. And I know yes, absolutely. This is why this is why the title of that chapter is Beirut's shrinking public realm. Yeah, because

it is shrinking because of Solidere. Solidere boasts that it has, I think, not very sure if I remember - 35 or something percent of open spaces in Beirut, and it's such a tiny part of Beirut, which is true. Yeah. Okay, fine. You have that public realm. But is it really public? Not quite. It's monitored with The CCTV cameras, it's manned with the with the security. So it's not really public.

Interviewer: (40) We have an issue with things like big shopping malls, because actually on the face of it anybody could go in but actually not everybody is welcome, you know.

Interviewee: Absolutely, absolutely. That's a very good example, so Solidere in a sense is like that, it's like a big mall, so that people can go in. Yes, you can, but your attire has to be of a certain standard, your speech. If you have too many kids, if they're making a lot of noise, if you sit on the floor, they will come and tell you, please don't do that. So in a sense, it's not a free space, really. It's not public. It's not public - it's controlled.

Interviewer: (41) Yeah, actually there's something else I was going to ask you as well, I think a thing we have in London a lot, of course, is we have garden squares which are actually private, but they actually are part of the urban landscape, they have a really big visual impact. So I just wondered if, you know, things that aren't actually accessible can still contribute to the landscape in your view.

Interviewee: They can, they can. You see because they contribute in two ways. First of all, the trees, a block of trees, even if you can't access them. It's a little bit like Amedi. Those trees in their gardens overhang alleyways and you can see the greenery, so they do contribute to the streetscape, even if they are not accessible, even if they are private. And also in the case of London Square, because the squares are considerable in size, and if you count how many squares there are, they contribute climatically to the environment. (42) They clean the air, they temper the climate, so in a sense, and also psychologically, when you pass by the leaves are all gone, it's you in touch with seasonality, which otherwise you wouldn't in a city. So they do contribute, even if they're privatized. Alot of them, yeah, a lot of them are locked, but a lot of them keep the door open and you can go in, take your kids if there is a slide or something. So it's, you know, it's different, it's not, they were not, they were not created to exclude, they were created to contribute to the people living in that catchment.

Interviewer: Yes, they have a very close relationship with the buildings around them, which can contribute to the buildings as well. Yeah, okay, thank you for that, that's helpful, just sort of clarifying that. (43) So just one last general question: I took from something, and I've been looking for it, I can't remember which article it was, where you identified the idea of an urban landscape as being a matrix for social and economic interaction. I think that fits in with the way we've been I think it fits in with the way we've been talking to people about …. the way we've

been talking about landscape. That was a real revelation for me, I think, to think, you know, because we tend to think if you work in historic, you know, conservation of, you know, it's the spaces between the buildings, but actually it's a positive rather than a negative. So, was just wondering in relation to, well I don't know, I just wanted to confirm what are your thoughts about it. (44) And is there a difference between the urban landscape and the rural landscape in that the interaction and the activity is so much more condensed?

Interviewee: The difference is really the difference between rural society and urban society. This is really the main difference, because in an urban context, people use the city differently than in a rural context. So that this is, I mean, apart from scale and apart from building typologies, which of course, course are, there's less density and the buildings are smaller, generally in a rural setting. But it's also, society is different. I mean, it's interaction with the settlement, let's say, the settlement or the, I mean, their mode of habitation, (45) the way they interact with their environment is different than from a city. This is why I think architects and planners like to think of neighbourhoods, because neighbourhood is almost like a village, so there is much stronger community ties, but you cannot have neighbourhoods in a city like London.

Interviewer: It's very hard because the edges, you can't see really where the edges are, because you're greyed into another neighbourhood. And people, it's about what people identify with more than anything, isn't it?

Interviewee: Yes, but also it's what they identify with, but it's also the people who they identify with. It's the who, not the what, because in a city, I don't identify with anyone. Maybe some of my neighbours in the building, but that's about it. (46) That doesn't make it. That's not interaction without the city. Whereas in a rural setting, social ties and networks are very, very tight. And this is what shapes the space. This is what renders it alive. This is really the spirit of that place. In London, it's very difficult to look at something like that in a city.

Interviewer: Yeah, and people have, in London, people I think tend to have very scattered networks because, you know, you have to live in one part or another part or you work with people in one place. This is sort of like a net thrown over the city. You are not identifying with the people who live around you.

Interviewee: I mean in a London pub – they are not open now - I mean you go in you can socialize but in a village everybody knows everybody else, (47) you know, it's really the heart of that community, you know. Children will come and so it's almost like a church, you know. People go less and less to church, to service. So, but the pub, it's different. It's businesspeople, you know, associated. So it's, this is really, I mean, it's this social network, your social logic of space to borrow space from, I mean, from what was her name, Julian Hansen and Bill Hillier's work on space syntax, the social logic of space. It's a very, very interesting

approach. And they developed a whole theory of how people react with spaces, you know, regardless city or not. Those ties are much, much closer when you …. when the community is smaller, it is scale dependent. As the scale goes up, and as the turnover of people changes (48) the network weakens.

Interviewer: Yeah, that's really helpful. Thank you, thanks a lot. That was a really valuable insight, thank you very much. Okay, so just a few specific questions about Amedi, if I may.

Interviewee: Yeah, of course.

Interviewer: Thank you. So what was your role in relation to the project? Obviously, you were brought in to advise on landscape.

Interviewee I don't think anybody knew my role quite, you know, I was just there. I mean, I know Alessandra well, who was really the person she set up the project and worked with John. And of course, John advised Tanvir, who is the Donald Insall - they're the architecture firm. But what I did is I kept wanting to expand the view out, (49) because again, the participants, were architects, a lot of them, and archaeologists. They kept going back to the tangible. The houses themselves, the traditional houses, they kept going back to the traditional houses, they kept going back to the traditional, the Kitani house and the marketplace, these were the three groups. But I kept saying, look, who's going to look at the town? Supposing you do all of this, and you restore the souk and that, the story is not finished. You have to look at the townscape, you have to look at those views, can we capitalize on those views out and keep them – they are being privatized. Can we open them up and create little public gardens at the end of each alleyway instead of appropriating it? Look at the trees, look at how we can enhance the whole townscape, the realm, the public realm, open spaces. They don't need a park or anything (50), but it would be nice to improve the … whatever spaces they have in quality, in standards. So this is very much what I worked with them on. Tanvir from Donald Insall, where they were working on the actual, how do you restore a house? What do you do? What kind of structure? What is, you know, and then there was an anthropologist who was trying to see what is it that the community want? How do they think of their heritage? What is heritage to them? And so on.

Interviewer: Yes, I got the opportunity from talking to John that actually there was a slight element of surprise on his part that when asked about what they valued, the local residents were talking about the natural environment, about their gardens. But what about the buildings? (51) No, this is actually what they were more interested in.

Interviewee: Yes, because it's such a unique setting, you see. Again, they do not use the word landscape. There is no word for landscape, complex word in Arabic. So when they say the views, the mountains, our setting, this is what they're talking about. It's the landscape and it's a spectacular

landscape. They're very much aware of it. They value their heritage. But when you say, I guess, in the interviews that, what was her name? I forgot her name - Gina, the anthropologist. Yes, when you I mean yeah they recognize the Mosul gate is very, very - it's iconic and everything - they recognize the old mosque which was a church, which was a synagogue, they don't know the details maybe (52). But there was a big Jewish community and there are Jewish graves so it's very, very multi - not multiethnic - but multi religious really - most of them are Kurds really. So the thing is that, yes, it was a surprise. They did not see the houses as a heritage, because the houses were, except for the Kitani house, which remains, because it was really the oldest. But generally, yes, they were very much - they valued, they valued the view. This is why landscape came in to look at viewpoints, to look at those gardens, to look to protect those key elements and enhance them if you can with streetscapes, with lighting, with signage with all of these things so that they preserve the character of this town and the spirit that we were talking about when we started.

Interviewer:	(53) Okay thank you and did you - so yeah you've obviously you were looking at the view you were looking at the views as well

Interviewee:	Yeah, I mean this was, but there was really no, not a very clear role for me. I mean apart from because again, I mean, like John told you, I mean they were dealing heritage I mean even Alessandra and John I mean they're aware of landscape but again they don't see the landscape as an asset. It all came out gradually you see but - and this is why I love landscape. They don't see it. It is the tapestry upon which all the patterns are built and yet nobody recognizes it.

Interviewer:	Yes. I have to say this is making me look at my work in a different way (54) because I'm working in London Borough and we're doing an urban characterisation exercise at the moment. I mean it's all about the buildings and I'm going to go back to that and start thinking. No, let's do it more widely and think about it.

Interviewee:	Do that, absolutely.

Interviewer:	I'd love to try and see how that works out for us.

Interviewee:	Yeah, but landscape character, unlike architecture character or building character, is very much about the spirit again. Because, because it is all embracing, it is not, it's the building is the street, it's the signage, it's the lighting, trees.

Interviewer:	Yes, how people live there.

Interviewee:	Yeah, and how people live there. So in that sense, yeah, absolutely, it is, I think it's very important to just look out. So in the end, all of those things, we did like one of the exercises we did was developing trails. (55) For example, it's a citadel town. Nobody was thinking of the edges. Okay, if these edges are built, it will lose its character. So part of the work was how to protect those slopes to make sure no building

goes there, to make sure even down in its base, nothing is built for quite a distance to preserve the purity of this character. So these things, people don't usually, it misses the mirror, they take it for granted, it's a setting.

Interviewer: Yeah, so interesting, yeah. That's a really, really important point, actually, yeah, that it's so characteristic of the town. So clearly landscape issues weren't at the forefront of people's minds, but they came out through the discussions with local people. Is that right?

Interviewee: Can you say that again? (56)

Interviewer: Well, that local people weren't specifically asked about landscape.

Interviewee: No, they can't be. There's no word for it! The landscape came out. It was embedded in the answers they gave. And they said nature, they said view, they said seeing Amedi from a distance. It's the landscape setting. It was looking from Amedi to the surrounding. So all of this is really very much the landscape which really anchors their whole life and settlement into that amazing setting, physical setting, geographical setting. So - but we never used landscape in the – (57) when I studied the gardens in post 2006 war again in this village I was telling you about, the orchard garden. I never asked - I never used the word landscape. All I said is 'your garden'. Yes. Because firstly they would not, I mean there is no landscape Arabic word and second, if they knew it, again the conception or understanding of landscape is an urban beautification, you know, a park. Park is a landscape. Everything else is not a landscape in the village. So there's a very big problem, so I avoid using it. I will use the garden in another village where I did another … looking at how do the people see the landscape. This was published in the International Journal of Heritage Studies. (58) And again, I use the place - I use the name, I mean, I said olive orchards, the water, watering point, the spring, I said the forest, so I use these words, but I've never used landscape.

Interviewer: No, so you have to break it down into its specific parts for people.

Interviewee: Yeah, and it ends up, they have a very, very complex and layered idea of these surroundings and names for them. But they do not you know but they don't recognize there's no all-embracing word that puts it all together.

Interviewer: Thank you and so when the Amedi - when the engagement work was done in Amedi - were people specifically asked about gardens and views? I think they might have been asked about views.

Interviewee: No they weren't. No I don't - if I remember correctly they weren't. They were asked what you do value most, what is it that you like about Amedi if, you know, if you had to protect what would ……. But nothing, no view, no. I think I asked Gina to introduce a question about garden, you know but they don't even, you know, it's very funny you know, for them, again, we've been so, I mean, local cultures have been so

corrupted by TV and by media so that they don't even see it as a garden, you know. They will look at it as - I wish I can go back and just ask them what they think of their gardens. I really, I didn't have a chance. I barely had the chance to. to look at, to verify what I suspected because the students had another task, the participants. So I had to do the survey. So no, they were not asked. Nothing - landscape didn't come in.

Interviewer: But it did come out?

Interviewee: Yeah, it came out through, it was embedded in the conversation in their values and priorities. (1.00)

Interviewer: Okay, thank you very much.

Interviewee: Yeah, but if, for example, if we were, let's say, in an English village, yeah, I would use landscape. Yeah, I would use landscape because they would know what you mean by landscape and especially in England. I mean, in England, people are - they value their landscape and somehow your, I mean, society here has evolved for, for very long time with the positives and negatives of landscape. The Enclosure Act is a very, very important point. So people are aware of that. And I once thought, I just, I was visiting a landscape studio at Reading with my colleague. She was teaching them. I was amazed that a second year and first year students knew more about landscape, the complexity of landscape (1.01) than fourth year landscape students in ….. because you grow up with this concept, you value nature, nature and landscape are very closely connected or the rural landscape is so, so much valued so, you know, it's just a very different setting..

Interviewer: Yeah and I suppose in this country, contrary to what people sometimes believe, in fact it's only a very small fraction of the, you know, the UK that's actually urbanized - you know there are gaps. It's just if people don't go out of their town or city they don't realize what's out there.

So yeah, that's really interesting. Could I ask a really specific question?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: In your article on the Erbil Greenbelt and say that centuries of historic conflict around it and it's kind of reduced it to (1.02) a relatively empty plain with the forests stripped out and quite impoverished villages, dotted with citadel towns. I just wonder if you, I mean, Amedi is, what, about a hundred kilometres away from Erbil? Is it, is it this part of that same phenomenon?

Interviewee: No, no, they're very, very different, Sarah, they're very different. Because, first of all, Erbil, the geographical setting is very different. Erbil is in the plain. Erbil is on the edge of the desert, it has the mountains to one side, but the desert to the other - even the climate is arid - it never snows over there, it's very cold, it's very hot. Amedi is in the mountain

region, so it's a very mountainous area. Then the people, Amedi is a village really, it's a town, but it's a town village.

Interviewer: It's a very small town, isn't it? (1.03)

Interviewee: Yeah, exactly. But Erbil is, Erbil really up to the early 19th century was nothing but the citadel and some little development just under the citadel. But since being declared the capital of the Iraqi Kurdish region, it has expanded incredibly, but the impoverishment of the wooded landscape must have come a very, very long time ago. I mean, a lot of the Iraqi Kurdistan mountains have been denuded of their forests because people were in need of fuel. And they, you know, they just cut, cut whatever trees they could get. And in the end, you know, in a very difficult climate, oaks … will take a very long time to grow. (1.04) And it's very much eastern Mediterranean - northern Iraq is very Mediterranean, you know. So you have these - so Erbil is very, very different in setting because as I said, it's geographically, climatically, it's different. And what has happened is that the citadel people living, all the Erbil people were living in the citadel, and they were all landowners. And the villagers, yeah, the villagers were really, and it was very much a feudal system.

Interviewer: Yeah, I can imagine that.

Interviewee: So gradually the lands, you know …. well, okay, I mean, it's still feudal. I mean, it's still feudal. It's not very profitable, but the lands are used very much for barley and wheat and it's rain -fed agriculture. So it doesn't cost them much. They have a tractor, they cultivate the wheat and barley and then they, you know, whatever harvest comes out, they... (1.05)

Interviewer: Okay, that's, yeah, until I can actually visit it, I think I'm sort of looking at it on Google Earth and you can see the fields around Erbil and there's no fields near Amedi, but some there's a sort of some woodland.

Interviewee: Yeah, a lot of woodlands. There is woodlands and there's also a lot of water courses. Even in Erbil, there's a lot of water courses. This is how the green belt, I mean, I protected two of the water courses as greenways to connect the villages with Erbil as part of the rural heritage that we're trying to …..

Interviewer: And I suppose historically they might have been a strong link between the city and the….. Okay that's really helpful and so I'm just wondering in Amedi the relationship between the town and the area around it - I mean you've got that really strong topographical separation as you mentioned. And there's no (1.06) fields around it because it's just not that kind of landscape is it? And from what I've read there seems to be relatively little interaction between all the visitors coming to the area around to look at the springs and the woods. So I just wondered, and yeah I was also wondering, because John mentioned local things like tahini and fruit leathers, and there doesn't seem to be an obvious

place where the raw materials would come from unless they're managing to grow them actually in the town. So I'm just wondering how linked into its surroundings is Amedi?

Interviewee: It was very linked in historically. Historically, the marketplace was the marketplace for a huge region, really, of villages that used to come bring in wood and buy all kinds of agricultural supplies. (1.07) There's even very good ironmongery, you know, they use iron, they used to make wheels and make all the implements that people needed. So, so really it was a very, very …. but then I think what happened with modern times and centralized government, gradually all the authority and services were taken away from the, from Amedi. And it ended up, the souk, ended up being really a local souk, not very much. But a lot of the sesame, for the tahini for example, is planted in the surrounding - there are villages, there are villages at a distance, so, you know, they would come. But now with the car they would ride in their car and go to Duhok. Why would they come to Amedi? So you see, this dynamic changes between a central town (1.08) and these towns are no longer - they don't play the same role. From the historical research the participants did, it was very clear that Ahmadi had an incredible, the souq especially, and in the city. It was like the seat of governance for the, not Mamluks, but part of the Emirs that ruled that whole area – Bahdinan Emir's. So really it had a variable. But yeah, you don't see, the villages are further away. I doubt that they would come to Amedi. With the car, they have a car now, they can drive to Duhok. Why would they come to Amedi? So this is also what happens. Whereas before walking and horses or donkeys or mules, yes, you'd come to Amedi because that is affordable, you know, distance-wise. But with the car now everybody goes back to Duhok, which is a very big city now. (1.09) So they go, they buy, if they need health services, if they need anything, they go there. Even the people of Amedi go to school to Duhok because there's limited, I mean schools and then university, what do you do? You have to go to Duhok.

Interviewer: Yeah, okay, that was interesting. So I'm imagining that's why the town has depopulated and declined over the years because you know, it's lost that relationship with its hinterland and it's no longer a market town, as it were.

Interviewee: It's no longer a market town. It's no longer a political centre for the rulers. Duhok has now become a prosperous city which offers services, shopping, medical services, education, so you know it just every it becomes centralized, so everybody goes to Duhok. And it's 45 minutes really to Duhok so it's not so far. (1.10)

Interviewer: No not too bad. Yeah, it's like everything to be really difficult in that mountainous territory.

Interviewee: Yeah, it's lovely, it's a lovely ride.

Interviewer: I bet, yeah, so one day I will go and see it.

Interviewee: And I hope so, I hope so, you have to. It's so difficult to imagine these places without going to see them really. But Sarah, there's another project I'm involved in now in Erbil. Because after that green belt, I got very interested - I felt very bad again, the project ISIS attacked and the project everything stopped. But I convinced my good friend and colleague Hawayda, the book I told you she's the author of that - she said she wanted a heritage project this was funded by the Nahrein Network, if you've heard of them. (1.11) And she said how about Erbil you know Erbil. I said yeah please don't go to Erbil the citadel - there's so much down there. Let's go to the periphery. And so it's a post -war recovery project using heritage as a basis. I'll send you the brief description of the project. That is a very interesting project for you to follow if you're interested. Because you see that is pure heritage and looking - we had groups of citizen science, science groups, recruited the head of architecture in Salaheddin Erbil University, is a student of mine from when I was in Iraq teaching. So he is a partner. We invited him and he became a partner. So there are three partners. Hawayda is the lead consultant. (1.12) I am a co-consultant. Salaheddin is the chair and Camilo is the head of architecture in Salaheddin. He's UCL, I think. So we're working with citizen scientists groups, of architects, archaeologists, I think mainly architects and archaeologists, and I went with the researcher, another partner, and we chose three villages from the Greenbelt where there were - what do they call them? Internally displaced population. Because this is what we were looking at and now we're working with them on what is heritage. I mean so the first mapping they did, they did interviews they looked at different sites, (1.13) they mapped the villages. Now they're looking to - what is it that the community needs? What does heritage – heritage doesn't have to be a building or something, you know? It could be the community, the relationship of the community, the focus, maybe a place where they can meet.

So each one of the villages, the three villages, Ghazna, Kani Qarjala and Qari Ataf, and they're very, very different. They're very different characters. Each one has a very different strength and weakness, and they're working. So that is also a very interesting case study for you to see.

Interviewer: So that sounds really interesting.

Interviewee: If you like, I can once they present - they will be presenting - I think end of January - maybe I can invite you to join and see what they've done and how they're presenting. (1.14)

Interviewer: That would be lovely thank you, would be really good because I'm looking at projects at different scales you know town scale and I'm looking at the Mosul project, the huge UNESCO project, so something that's very much more localised and focused as well - it would also be interesting. So thank you for that,

Interviewee: You're welcome.

Interviewer: Thank you. I've only got a few more questions, sorry, I'm detaining you for ages.

Interviewee: That's okay.

Interviewer: So, fantastic. Obviously, I haven't had a chance to read the master plan because it hasn't been published and I think it's been delayed now, obviously, by COVID.

Interviewee: Which master plan?

Interviewer: The master plan for Amedi, that was to be the study. I just wondered; do you know how it addresses landscape as an issue? Do you know what's in it basically in relation to landscape at all? (1.15)

Interviewee: Frankly, no, because I had, you know, - there's no written report - there's no written report there's just – uh - there was a map, and it wasn't very clear exactly what they are proposing. I know from Lebanon master plans - really nobody works so much with a master plan. They will work now with a strategic framework, because by the time you accumulate all the data and have, and you start planning, and you give your proposals everything has changed on the ground. So really master plans we now tend to work on strategic frameworks, development framework. Because that's really well presented online, there was a lot of information for the strategic frameworks, development frameworks….. (1.16)

So for example, the work that was done for the Amedi project with John, with all of us, I think that would be a very good generator of development, much better than a master plan. I mean, there are, yes, of course, aspects of the master plan but unfortunately the master plan again another thing is that it's very static and they only think of zoning and circulation infrastructure. And that doesn't - is not enough, you know, you have to look at other aspects.

Interviewer: Yeah and I guess have specific projects in mind as well. I was just interested because obviously the master plan is stated as being an objective of the project so I'm assuming that they'll produce something but maybe it will evolve into something more responsive. (1.17)

Interviewee: Yeah you're talking about the masterplan for the Amedi project? Yeah, it is, I am not very clear about that, frankly.

Interviewer: No, no, no, no, that's fine, neither am I.

Interviewee: No, I don't think because I really don't know, that was not the aim. The aim of the project was capacity building. Yeah, but the problem is, the authorities want a master plan. They don't care about capacity building. What they want is a master plan they can frame and put on the on the wall. This is again one of the problems of the problems of

working in emerging economies. And with war - and the thinking is outdated.

Interviewer: I was going to ask you about that because my (1.18) impression is that there's still until very recently, and in many places still, this sort of very top-down approach. That you know that, as you say, you have it as a shiny thing, but it doesn't change anything on the ground. And I noticed in the - in what I could see about the interaction and engagement with people in Amedi was that I think in a way they were slightly surprised at being asked. And that one of the responses was, "well you're the professionals you do it!" Almost because they've never been given the opportunity perhaps.

Interviewee: Absolutely, yeah that's very right. Remember in the Arab city when I spoke I said that the approach is so outdated, the way they look at cities, the way they look at cities best, it's benevolent, I mean, they're well-meaning. But the thing is that if you don't engage them, they will never own the project. (1.19) And so even people have come to think that, yeah, I don't know, why are you asking me? That's a very good reaction because people are never asked. It's rarely asked. Yeah, so this is again one of the problems of planning, you know, whether it's heritage or it's urban development, again it's a problem.

Interviewer: And I think I got the impression from again some of your articles of tendency for kind of national direction and less power for the municipal, the local authorities.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Just one last question if that's okay. It's about the actual landscape in Amedi and the kind of things that are threats to it, and I was interested in what you'd mentioned about the views out of the town and how they were appropriated and not accessible. (1.20) I wonder if you can tell me a bit more about that because I couldn't really visualize it or find anything about it.

Interviewee: Yeah, I'll explain it to you.

Interviewer: Yes, please.

Interviewee: Generally, it's like Erbil. The houses come to the edge of the citadel. There are no walls. The houses are the walls at the top of the citadel. Now, there are alleyways leading to both sides of the houses. Some of the houses have appropriated these alleyways. They've privatized them. So they've fenced them off, they've made a garden. Don't forget, there's a lot of abandoned sites. Let's say there's an abandoned building. So it's gone into ruin. Okay, I'll make it my garden. The next house makes it their garden. And somebody wants to come and take it. So this was one of the things we said that you cannot do that. You cannot block access to these views because these views are the property of the people of Amedi. (1.21) So this is what I meant, but in some places they were there were like gardens, and they had blocked

them off so that you can't really go. I mean they let us go in but another person from Amedi wouldn't go into a private house garden you know - there would be women sitting, children, girls. So this is really what has been happening. And this is very dangerous because as I said it will deprive the people from these outlooks. In the southern part where there was the actual citadel within a citadel, there was like the army base, but now it's all ruined, everything is open, and the view is unbelievable. It's unbelievable. Huge view to rolling hills and mountains in the distance. That is open. And in other places we identify (1.22) there were terraces between the two houses stepping down and you can see through. And this is for example, we said you should never build on these terraces. Because the owner of the house has a garden, he will build the house so it's to stop him. So this was one of the directives we had, because this is a view from the street and you can see across the terraces all the way to the distant view, the horizon, so these were the dangers we were afraid that if we do not protect those outlets then you'd really deprive the people of Amedi from a view to the surroundings which they cherished.

Interviewer: Yes okay that's really helpful to understand how that was working. And of course those sorts of small scale and very localised, very private changes - I mean it strikes me that you need quite good urban planning or urban governance to make, to really make that work. (1.23) And I don't have quite have a sense that there is that in the town at the moment.

Interviewee: No, there isn't, there isn't. But what happens is that in this case, a central overpowering authority is good, because if it decides you can't do that, they just, they don't do it, they, you know, so in that sense it's good. But people don't understand this, I mean why can't I - it's just abandoned land - I mean, next to my house I can appropriate it why can't I appropriate it?

Interviewer: So you know that you would do that if it had been like that for years.

Interviewee: Look at what you call them those public access through in villages through the countryside here in England. Okay they what do they call them? I forgot. (1.24)

Interviewer: Footpaths.

Interviewee: Yeah footpaths, they have a name, but anyway, where, by law, you can't deprive people from going through them, but many times farmers don't want free access and they will block them, they will make it difficult, they will put a guard dog, they will, so it's similar, you know. But here the law is respected. Over there, you know, there's nobody, people, the city is, the Amedi is losing its population. So there's a much smaller density, a lot of ruined houses. So people just appropriate them.

Interviewer: Yes, yeah, okay, that makes sense. And I think the little garden, the little pocket gardens with the trees in, I think there's a threat there perhaps from those being redeveloped, basically?

Interviewee: Yes, there is. There is, and how do you tell them (1.25) "No, you can't rebuild your house and kill those two trees". Okay, an older generation values it. A younger generation says "You know what? I'm more important than the tree. You know, I'm your son, I'm getting married. I need more space. Is it me or the fig tree or the pomegranate tree?" So, you know, this is what happens. I don't know how you would go about it. Don't forget, this was a small project it was very small, and this was not the aim. The aim was really capacity building on how to deal with heritage. So the thing is that - the participants worked with the students, that were interviewed, they worked with the municipality officials. (1.26) So they got a sense that this is how you work when you're doing heritage - you don't just decide and do it. In that sense this was the capacity building that was really for those participants. At the same time the focus was, you know, generally narrow. I mean we were trying to protect those features that were isolated. And in addition, the bonus was protecting the townscape and giving them directives on how to protect that. But how will this be implemented? Very frankly, you need another project to do that. So implementable strategies within the laws and regulations working with the municipality officials to translate it properly into strategies. That is still missing.

Interviewer: Yeah, I think that's becoming clear. And just one last question, I promise. It was about the bazaar area and the streets. (1.27) Because I looked at what the case study information was about it, and I think that's potentially a missed opportunity in terms of urban landscape and as a space that's an issue. A matrix for interaction between people, but actually it's more than just making the buildings, you know, repairing the buildings and making them look good, that actually enlivening that space is really important at the heart of the town, really, it is the sort of lifeblood of the town, that street.

Interviewee: No, the souq was not so much buildings. It was preserving the entire stretch, which is from the mosque all the way to the Mosul gate. So we stressed that, and it was about how would you pave it so that it is not a street to, you know, it would allow, car access, but limited maybe during the morning. (1.28) Bollards, how to put bollards and signage on the shops so it was very much the townscape rather than the buildings And there was no building - it was very much as a spine of interaction, a historic space but also very much alive. But you have to also keep in mind this is Amedi, and the souk comes sort of like this. And there's another street, which is a car street and now that one is taking precedence because it has a hospital, it has the municipality, it has restaurants, it has some shops. So the souk is gradually... gradually, yeah, it's pulling away from the souk, and the souk is gradually dying out. It's becoming folkloric, you know? (1.29) There's still vegetable stalls

and there are some old shops with tailors and some tahini and such. But it's not like before there wasn't that street, and everything was the souk. Yeah, this is another thing that one has to consider.

Interviewer: Yeah, so again, this is the something that would benefit from detailed…

Interviewee: Yes, yes. I mean, yeah, it's okay. You can have both. One of them would be more to serve everyday purposes. The other one is more education and that, but this has to be worked out in a better way.

Interviewer: Yeah, okay. Well, that's really interesting. Thank you. Thank you so very much for your generosity and your time.

Interviewee: Not at all, it was a pleasure, Sarah.

Interviewer: Lovely, and yeah, if there's anything, I'll send you an email tomorrow, probably, just to say, if there's anything you can send me, I'd be really grateful.

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah, yeah. Remind me if there's anything you need, I can send you.

Interviewer: Yeah, okay, thank you so much. (1.30)

Interviewee: Do that, and I think, yeah, I think, and any other question, we can have another session, like say, you know, whenever you need it.

Interviewer: Thank you so much. I'll think through everything because there's been so much to think about. So I'll think it through.

Interviewee: Think about and look at, have you decided where do you want to do your study?

Interviewer: Well, certainly, Amedi is one of the case studies I've looked at because I've had a chance to, at least that I've got some of the documentation. I've done the interview with John and also, I've now had had a really helpful interview with you so that's definitely one of my cases. Because it's about, it is about - well I mean they said there's a master plan, but it's about that engagement and it's about…..

Interviewee: I think it would be a very good example and then because then you can talk about the pluses and then the minuses - you know some there are where when you set up a project it's not ideal you know. This is what you're aiming for. You achieve some things, some you don't. (1.31) You have some classes and there are things that you had hoped for that don't work.

Interviewer: And those are the lessons learned that you take to the next project, you know, to learn.

Interviewee: In fact, in fact, Alessandra was looking for a second Amedi project funding, so that to continue some of the work that we were doing. The trail that I said leaves from the Mosul Gate and goes around, the landscape itself, but I don't think it got the funding.

Interviewer: No, I think John mentioned that the British Council hadn't given the funding.

Interviewee: That would have been really nice. I would have loved to go back and work on those specific items. But then, you know, we follow the funding, we'll see, maybe in the future I hope.

Interviewer: I mean, yeah, it's at a bit of a hiatus now. Anyway maybe if we revisit these things…...

Goodbyes and the interview was concluded.

Appendix 5: Transcripts of interviews relating to the 'Revive the Spirit of Mosul' initiative

Contents

<u>**Transcript of Interview with Maria Acetoso**</u>
Senior Project Officer for UNESCO's 'Revive the Spirit of Mosul' Initiative

23rd October 2020
<u>**Summary**</u>: -

Minute(s)	Subject(s) covered:
3	Confirms that there is no evaluation mechanism yet in place and declines to share documentation.
6 – 12	Definition of community. Main focus of interview is on approaches to community engagement through direct involvement in training programme and work experience/apprenticeships generated by the reconstruction of the Al Nuri Mosque complex, as well as through consultation. Reconstruction phasing and hazards touched on.
13	Focus on local design and implementation of the project.
14 – 26	Discussion on the intangible value of the destroyed heritage for the local community and the disconnections between local community and their own heritage caused by the conflict, including physical destruction on top of structural changes to the ways cities are used and experienced that have occurred over preceding decades; and the effects of security restrictions on the ways children and young people come to experience their heritage.
27 – 30	The values of urban heritage for local communities.
31	The particular benefits of the focus on local participation in bringing young professionals into contact with the historic city centre, a place they had previously had no experience of.
32 - 34	Importance of local implementation of the projects, based in a thorough needs assessment for training based on local needs.
35 – 37	Potential disbenefits of the involvement of foreign experts and the need to introduce them to bring added value to the project.
38 – 41	Practical challenges: presence of unexploded ordnance, rubble removal and salvage of historic fragments, supporting unstable surviving parts of structures, conditions beyond the experience of local companies.
41 - 44	Use of an international expert and his collaborative approach with local craftsmen.
45	Governance of the project and ownership of sites by religious endowment bodies.
49	Involvement of local and international NGOs.
53 – 57	Issue of authenticity and intangible values - role of the lost buildings in the memory of local community.
58	Confirmation that local people are not generally concerned that they will be displaced by the recovery of heritage in the old city.
1 02	Effects of the Covid pandemic on the programme.
1 05	Conclusions and thanks.

Interview starts with introductions and Interviewer describes research.

Interviewer: .... I was also wondering if it would be possible for me to see any documentation about the project, the setup of the project and perhaps any of that evaluation, which would allow me to sort of dig down into some of the issues.......

Interviewee: Well, as far as evaluation concerns actually we have not yet started and any evaluation of the project [00:03:32] because because actually the project started basically a year ago. So, it was really too early to do, do that plus usually these reports [00:03:48] remain actually in between UNESCO and the donor and, you know, like main stakeholders upon request. So, in case I mean I will have to to, to liaise [00:04:03] with my headquarters, but this is not something that it's going to happen very soon.

Interviewer: .... I just wondered if there was an evaluation plan for how it would be done when the time came........ Okay, [00:04:18] it's okay. But also, obviously any information you give me would be treated as confidential and wouldn't be passed on or published. And if it was possible to show me anything, to let me know what the parameters are of [00:04:33] quoting it or or referring to it and obviously, I would be led by you ....   just to have an idea of how it might be undone when the time comes.

Speaker 1: Yeah. Well [00:04:49] I mean since you are very much interested in the role of community engagement in making the reconstruction of built heritage are real, let's say contributor [00:05:04] to you know, social reconstruction and social reconciliation. We should first of all, I think clarify how community can be engaged, so, [00:05:20] and I think that there are basically three main ways to this do that. Okay. One is - oh, there is also a problem [00:05:35] that is the definition of community because often there is a little bit this idea that community is just the people in the street. It's really not the case; [00:05:52] community is a group of human beings having a specific interest in that city. If we [00:06:07] we speak about urban heritage as you were saying before, because they were born there, because they were living there [00:06:22] because they were working there, because their family was staying there. So, and this people can currently, I mean, at the moment the disaster occurs, can actually [00:06:39] play a different rule in the society. So, this is just to say that, of course, the community is the man in the street, but the community is also an intellectual teaching at the university, [00:06:55] it is also the politician in a way, playing a rule in the decision-making process, once the reconstruction starts. So first of all, I think [00:07:10] it's very much important to define what community is. Why? Because then you elaborate different ways of communication and engagement depending on [00:07:26] the target. So, depending on the, the part of that society, that is meant to be engaged in the process. Okay?

So [00:07:41] I'm saying that because often in this project, community - there is a little bit is the [unclear – McGoldrick?] way of thinking about what communities, which I think [00:07:56] is a little bit ineffective when you really want to make community engagement. And it's not it's not just a sentence in the project document.

So, what we are doing now basically, I mean based on this on this general idea, a general assumption that community is diversified [00:08:27] and that we need to analyse which are the different targets. Let's say that we have identified three main lines of community engagement. One is [00:08:42] through consultation. Okay? Consultation, awareness raising, and a number of different activities linked to the project, linked [00:08:57] to the explanation of what we're doing, but also with the idea of listening to the opinion of those living that heritage on [00:09:12] the reconstruction process. So, one side is, I would say, consultation and awareness raising. Okay? Through a number of different activities. Then we have [00:09:29] capacity building and let's say Improvement of the local capacity, both at the professional [00:09:44] level, and at the level of craftsman, okay? Why? Because the reality is that another way to make the community feeling engaged is [00:09:59] not only making them being part of the process in terms of having events or having consultative meetings, but also, creating the conditions for them to be proactively involved [00:10:14] in the process.

Now, for doing that, because of course in a way the reconstruction of a mosque is a technical issue, so it's not that everybody can actually put his hands on the building, because it's also quite dangerous. So, the idea is to work mainly with the University of Mosul and now we will launch very [00:10:45] soon the call for applications, so we are working on this two-year capacity building program with ICCROM, that is the International Centre for [the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property] [00:11:00] which is like specialized in designing courses trainings, and they have a field office in the United Arab Emirates. So, we take benefit of it [00:11:15] because of course, the majority of them, they are Arab speakers, so, this is very much important. And basically, the training program will have two tracks, one for young [00:11:30] professionals, architects, engineers, and archaeologists. And the second one, as I said before, for craftsmen. Because that's also something that we want to recover. [00:11:45] Okay then I will say something more general on this. And then the third line which is very much interlinked, of course, with the second one because part of these training programs will be on the [00:12:00] job training, is the job creation. Now the job creation is very much important of course, because you not only you give them a [00:12:15] source of income and you also help them reconnecting with their own heritage.

But you also enhance the sense of ownership of what is [00:12:30] done, and this automatically makes people being proud, makes people feeling that they are doing something, and that actually, and of course, makes them

understanding the process much, much better than any consultation or meeting. Yes?

Of course, this is possible and that's what we are doing so far, [00:13:00] for example, at the Al Nuri Mosque, where the project, the one funded by the United Arab Emirates, which is only one of the projects which we are currently implementing in Mosul, we have [00:13:15] created more than 300 jobs. And consider that the work, the actual work started a year ago, because the handover of the site - even though the agreement with the donor was [00:13:30] signed at the end of 2018, but the reality is that there was all the administrative work to do - so we needed to receive the handover of the site to start the [00:13:45] physical work. And this happened actually a year, a little bit more than a year, ago. So far, basically almost everything has being done by locals [00:14:01] because then the step-by-step the implementation strategy needs to take this into account.

So, the entire work of reconstruction is made up of different phases, okay? [00:14:16] Usually a phase of design and a phase of execution, and of course, it is better for many reasons to consider in the implementation strategy that the execution [00:14:31] is done by locals, and the design is done by locals with the support of experts, when needed. That's more or less in strategy that we are taking, that we are trying to take into account. Of [00:14:46] course there are always specific tasks for which you need really highly qualified experts and not always those are available in a country that has been, [00:15:01] you know, really affected by the conflict. But I think this is acceptable because this is limited to specific steps of the project, so it doesn't affect - and this is something that is very [00:15:16] much important when we operate in these countries. I was working in Afghanistan before, so Afghanistan is not it's not an easy country either. [00:15:31] So, there are two problems with regard to Heritage. First of all, in general, the conflict, the protracted conflict, has basically created a disconnection between the local [00:15:46] community and their own heritage. In which sense? In the sense that the destruction has in a way, I mean, the destruction that comes with the conflict. [00:16:01] first of all, physically damages the heritage. Okay? So, the heritage is not there anymore. Okay? Because at the end of the day heritage is always symbolic; [00:16:17] so in a way it has always had political and religious implications. Okay? So that's one side plus, and this is also [00:16:32] the fault, I would say, of the international community providing support, there is this idea that culture is not a priority because the priority is to provide food [00:16:47] to provide water to provide shelters. Now, don't get me wrong, of course, these are priorities, but it's also true that if we talk about recovery [00:17:03] and not emergency response then culture plays a big role. Why? Because at the end of the day culture teaches you where you [00:17:18] come from.

So, think that for example, Mosul has always been historically a city of multi-ethnicity and where different religions were coexisting together. And you can see it in the topography of the city because you have a number of

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churches, have a number of mosques and you have a number [00:17:48] of synagogues.   So, because urban heritage is basically, the tangible manifestation of the society that is living there. So, this in a way disconnection between [00:18:07] community and heritage is actually a disconnection between the community and their cultural identity and that's one of the worst long-term effects of conflict and political instability. [00:18:22] Because then the new generations are looking at models that do not necessarily - I'm talking about models of society - that do [00:18:37] not necessarily fit with that context.

It's a little bit - what happened in Europe after the second world war and the economic boom. Okay? And what [00:18:52] happened - I mean I'm Italian, so I mean my country is heritage everywhere - but what happened at that time, was that people - of course, historical city centres were hugely destroyed - but what happened immediately, say, 10 years later, 15 years later, when the recovery process started [00:19:22] basically people, I mean the middle class that before was living in the centre of the city they started moving outside. Because the West there was this idea of the American dream. So, a shopping mall, [00:19:37] the little Villa, with a garden. It does not belong to the Italian model. It doesn't belong to the Italian Community. It's not our way of socializing - with the barbecue. Okay, there is [00:19:52] this beautiful movie by an Italian movie director, Nani Moretti which is called Caro Diario, where he basically explains this? So, you go through that and and and the thing is that, then [00:20:07] now there was an inversion. So now once again, people want to stay in the centre of the city, but sometimes now it's too late.

Now in Mosul [00:20:22] it was basically the same. So, the Old City of Mosul was historically inhabited by, of course, intellectuals and, you know, middle class level people, but then [00:20:37] with the instability, etc, etc, etc. - basically at the moment, Daesh entered the city, the city centre was unfortunately just inhabited by very poor people. [00:20:52] Now, the problem is also that bringing them back, is difficult. Why? Because they are not the owners. And the owners, they are living somewhere else, and they don't feel any more [00:21:07] that, it's worth it to stay in The Old City, because it's better to stay the five stories concrete building, close to the shopping mall.

Interviewer: That's s something that's happened in a lot of cities in the Middle East, isn't it?

Interviewee: Yeah. That's for sure. Yeah. But I think that these projects might give an opportunity to in a way actually rediscover that because the thing is that, for example, we have a team of young Iraqi architects, and of course [00:21:52] they know the Al Nuri Mosque complex because it was one of the most important mosques of Mosul. It's like Italy - everybody knows St Peter, even if you're not religious even. But [00:22:08] they - how to say - they told me that actually for them, yes, it was there but it was not a place where they were going. They were not going into the Old [00:22:23] City. Never. Never go to the extreme outskirts of Rome, exactly the same. So anyway, they told me

that the positive, [00:22:38] let's say, effect, of the destruction, and the fact that this project is getting so much interest at the local educational level actually has been a way for [00:22:53] us to start questioning about how much important actually our heritage is because we discover that actually, this was so much important when it was taken away from us. Which is interesting, I think.

Interviewer: Okay, that's really helpful, thank you very much. For a couple of follow-on questions from that ..... I was really interested in that point that you made about the disconnection between population and heritage during conflict. Actually, [00:23:40] that's a really interesting idea. So, people aren't necessarily, at the point of crisis, they're not really sort of clinging to it as something important because they've got so many other things to worry about, but [00:23:55] actually, it's seems like now [there is] a gradual recovery, now, there's a bit of space to give it consideration.

Interviewee: Yeah. Because because you know - also imagine that [00:24:10] in this country's .... okay .... imagine for example like a normal kid who grows up in Kabul. He cannot move around because [00:24:25] of security. He cannot visit beautiful places that are actually located in Afghanistan. The same [for] a kid that is nowadays growing up in Iraq. It's actually the same, because it's difficult for example, for a family, I'm saying, even a normal family [00:24:55] to organize. For example, a family visit from Mosul to Samara is very difficult. Anyway, was for example, a normal [00:25:10] European kid - my niece - she's now twelve - first time that she visited the archaeological area of Rome, she was five. Yes, you know, you grow up with this knowledge [00:25:26] of the specific cities of your context, okay? Of your country, of your culture, because you start being normally exposed to that, because their role is recognized [00:25:41] in the society but also, they are easily accessible. As simple as that. For in these countries - and of course, sometimes this is also instrumental - even if we don't think about that - let's say that there is is a problem of priorities, but there is also a problem of [00:26:12] actual accessibility and as a consequence, there is a problem of the general idea about what heritage can do for you now. I think this in a way that is this mistake [00:26:43] that I have also to say that sometimes us, I mean those working in this field they actually, exaggerate this misunderstanding, that culture is something [00:26:58] for intellectuals? No, it's not. Especially when we are talking about, as you were saying, not an archaeological site, but the urban heritage [00:27:13] but also those monuments that are actually daily visited, yes, by the local community. Because a church or a mosque, is a place for the community. [00:27:28] Because they go there every Friday to pray. So, it's a monument, yes, of course it is, but it's actually a place a space [00:27:43] for the community here. And plus, there is, how to say, I mean [00:27:58] there are are studies, and sociological and anthropological studies, on the fact that actually the quality of the urban space has an impact on the quality of life. That's [00:28:13] something that is really, really, and of course, and historical context, well characterized, and you know, in a way representing the history of a place [00:28:28] Is something that is

unique. And then, if we managed to recover a little bit this connection with their own culture, I think that we [00:28:43] succeed working in these countries first of all. And for me, that's a key point of community engagement, because it's not only receiving their opinion but it's also like changing, turning this side- [00:28:58] effect of disconnection with their own culture, which is, as I said something that effects in my experience, all these countries because in Afghanistan where the reasons of the conflict are completely different [00:29:13] where the society is different, where, you know, the history of the country is different but still this effect was there exactly like in Iraq. So, this is a little bit, the common [00:29:28] factor that I can recognize, and I think that's the key point of community engagement. And that's why, that's the reason why I think, as I was saying before the proactive [00:29:43] engagement of people at different levels, as trainees, as workers, as advisors, as consultants etc, etc, etc. - so the actual [00:29:58] participation in the process is really, really, really important.......

Interviewer: ....I was interested in what you said about the University of Mosul and bringing in young professionals, specialists. [00:30:43] And I just wanted to just check back with you - I sense from the projects I've been looking at there is move now away from that model of foreign experts coming in, saying what should be done and then going, that it's actually building capacity [00:30:58] locally in those sorts of specialists and professionals and even the academic arena as well?

Interviewee: Yeah. This is I think this is very much important and because [00:31:13] these then goes with the sustainability of what we do. If I revealed a perfect minaret and then I leave and then no one will take care of the minaret. I've failed. Because at the end of the day if Maria [00:31:28] or the director or any other international, I mean, any other of my colleagues, we won't stay in Iraq forever more or less. Yeah, don't get me wrong and I hope so. I mean, don't get me wrong; Iraq is beautiful, but .....

Interviewer: [00:31:44] you'll be moving on somewhere else.

Interviewee: Yeah, I hope so. So, at the end, if we do not make sure that there will be someone [00:31:59] able to take care of that. Well, then again, sustainability is an empty word.

Interviewer: Hmm. Yeah, that's fair enough......

Interviewee: In fact, just two things: - the capacity [00:32:14] building program that we have been building together with ICCROM is based on an on the idea that everything is going to be done in Mosul or in in Erbil if [00:32:30] it's not accessible for one reason or another, especially now under this Covid-19.
But it is that, in Iraq the program is tailored to [00:32:45] respond to the situation of the Iraq and that there has be in a needs assessment before, with them coming with me, doing interviews with the University, with the professor's, with the students [00:33:00] because I do not want, I didn't want

to have like the standard format. As this doesn't help. Of course, we have teaching for example, the professional. I mean, track one, [00:33:15] we are following the normal methodology. So, we will have like different modules following the normal path of a professional involved in rehabilitation, restoration, or a construction project in heritage. So, we [00:33:30] will start from survey, documentation, evaluation of the damage, defining investigation; and then definition of the intervention for restoration, stabilisation, rehabilitation, reconstruction, whatever, until a little bit of of supervision of works. But all of these, this, this the full path, this is the normal methodology ABCD. But we know then that this has always [00:34:00] to be, in a way, adapted to the case by case. So this was my case, then you work hard to develop that because it took me as in the needs assessment; all [00:34:15] the interviews; the internal evaluation etc. etc. etc.. It was like five or six months of work to come out with something that was in fact realistic. Because of course in these countries, you have [00:34:30] some limitations due to security and you know, our challenges. So, you need to be realistic, but at the same time, I wanted to make sure that we were really optimizing this opportunity. On the other side, the expert, [00:34:45] okay?

So, it's very .. my idea of international support in these countries, but it could be also for any other underdeveloped country - it's not only on this, it's not only conflict. It's [00:35:00] always the case for me. Either, I mean, in these countries, usually the population in these countries already instinctively feels that there is always a sort [00:35:15] of a colonialistic approach. So, we come, and we tell them how they have to live, how they have to behave, and we are bringing the right way to live. Okay? I don't like this approach, [00:35:30] I think it's useless. I think it doesn't work and you do not transmit anything if you are like that. So, having said that, whenever we bring an expert, we need [00:35:45] to make sure that a) we bring really an exceptional expertise, and we cannot really find in the country, so that everybody, all of them, they [00:36:00] actually recognize that, this is the case. So, it's a real, recognizable added value. What scope that remains helping them to rebuild their own [00:36:15] heritage. And this is something that is also very much important. Secondly, the attitude of the expert. This is also very much important, and this is something that I had [00:36:30] the opportunity to understand, during all my years working for UNESCO. Because let's say in general in an international environment, sometimes unfortunately you have very qualified [00:36:45] experts, I mean technically, but they have this arrogant attitude, and this doesn't work. It does not work either. So, when I select the experts [00:37:00] that I bring into my projects I pay also a lot of attention to the second aspect, because I want to transmit to the locals at any level - the workers the professionals, the main stakeholders - [00:37:15] that we are working as a team. So, it's not that because Maria is Italian and she comes from outside, Iraq, she's more qualified than you, or she's better than [00:37:30] you. No. I'm there to help you. And I'm there to work with you. And we discuss with the site together and we see how things can go. I will give you an example. Yes [00:37:45]. So, at the mosque, the Al Nuri complex was a very heavily destroyed, because as you know, it was

intentionally blown up, immediately [00:38:00] before the liberation. So, we had three problems; one - the explosives. So, the de-mining. [00:38:17] Secondly, the rubble because, of course, the site was full of rubble. It's not easy to detect those possible unexploded [00:38:32] devices, until sometimes, you do also a little bit of rubble removal. And last of course, the rubble removal was including important, [00:38:47] you know, fragments, historical fragments is to be recovered. For example, the carved bricks from the minaret. Third, as you can imagine and [00:39:02] maybe you saw some photos or videos or things like that, the remains of, especially the minaret and the mosque where it is a very [00:39:17] structurally unstable situation. Well, the the minaret had especially its eastern side where basically, [00:39:32] even a part of the upper base because basically, the minaret was, brought the shaft was completely blown up. So, it's gone. And what is left is the lower and upper base, but [00:39:47] even that on the eastern side, the even the upper base, a part collapsed, being like exposed the inner part. The case is basically flying in the ... in the space when I arrived. In the mosque - even worse, like basically the pillars supporting the Dome, were [00:40:17] all rotated. Especially on the western side. So basically, that dome was at high, high, high risk of falling down. So, we had to combine to work. [00:40:32] the sub-faces, basically working simultaneously on the mining, rubble removal plus execution of temporary stabilisation because sometimes [00:40:47] we had to proceed a little bit with the rubble removal, de-mining and then stop. And then secure the remains and then restart because otherwise, it's not only a risk of course for the for [00:41:02] the remains themselves, but it's also for the workers.

So, what we did, we of course used local companies. So, this was entirely [00:41:17] done by locals, but I knew that the supervision would have been really difficult, really, really difficult. And so, we hired this consultant [00:41:32] he is an international, he is a structural engineer specialized in reconstruction, stabilization of historical monuments and, you know, urban heritage. He has been working, like [00:41:47] in in post-disaster reconstruction, especially natural disaster. You know, maybe there's and you know it has more than 40 years of experience, etc, etc. But so, a) [00:42:02] the moment he arrived, everybody understood that he knew what he was talking about, okay? So already there was respect ..... because they recognize the added value. And secondly, [00:42:17] there was this .... he was always with them, he was discussing with them, he was eating with them. And that's so important. And when there was a decision [00:42:32] to take, he was always the first one, even exposing himself, to risk, you know what I mean? So, they appreciated. And there was this .... for example, ... some [00:42:47] of the structures to retain, to support, sorry, the dome - maybe you saw some photos - they are built in wood. And of course, I mean the execution of this structure is quite difficult. So [00:43:02] he asked the chief of the carpenters, [who] were all from Mosul. That, okay, now we need to start building the pillars. Can you make a sample? And this is the drawing. And the carpenter [00:43:17] said, 'Mmm, but I don't think that we can do it this way. I think we should do it the other way'. Okay, so what our expert did? He didn't say, 'No, no, I know

better'. He said 'Okay. [00:43:32] You know what, fine with me. You try to make it the way you think it's better'. He said, 'I coming back in a couple of hours to three hours and we see together'. [00:43:48] And then he told me that after 1 hour, the carpenter went to see him saying, 'Mmm, I think that actually you were right, your way is better'. But this is just to tell you that, [00:44:03] you know, that's the way, you know? I have to go and say, maybe, you know, maybe you will think that I'm saying like normal things. But, unfortunately, I can promise you that in the international community, [00:44:18] that is not always attitude of international experts.

Interviewer: And indeed, nationally, I find in some cases, as well .... there are people like that still, and you have to be more generous. That's a really interesting Insight. Thank you. Well, you've given me so much information and I do just have a couple of issues I'd like to ask about. [00:44:49] ..... I had a whole long list, but I think you've given me so much. I just wondered, this is sort of a governance issue - and this is this is a sort of a massive thing, it's really a cluster of big projects, isn't it? I just wondered how it was all being [00:45:04] coordinated. And I presume UNESCO is coordinating everything that goes on and has this overview? Is that is that a correct assumption?

Interviewee: Well basically, I mean you know that the the project I mean at least well .... OK Revive the Spirit of Mosul is an initiative. So, we have different donors. [00:45:34] Okay? And we have different projects, fully within the overall scope of the initiative. And [00:45:49] of course, for example, in the case of the project funded by the Emiratis basically UNESCO is the implementing partner. It's an implementing agency. [00:46:04] So we basically receive the funds, and we implement the actual activities. But of course, we are constantly in contact with [00:46:19] the local and central authorities and that in the case is of my project, I mean this project, is of course the Sunni Waqf, because they are the owner - you know, that in Iraq there is the Ministry of Religious Endowments?

Interviewer: Yes.

Interviewee: So, it's the Sunni Waqf which is basically also the owner of this one of the sites. Also, the Christian Waqf and the Dominican order because we also have two churches [00:46:49] in the same project. And then of course, the Ministry of Culture at the central and local level; they have like offices in Nineveh. And then, of course the [00:47:04] governor, I mean, the Governorate, and, you know, so let's say that we try to co-ordinate with all these stakeholders. They're of course, in terms of decision-making process, the [00:47:19] ones being the most important ones, because one is the owner and the other one has the responsibility, legally, in Iraq to supervise any intervention in heritage sites, are the [00:47:34] the different like religious endowments, like the Sunni Waqf, Christian Waqf and of course the Dominican order, and the Ministry of Culture. Let's say that in this, these are the main ones.

Then the project has [00:47:49] formal mechanisms of coordination. So, we have two committees, one acting at the local level, which is the Joint Technical Committee where basically that gathers on a quarterly [00:48:04] basis. And we share with them, you know, there are there is the Mayor, the Governor, the University of Mosul, local experts, representatives of the community. And we basically discuss with them; we present progress [00:48:19] on the work and we decide- sorry - we receive technical advice. Okay? From the technical committee.

Then there is Joint Steering Committee, which is at the minister level, and includes the donor. [00:48:34] These usually gathers twice a year, but it's for taking strategic decisions. [00:48:49] So when there is something important. So, for example, when we presented the reconstruction scenarios for the minaret and the mosque, and these were first discussed with the Joint Technical Committee at the technical level. And then we presented [00:49:04] them for formal approval to the Joint Steering Committee. Joint Steering Committee has Ministry Al-Kabi, UAE, the donor has the Minister, the Iraqi Ministry of culture, the president of the Sunni [00:49:19] Waqf, the president of the Christian Waqf, the president of the provincial order of the Dominicans. So, it's very, very high level.

Interviewer: That's really helpful, thank you. [00:49:35] I just wanted to get a picture of how it worked because it's clearly massive with large amounts of money. That's really helpful. Thank you. Are there any NGOs or local groups involved? I mean obviously ICCROM is one, and I suppose the University [00:49:50] of Mosul is another you've mentioned.

Interviewee: Yeah. And then we have also partnered with some local cultural organizations [00:50:05] or associations, for example, book forum. To organize some cultural events. Then also, with Mosul [.......] [00:50:20] I, which is again, like, a sort of cultural associations. These are all initiatives the developed by Young Moslawis immediately after [00:50:35] the end of the conflict. And then also .... and then also there are others. Now I don't remember all the names but yeah, yeah, sure we are [00:50:50] especially for ...... let's say in a way the soft part of the project which is the awareness raising and community engagement. Of course, we are relying a lot on local associations.

Interviewer: Yes of course, okay. Skimming I'm through the other issues - just wondering if in terms of the objectives of the project, other any, underlying economic objectives or [00:51:20] ...... now I can see from the website, what you're saying the objectives are; I'm just wondering if there's any underlying need, well desire, for sort of getting economic benefits from the project or, [00:51:35] or is it just sort of that those will flow if the project works in its own terms?

Interviewee: Yeah. Basically, I mean of course it's difficult for us to impact on the economy directly, [00:51:50] but let's say that our aim is to create at least 1,000, if not

more, decent jobs for locals, during the timeframe of the project. This [00:52:05] is only for the one funded by the Emirates, is but it's the same for the one funded by the European Union. Okay. So, let's say that all these projects, [00:52:20] they have this aspect of job creation during the timeframe of project implementation. And then of course, especially through the training, and through [00:52:35] the recovery of some specialized skills, well, we do think that as you know, we create the conditions for them to basically continue [00:52:50] having job opportunities also in the future, in this field.

Interviewer: Yeah, okay. Thank you very much. That's very helpful. [00:53:06] A real interest to me as well is obviously, you're reconstructing the Al Nuri Mosque, and the Al Hadba minaret, and the churches - have any reservations or objections been [00:53:21] expressed in, you know, in relation to this, due to people bringing up the issue of authenticity?

Interviewee: Not at at the local level! Mainly, this was mainly the case at UNESCO internally, but not at the local level because, yeah, because okay .... [00:53:51] First of all, they are not, I mean, they are well aware that this reconstruction will be a copy. But [00:54:07] what they will tell you is the following: they will say - because we had this discussion with them several times - yes what they will say is the original is lost anyway [00:54:22] but we want back the memory. Because that minaret - this is especially for the minaret - because sometimes, you know, regardless of what they really [00:54:37] represent and what they really .... what they are used for or what they were built for - monuments can become really [00:54:52] iconic. It's like, I don't know, in Italy the Colosseum or the Pisa tower, okay? And they become, they characterize the [00:55:07] space where people is living every day, so much that they become a way for them to keep the memory of their own life. One of them, they told me during [00:55:22] the Joint Technical Committee meeting, he said, 'The minaret whenever I was passing now along the small street, that goes behind the minaret, I was [00:55:37] thinking of my grandmother, when I was going there, during the weekend and she was still alive, and I was young. Because she was living there, we were going there for lunch every weekend and I was [00:55:52] passing by the minaret'. And he told me 'And I could every time that I was passing there, I could feel the smell of the bread.' It's ... I don't know if you have ever [00:56:07] read La Recherche du Temps Perdu. The madeleine - that's the episode of la madeleine.

Interviewer: It is, yeah, exactly.

Interviewee: So, it's a reality, these iconic [00:56:24] buildings or they become iconic images in our memory. And that's the way, we overcome the time because suddenly we see them and they re-evocate in our mind, [00:56:39] the memory of - I don't know - as being with our grandmother that now has passed away and etc. etc, etc.. And he said, 'And I found this truly beautiful because' he said, 'so [00:56:54] I want my memory back'.

Interviewer: That is so interesting and so it's a, it's a good sort of [00:57:10] confirmation of what you think people might feel about iconic buildings like that but it's great to hear from you know, directly from that person. That's brilliant. Thank you. Another question. [00:57:25]. Obviously. There's the European led or funded project in The Old City to reconstruct houses and and schools. Is that right? I'll have a look at perhaps looking [00:57:40] to their website on that, I suppose. Just finally a couple of issues I was really interested in from looking at other projects, something in Amedi in the Kurdish area, [00:57:55] something that was picked up by locals there, just a few locals there who were anxious about heritage being reconstructed and, you know, old city, old town centres being reconstructed, because they felt that, they seem [00:58:10] to think that if that happened the local people would e expected to move out because they were sort of too untidy as it were. And, you know, that it is a process, I've observed in some place, I call it 'museumisation', where the historic [00:58:25] city centre becomes a rather sort of arid sterile sort of zone where where the local people and businesses, particularly are being moved out because they're, you know, then they're not compatible with visitors and tourists. I don't know if it's it, is that something you've ever [00:58:40] come across in the people you spoke to to in Mosul or is it a .....

Interviewee: No, no, in Mosul no, because Mosul has always been inhabited [00:58:55] Like maybe it's a problem of changes in the sector of the society that is going to live there and ....[00:59:11] but no, I've never - they want the city to be reconstructed and they want the city to keep its own character. Moslawis, they're very active in this sense, okay. [00:59:26]

Interviewer: All right. That's really interesting. Thank you. I think we have dealt with the issue of international experts. Okay that's that's all been a really interesting insight. I just want to [00:59:41] check back with you on a couple of things about your role in the project ..... because your details are now not on the website anymore. Can I just check [what is] your role? Is it Senior [00:59:56] Project Manager ......?

Interviewee: Yes, I'm the senior project manager.

Interviewer: Yes, thank you. And I think I also now no longer available on the website, I think there was also a role of somebody [01:00:11] who's working as a community engagement officer. Is there still that post there and is that somebody I might be able to talk to about the sort of the details of the things like the activities ...... [01:00:26].

[Conversation regarding the contact details of other colleagues on the project.]

Interviewer: Just [01:02:42] one last question as well - and what's happened in the face of Covid and the Pandemic; has that affected work and has on site, been stopped, or delayed [01:02:57]?

Interviewee: Yeah, well I can't say a that we weren't affected. Because of course at least we lost a couple of months of work, that's for sure. Well, [01:03:14] fortunately

it came in phase of the project where basically critical activities were already over. For example, the safety measures [01:03:29] being at that time already completed. So, we were quite comfortable in, you know, like stopping the works for a while, because we knew that, you know, the side that been cleaned [01:03:44] and de-mined, and, you know, all the remains were safely stabilized. So we were, we were okay. And as soon as the situation [01:03:59] got the little bit normalized, that means around May, end of May, we recovered, I mean, we restarted the activities. Of course, we were planning - there is one specific activity. [01:04:14] that was a little bit affected more than the others, which is campaign of field investigations on the minaret. Because, of course, I mean, the decision [01:04:29] is to rebuild the minaret where it was, how it was. But to do that, we need to understand the situation, the actual situation, of what is left, especially the foundations. And after consultation, with the locals, they [01:04:44] said that they wanted to have - we go back to the same discussion as before - they wanted to have highly qualified experts and they were not feel being that these were available in the country. So [01:04:59] we have selected a team of international experts again with more than 40 years of experience in this. But of course, to bring them to Iraq at the time of Covid-19 was not easy. It's not easy even now. [01:05:15] It seems that now the situation is more under control, so we might be able to bring them in in November. Insha'Allah, is what my Iraqi colleagues might say.

Interviewer: [01:05:30] Yes indeed. Who can say at the moment, it's all very up in the air as we would say, great. Okay. So, thank you for your time- it's been so helpful and such an amazing insight into the project [01:05:45]. Just as wrapping up, really, if there are any project documents, you can share with me, at a sort of a general level I'd be so grateful to see anything. So, I'll leave that with you [01:06:00] and you've already said you'd put me in touch with some other project, participants, which is wonderful. And again, thank you for that. Just just to thank you for your time and if you let me know, if you want me to share anything, [01:06:15] when I have written up my analysis and written up my dissertation, like a chapter, do let me know.

Interviewee: Would be nice. Yeah.

Interview concluded with a few more remarks and thanks from interviewer.

Transcript of Interview with Nuria Ruiz Roca

Associate Project Officer for UNESCO's 'Revive the Spirit of Mosul' Initiative

4th December 2020

Summary: -

Minute(s)	Subject(s) covered:
3 - 7	Introductions and confirmation of interviewee's role and scope of project.
8 – 12	What the Al-Nuri mosque means to the local community, and the ways in which engagement and promoting understanding of the project area being conducted, including direct survey of local residents living close to the mosque by the University of Mosul Statistics Department. Direct questions are being used such as 'do you want a new minaret?', 'how would you like the mosque to be rebuilt?'.
13 – 15	Activities are also to be held on site to allow local people to see what is happening within, and the value of transparency given that the site is fenced off and not visible.
16 – 18	Power cut, interview suspended.
19	Discussion resumed on providing access to the site, and transparency including the local press.
20 - 25	The Technical Committee is discussed as a representative body constituting a further means of community engagement, with the Steering Committee ratifying decisions and making strategic decisions. UNESCO is not a decision maker. The three international experts involved will advise both committees.
26 - 32	How the survey is being designed and tested through a small-scale pre-survey before the large scale survey, intended to be as inclusive as possible.
33 – 35	Engagement through cultural activities discussed.
36 – 37	The issue of authenticity touched on.
38 – 42	The emotional and iconic value of the Al Nuri complex, and particularly the minaret, for local people.
43 – 45	The ongoing nature of survey work, including the intention to engage schools and children.
46	The impact of Covid on progress.
47 - 52	Discussion of the ICCROM dual training initiative plus informal capacity building by local craftspeople learning on the job as they work with the international experts.
53	Interview concludes.

Interview

Interview starts with introductions and Interviewer describes research.

Interviewer: ..... So, what I'm looking at is I suppose is the role of heritage in reconstruction of societies after conflict and looking at how that works through [00:04:26] successful community engagement in reconstruction projects. I'm also interested in the concept of authenticity because we hear that often it's a bad thing to reconstruct historic buildings, because [00:04:41] that's somehow, you know, a false thing to do. But I think there are lots of other ways of looking at it, and I want to think about that. And I'm also interested in urban areas, basically, rather than very special archaeological sites, maybe like Nineveh [00:04:56] for instance, more interested in places that people are living and working. .... You're working on the Revive the Spirit of Mosul [Initiative] - it's more than a project, isn't it? It's a massive initiative.

Interviewee: [00:05:11] Yes, yes. But I'm basically in working with the Al Nuri mosque now, right? So, I'm [00:05:26] technically working, only for the UAE funded project within the Revive the Spirit of Mosul initiative, which means is three sides: - [00:05:41] The Al-Nuri mosque, they Al-Tahira church, and the Al-Sa'a church, so two churches and the mosque. But of course, I'm in charge of community engagement and reviving the cultural [00:05:56] life of the city which is something very much cross-cutting with the other projects and is the kind of soft component. So, I'm not strictly working only in [00:06:11] those in those three sides. But the majority of course, majority of the activities I run now at the moment and in this first year I've been working in the project have been linked to mostly the Al-Nuri mosque because [00:06:26] it's where the works are more advanced.

Interviewer: Yes. Okay .... you probably know I had a chance to talk to Maria as well about it and she was talking a bit about the [00:06:41] survey work that was going on to assess the extent of the damage to the mosque. So that's really, that's really helpful and you're a project manager if I understand correctly?

Interviewee: Well, I'm an associate project officer technically, okay. So, I'm I'm [00:06:56] Maria is my boss, basically. And then we've got, we are two associate project offices for two different components. One, it's my colleague, Paula - she's [00:07:11] an architect. So, she basically takes care of the older, more technical components of the project, and I take care more of the community engagement part etc.. [00:07:26] So that's basically the structure. But yeah, I mean we have managerial roles under Maria. Yes - technically it is called associate project officer, but yeah, we [00:07:41] basically do management.

Interviewer: Okay. That's, that's really helpful to understand. Thank you. And .... I'm just scrolling down my list of questions. So, what I'm [00:07:56] really interested in both aspects of what you do - obviously particularly the community engagement, and I suppose it'd be really interesting to know what kind of things you are doing in that field, really, [00:08:11] if you're able to tell me about that ....

Interviewee: Well, I think community .... if we talk about community engagement related to reconstruction, it's very, it can be very different, depending on the [00:08:29] nature of the site you are working on, so I can tell you what we've been doing for, for example at Al-Nuri mosque. And I think it's a good example, for a site like the [00:08:44] Al-Nuri complex. It is very complex, the site itself, right? And because, well, no because it has the Al-Hadba minaret, [00:08:59], which yes, let's say, okay, this is the old stuff now, it's the old building. Then we we've got within the site, several different buildings from different periods, some of them having more [00:09:15] historical value than others. And a mosque that was totally rebuilt in the 1944 - so pretty recent no? However [00:09:30] this has nothing to do with, I mean, the historical and archaeological value that an archaeologist and historian, that UNESCO or that, any intellectual can give to decide might not be in line with the feeling that the community has about the site.   So, someone might, and archaeologist, a historian, they say, well, maybe this mosque is [00:10:00] not, you know? It's a building from 1944 and they might tell us, maybe it's not that important. Maybe the historically, for at the intellectual level, maybe we [00:10:15] could discuss that but maybe he's right, let's say he's right. But for the community, that's not true. They're feeling – no! And here is, I think, here is the bit where [00:10:30] community engagement plays a very important role in projects like these. So, we what we have been doing is - its surveys, first of all, to take [00:10:45] like regular, like, standard surveys, okay? We've been working with the University of Mosul, with the Statistics Department. Well, they've been running these by themselves [00:11:00] also, because we really didn't want to Influence the [outcomes]. So, they are basically our partners but having full actually [00:11:15] [independence]. They have been actively conducting because also, with Corona, we haven't even like been with them in the field, because we were not allowed to go only our our UNESCO staff in the field have talked to them.

So, the type of survey we have conducted is online and offline, but the most important part is they've gone basically to the houses of the people that they have discovered living around the mosque. And they have asked them, [00:11:46] basically, concrete questions. Concrete questions that have come from the internal discussions within the project. For example, how do you want [00:12:01] to see the minaret? Do you want it as it was before? Do you - would you agree to have a new minaret? How do you want to see the mosque? Would you, for example, be agreed on having the mosque [00:12:17] that it looks the same, but has some improvements or do you want to see it exactly as it was before? Those type of questions, you have to open questions to understand what would be the suggestion and what is the feeling [00:12:32] of locals about about the project.

So, we've been doing that. We've been also conducting activities just to engage the community, maybe not [00:12:47] necessarily to collect opinion, but to ensure that they are informed. to a certain extent, of what it's is going on. [00:13:03] And we are starting to do so more now because - well because before it was a bit difficult also to get for example, to get

people inside the site because it was not yet cleared. There were ..... and then Corona came so, so is that the kind of .... But now we are actually, this Sunday, we have one event inside the mosque with the local community, [00:13:33] because we really want them to see what is happening inside. Because this has been an issue, right? The local community needs [00:13:48] to be well informed so they can really form an opinion that it's based on fact. And this is what we are working on now because unfortunately the site is all fenced [00:14:04] - obviously for security reasons. So, people from outside cannot see what is happening inside. And and that's a big that's a big barrier, actually. It's a physical barrier.

Interviewer: It may also alienate people from the works if they think they're somehow secret or separate maybe?

[Interviewee briefly loses internet connection due to a power cut. From this point onwards also, the interview loses sound from the interviewer's microphone, so there is not an exact record of the questions, which have been reconstructed from the written script.]

Interviewee: [00:17:39] I'm back. This is typical from Iraq. Sorry, I forgot to tell you…… That happens all the time because the electricity from the government, sometimes doesn't work, [00:18:17] there are cuts, then the buildings usually have a generator, but then, you know, the moment that it changes from one to another, the electricity goes for a few minutes. [00:18:35]

[Interviewer resumes the Interview where the conversation had reached at the point of the power cut to talk about access to the site specifically and engagement more broadly.]

Interviewee: So, one of the objectives has been to allow, we usually allow visitors inside now and we [00:19:09] we also had press inside, local press. So, this is always risky because of course, there are many interests around the site, but we think it's very, it's very necessary [00:19:24] to show what is happening. Because, of course, we would like not to have fences, but it's really not possible because obviously we need to ensure security of the site and of the workers that work in site. So that's [00:19:40] …..

And finally, I wanted to also tell you that we - and I think this is the most important thing in the project - we have very strong mechanisms of involving [00:19:55] the stakeholders. And these includes the local community, of course. We have something called the steering – ah the technical committee meetings, which is a very [00:20:13] But this is this …… [Interviewee's phone rings] My phone ….. its stopped.

So, so, with this [00:20:28] steering – no this technical meeting is basically gathering all the stakeholders from the Municipality of Mosul, [00:20:43] the Governorate of Nineveh, the representatives from the University - engineers archaeologists - local community, cultural activists [00:20:59] - everyone. Well, everyone – we try to represent everybody in this committee. So, anything any important or any major decision that we take – well, in fact, UNESCO doesn't take [00:21:14] any decision, if I must be honest, in this project - any proposal we have, we take it to the Technical Committee.

They make a decision or a recommendation and then this goes to another committee [00:21:29] called the Steering Committee who is basically a formality to ratify what the Technical Committee says. And of course, some people -that is some institutions like the Ministry of Culture, for instance, or the Sunni Endowment, [00:21:44] which is the owner of the site - are in both committees, at different levels of course. So, we ensure that any decision that we take is - at least - goes through all the different [00:21:59] stakeholders at the level of Mosul and Iraq and then their decisions are sent to the big bosses, let's say.

[Interviewer seeks further information regarding the committees and the representation locally and nationally, moving on to ask about the degree and nature of international involvement.]

Interviewee: So, we have the Technical Committee, which is basically [00:22:29] the one that actually looks into technicalities. So, if someone needs to decide, I don't know, I mean - painting it now, we have not decided to - I don't know how to - do we rebuild the minaret - what [00:22:44] type of - I don't know - stones so we use? Okay? That would be a something that is technically discussed at the Technical Committee because we have experts, [00:22:59] including … we have three external experts that are not, do not belong to UNESCO or any institution. They are totally independent. We have three of them, and they attend these [00:23:14] meetings. And of course, they also give some advice on the way forward and of course, they are important because they do not - they represent really - they [00:23:29] are three very well-known and experienced architects and engineers.

[Interviewer asks where the international experts are from]

Interviewee: And so [00:23:45] these the three experts are one Lebanese, one, Italian and one Algerian – [name given, but indistinct] – is one of them. [00:24:03]

[Interviewer asks about the composition of the committee otherwise}

Interviewee: …….. All of them are locals. So, we have the Mayor of Mosul; we have the Head of the State Board of Antiquities; we have [00:24:18] the different historians that are professors at the University of Mosul. We've got the representative of - [00:24:33] I'm not sure what is the title of the institution? - basically the Union of Engineers, if you want.

Sorry, can you give me one second? Someone is calling me repeatedly and [00:24:48] I'm maybe it's an emergency or something. Thanks ……… [00:25:17] I'm back. It was not an emergency ……..

[Interviewer asks for further information about the methods and results of public consultation - what measures have been taken to understand the priorities of the various communities within Mosul, particularly those local to the project areas? Are those priorities largely similar – have there been any surprises?]

Interviewee: Hmm, yes…. [00:26:09] So we basically - you know Mosul has the East and the west. And in fact, what we have tried - this is being conducted now but it will be published by the end of December. So, you will be able to

see that [00:26:24] and we can send you, the report is totally [publicly available] definitely, no problem.

So, what we've done by now, is we've taken a sample survey [00:26:39] to test the survey. Because, you know, sometimes the questions in the survey, you think they are great. And then when you actually start asking questions, you realize that that thing is not well built. So, no but it has proved to be really good with only some [00:26:54] - they did it actually, the University - some adjustments. So, regarding the geographical areas they have this sample survey - took samples from the east and the west side. And it went through all the different [00:27:10] neighbourhoods in the in the west side and some on the east side. But in the bigger survey, we're going to survey 400 households. It will have an even number [00:27:25] of east side and west side, and it will go through all the west side and east side of Mosul, picking people from different ethnicities, different religious backgrounds, and [00:27:40] they are also going to the IDP camps which are, have been identified as having more people from Mosul. Because one of the issues where for us was that not all the Moslawis [00:27:55] that were let's say in 2014 or before 2014 in Mosul have returned. Many of them are internally displaced. And they are even taking samples from people displaced in [00:28:10] urban areas, like Erbil, like other areas in the Kurdistan. We are really trying to geographically we are trying to cover everything. You have to - we have also sent online surveys, [00:28:25] to people that has left the country and that are either refugees or they've seek - they are living in other countries – that - it doesn't matter what type of status they have in that country. But Moslawis that [00:28:40] either right before Isis came into the, into the city or a bit afterwards left.   So, we have tried to, [00:28:55] to do it this way.

There was another survey done before that probably we can share with you. I'm not, I don't have it with me, but I'll check with Maria or maybe you can write to us …. That was not done by UNESCO [00:29:12] but was done by …. by a private company. And I mean, it looks into rebuilding Mosul as whole.   And I think it's public - [00:29:27] I'm gonna double check and get back to you. But it has some components within that talk about heritage and there were some questions to the population about the old city of Mosul and in particular too about the Al-Nuri mosque. [00:29:44] …. The only problem of that survey is that - in fact that's why we are not taking it as really a basis and wanted to do our own - is that it actually surveyed very small sample [00:29:59] and also very like localized in some areas of Mosul, so we thought maybe it's not - I mean it's a good start, but we wanted to do a more comprehensive one, and one focused [00:30:14] on our [00:30:34] project.

[Interviewer asks whether there are any other consultation or engagement activities to discuss]

Interviewee: No, I think I think those are the immediate activities we are doing …..

[Interviewer draws comparisons with the EU funded project, and asks whether this project has similar, explicit, or implicit, economic motives.]

Interviewee: [00:32:05] Well I think the EU project again really - on this I'm telling you that - I mean I'm not working on it, so this is really my my personal [00:32:20] opinion. I think it very much, it's very much working in the same in the same direction, but I think the nature of the site they are working on is very different. And [00:32:35] then, of course, the type of community engagement activities you might want to do are really very much, I mean, I would say have have nothing to do.   What [00:32:50] I can do is the same person in the same position I have at the UAE project. There is one person in Baghdad that is doing the same for the EU project, so, maybe I could put you in touch with her if you want.

[Interviewer thanks Nuria for the offer – checking that the EU project relates to houses more than religious buildings and involves training and asking whether the cultural activities are common to both projects]

Interviewee: [00:33:18] Correct. They I do people's houses and then it has an education component as well, with the schools. Yeah, I mean when we do certain more like cultural [00:33:33] activities, like for example we did this book forum like a book fair kind of thing. And of course, in those more generic activities that are basically meant to, in [00:33:48] general, revive the cultural life of the city in those, obviously we are very - we do several of those and they we work together on those. As I said this is this [00:34:03] is not community engagement for the specific archaeological site or the building of the house or etc etc. So, but we also do that, no? [00:34:18] But both projects have these like more generic component, if you want, about reviving the cultural life in general, and of course it helps and it's very important but of [00:34:33] course it's not a focused activity for the mosque or for the …… no. So yeah, I can put you in touch with her and, you know, yeah, [00:34:48] no problem.

Interviewer asks in regard to the issue of authenticity [Reconstruction seems to be going against UNESCO emphasis on authenticity, and perhaps a distaste for this approach. How is this reconciled with the aims of the project? Have any reservations, objections or obstacles to the project been raised by others due to this issue particularly re. Al Nuri and Al Hadba?]

Interviewee: [00:36:00] Yes, I think this is a tricky point and maybe if you ask Maria, and I mean, I cannot respond as UNESCO. What I mean ….. [00:36:17] I think in general that you in the UK guys are advanced in that sense. Yeah. And I think the concept of authenticity is [00:36:32] evolving - in the last year it has evolved a lot especially in context of … of conflict. And I think this is something that is very different from - I mean, [00:36:47] - I think this this debate about the authenticity has come especially in situations or when there has been destruction of heritage by conflict. Because I think the [00:37:02] feeling that the community can develop out of that is very different from destruction by …. I don't know …. an earthquake, for example.

[Interviewer refers to the pending status of the old city as a World Heritage Site]

Interviewee: [Recording is indistinct at this point] [00:37:43] No. And I, if I am not wrong, Bojana will tell you more about this because I think, and to be honest, I'm not going to say anything about these because I have no idea [00:37:58] about the west end, but but I know Bojana has a lot of information about the status of the old city because she is working on the houses and the urban side of it. [00:38:14] and the urban planning if that's something you're you're interested in. Yeah, she should be able [00:38:29] to give you more info.

[Interviewer asks about how the Al- Nuri project has been received publicly, and reactions to mixed faith nature of the project, with the inclusion also of churches.]

Interviewee: [00:39:30] Well - you find, of course, you always have different views and feelings and of course it depends on the needs, you have, the priorities [00:39:45] change. But in general, I think, especially for the minaret and the mosque, which is what I have been working on the most now with community, so I have less information about [00:40:00] how they feel about the churches, although it's very positive I must say. The information that - I mean the feedback - I got from the local community regarding the churches but I wouldn't [00:40:15] be able to tell you in general …. But for the minaret and the mosque, I think that the minaret is so iconic – it was on the on the bills, right? It is on the bills, on the ten thousand Iraqi bill. [00:40:30] It's really so iconic that you would very rarely find someone that tells you no no no, we don't want it - we don't want you to rebuild it. What are you doing? No, they really [00:40:45] like, if you talk to people, they tell you 'Yeah I cried the day that it was demolished' and they usually talk more about the minaret than the mosque.

[Interviewer asks about the range of values attached to the minaret by local people – about its age and architectural value, but also personal value?]

Interviewee: [00:41:04] Exactly. And the minaret is old and it's from …. 1172, or 74 something like that. [00:41:19] So it's … It's for them, really like sensitive. And of course, it's [00:41:34] it's also something that happened at the end of Isis occupation and I'm sure - I don't know - I can't imagine how people that stayed in the city …. they were ….. that was a very emotional [00:41:49] period in general for them, right? And suddenly this mosque, which is the heart of the city, because it is really placed in the urban centre - was blown up, totally, I mean,

[Interviewer asks whether the very last-minute destruction of the minaret will have added to the shock of its loss to local people.]

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah - I'm not really in the position to tell you what they felt, but through my interaction with people, the responses, we've got the, in the surveys, etc. it feels like this is something [00:42:26] that - It's symbolic for them - and it really has a meaning. So, usually the opinion, you will get, it's not [00:42:41] very controversial; it's usually people telling you, yes, we want to see the minaret back - because it really has an emotional value for them.

[Interviewer asks whether community engagement is a one-off exercise or an ongoing process.]

Interviewee: [00:43:15] Definitely. Actually, we are planning to - to exponentially increase the community engagement. So now we are in a phase where we want to really focus [00:43:30] more on information sharing with them because we've realized that, you know, because of these fences and also Covid etc. maybe we need to feed them with more information about what is going on. [00:43:45] And after that, we plan to involve them at different levels and conduct more, different activities, focus groups. And of course, there will be more consultations [00:44:00] throughout the design phase and, and there will be, of course, a check by the end. So yeah, this is this is not, it's not a survey and then [00:44:15] that's it. No - they said they want the minaret as it was - no we plan to to have, like, regular engagement of community at different levels - at the level of discussing, [00:44:30] what do they expect from us? But also, you know, to we're planning to involve schools and kids maybe have also awareness-raising [00:44:45] sessions on the value of the site, the, the history of the site, of the minaret etc. etc. So, all this is in the plan, yes.

We actually should have [00:45:00] started doing it before, but then with Covid it was impossible to go to schools or have gatherings. So, we had to, to do online kind of stuff, which is not as [00:45:15] powerful as, and as engaging as, one-to-one meetings. [00:45:36]

[Interviewer asks whether the pandemic has caused significant delays or prevented moving forward.]

Interviewee: No, no, I wouldn't say it has stopped things because we have a very good team in the field, and they are Moslawis. And basically, in fact, the only people that is not Moslawi in the team, it's me, Maria, and the other architect Paula [00:45:51] Also we are the only three women. So, you know, that that made possible to continue because they are Moslawis, because they work there, and they are very [00:46:06] capable also. The only problem is that if we had to bring in experts like, for example, for geotechnical investigations etc, etc. that was delayed obviously because at some point they couldn't fly in. [00:46:24] But, no, activities continued, and things are ongoing, so that's good.

[Interviewer asks about the skills development elements of the project and the ICCROM training initiative.]

Interviewee: [00:46:43] Oh yeah, I actually forgot about that, because we've involved ICCROM. Yeah, they will start next year with the training for professionals [00:46:59] - basically that training on heritage preservation in post-conflict context, which will last couple of years. And then we also have training with them for craftspeople.   [00:47:14] Because of course there is - and this is in cooperation with the EU project - so this is cross-cutting through the initiative. This was really delayed by Covid because obviously it requires [00:47:29] on the job training. Yeah, so yeah there's no way you can cut around that. And in fact, some of the sites and many of the activities and

practices in the course will be implemented [00:47:44] in the project sites especially in the [churches]. So, it will be really a hands-on training for Iraqis and Moslawis in particular. So, we plan to [00:47:59] at least engage 130 people, Between professionals and crafts people. But then also, the fact that obviously, all the works that are happening in the site are managed by the State Board of Antiquities and, and by local companies, of course under the supervision of UNESCO and whatever you want, but we bring in international [00:48:31] supervision and this is an on-the-job training for them at the end of the day.

For example, if you see the pictures of the mosque, that now has these wooden supports [00:48:46] you seen them, right? So okay, yes. So, for example, these wooden structures are very complex, and the carpenters that made them were [00:49:01] obviously Moslawis. And so, the, the supervisor is an Italian expert, Stefano, who's really experienced. And [00:49:16] and we make sure that our field staff is very hands-on. Also, this Stefano, himself was there and the carpenters [00:49:31] were were telling him no way, I mean what are you asking us to do? This is impossible! Why do you thought this way? I mean, they were saying that we cannot cut these beams, and this is going to work to, stabilize the mosque – really? And [00:49:46] yeah, they were like, what are you talking about? And at the end, they did the job, they followed Stefano's guidance and they made it now, they were impressed [00:50:01] by what they did. So now they gain skills. And of course, Stefano himself alone could not have made it because he needed the skills of the carpenters. So, these type of [00:50:16] like on the job, hands on training - we don't label it as training because it's not like, but it's really at least as important as the one that happened with a ICCROM and [00:50:31] has a logo on it.

[Interviewer mentions the likely value of partnership and dialogue between local knowledge and wider expertise.]

Interviewee: Exactly. Correct. And you see Stephano, for example, that he himself, says, you know, I go to a site and, of course, I bring in my knowledge, but the people that worked in the site is the one that knows the site and [00:51:01] knows the building. So these, this exchange, this partnership, let's say, is - I would say it's even more of a learning [00:51:16] activity, or it's more of an educational training activity, more than the on-paper training, no? That someone actually do. So that is when we say we created [00:51:31] 300 jobs, it's not only, we created 100 jobs; we also improved 300 workers. Or maybe not 300 - let's say some of them did not learn anything - but some of them, for sure, they did. [00:51:46] Because this is a very specific work and very specialized, and yeah, that's another component. [00:52:01]

[Interviewer asks if there is any further information on this aspect of the project.]

Interviewee: Yeah. Yeah actually I think we have some videos with them. Check on our YouTube, but I think we have one interview with one of them that is really cute. Like very like 'yeah we [00:52:16] made these beams', like he was very surprised.

[Interviewer asks if it will be possible to put any follow-up questions if necessary]

Interviewee: [00:52:44] So, any time, any time if you have any other questions, you can also call me or email me ……

[Interviewer asks if interview would be interested in seeing the case study.]

Interviewee: That would be great. I love to go through it. I'm sure I could learn a lot from it.

Interview concluded with a few more remarks and thanks from interviewer.

<u>**Transcript of Interview with Gemma Houston**</u>
Project Architect for the European Union project in Mosul

12ᵗʰ April 2021

<u>**Summary**</u>: -

Minute(s)	Subject(s) covered:
8 – 10	Introduction to projects and reflection on progress.
10 – 16	Discussion on the nature and features of the historic houses in Mosul, including Mosul alabaster elements; the kinds of problems experienced, including subsidence and infrastructure failings, and approach to restoration.
17 - 18	Comparison with work of other NGOs. Start of slide show.
19 – 20	Discussion on ownership issues.
21	Clearance hazards.
22 - 24	Survey, analysis and categorisation of buildings and choice of repair approaches. Discussion on repair techniques, including use of lime and reinstatement or installation of alabaster elements.
25 – 26	Training aspects of the project.
26	Relationship and co-operation with the Antiquities Department.
27	Work on Al Ekhlass school.
28 - 29	Comparison between EU and UAE projects.
30	Discussion on the historicity of the houses chosen for repair and nature of heritage.
31- 32	Potential for future extension of the project.
33	Focus on youth and employment.
34 – 35	Consultations – mainly with public bodies and departments as well as house owners on an individual basis.
36 - 37	Operational engagement of UNESCO in the project, and its regenerative effects.
38	Discussion on contractors.
39	Involvement in Al Nouri site.
40 – 43	Co-working with ICCROM
43 – 44	Youth employment and peace-building. Logistics of introducing trainees to work on site.

Interview:
There is a delay of a few minutes before Gemma joins the meeting, and the Interview starts with introductions and Interviewer describes research.

Interviewer: .... So I'm quite really interested in seeing the EU project because it's looking at houses, because there's always a tendency to focus again on the the mosques and the big set piece buildings but houses, this is where it gets interesting to my mind. [00:08:29]

Interviewee: Yes, this is the interesting bit - you've found the nicest part of it - that's what I believe to be honest with you. So what would you like me to tell you?

Interviewer: Well, I have a few questions, but you know, anything, anything you feel you can tell me obviously. So, do you mind if I just ask a few questions to get us going, so I can just get it clear in my mind about the project? [00:08:44] So you work for UNESCO, and UNESCO is implementing the project although the EU is funding it. Is that correct?

Interviewee: That's correct, exactly.

Interviewer: And the project seems to be pretty [00:08:59] advanced now I think. I mean there's not much published that's accessible publicly, but I was looking on Facebook and other places - and it seems to be running up until November of this year. So presumably you're over halfway through already so you probably [00:09:14] .....

Interviewee: Well, we're about 25 percent. I mean, we're behind him sort of what we would like to be, but we're under construction.

Interviewer: Covid I suppose ......?

Interviewee: Yeah, I mean, it's not just, that, to be honest with you, we sort of signed a contract with our contractor [00:09:29] back in December. And so by the time they sort of mobilized on site, and now we're doing it in very local areas. And this is the flip side with the EU, you know, this EU project is very, very different from - you know, we're not looking at big monuments, [00:09:44] we're looking at people's houses and homes and restoring that tangible heritage. And I'm making sure that, you know we're - I'm always a bit funny about saying its building capacity - I'd like to say another word because, to be fair, it's not that they don't have capacity.   [00:09:59] It's just sometimes this is about new techniques and sort of new methodologies, and it takes a while for the contractor just to kind of get their head around doing this again. I mean, not not necessarily again, because they've been using concrete and cement [00:10:14] and, you know, typical modern construction. And now we're sort of reinvigorating, the kind of traditional techniques .....

So we're - so basically all the houses, just [00:10:29] like architecturally, before we even started, we always were thinking, 'Okay, well obviously a lot of these are historic-ish houses - mostly, to be honest, they're not that old, I mean, they're built in sort of the 18th century, but there's a lot of historical fabric .... anyway, for us, old stuff.

So, basically, looking [00:10:59] at the sort of typical sort of Islamic house, say, where everything on the outside looks like just basically very insular and, you know, everything's exactly a box is all around a sort of courtyard idea [00:11:14] - is where most most of the houses are, you know? So, you know, upon sort of looking at them initially you think some of them have had different modern extensions and the sort of Integrity starts to dissolve after a while. So, we're basically [00:11:29] - once you strip it back, and once you start to look into the construction and you really start to reveal the the structure behind, you start to see really, you know, even things that are concealed, say, before. So, [00:11:44] you know, everything from - one of the most important elements architectural for Mosul is the sort of use of this Mosul marble or whatever, alabaster - what they call it Mosul stone, so it kind of has [00:11:59] three names. So basically, there's a lot of that. And so they use it in entrance ways but they use a lot to kind of outline a lot of features within the house. So for example, if you have like, you know, say niches and things like that they would sort of [00:12:29] frame out the niche with alabaster elements, or definitely around doorways and sometimes they have like Iwan type stuff in there as well. So, different features for different places. Sometimes people go crazy, and they have [00:12:44] alabaster columns and, you know, all the really lovely ornamentation and decorative features all around an arch stone.
Certainly, some houses have more of it than others, but over the years, it's been [00:12:59] - people just paint it - it's bizarre. They just, I don't know - it's some kind of fad or fashion thing that maybe, you know, 20 years ago someone thought 'I'm sick of looking at that marble that's yeah ...

Interviewer: Just modernize it!

Interviewee: [00:13:19] Exactly, and so you are starting to reveal - even through as the construction's going, you know, and we're stripping off all of this sort of plaster, the old plaster that's now, I like, you know, Almost 20 centimetres thick. It's really, you know, once that lot comes off [00:13:34] and you really see what's behind it, people had actually plastered over some of these beautiful marble elements. And then so many as generations go on people that own the houses didn't even know that that was there. Yeah. So it was that.

Interviewer: But at least it was there, that's the thing. At least [00:13:49] they didn't strip it all out and take it away. At least it's been preserved - archaeologically almost!

Interviewee: So for us, you know, preserving that particular feature is one of our sort of main [00:14:04] components, say. Obviously making sure that .... the problem with a lot of these houses in Mosul is - sorry, I'm talking quite technically about this as well ......

Interviewer: Don't worry about that .....

Interviewee: [00:14:19] Okay, so basically a lot of the problems with the houses are to do with ventilation and damp. There's a lot of damp that happens. So a lot of what's that doing is to, for example - a lot of the construction itself [00:14:34] is starting to degrade. Because they used to use this kind of gypsum plaster. It's not the same gypsum plaster that you and I know, you know, the nice lovely stuff. It's like something that was from before, but then, [00:14:49] as time's gone on, what's happened is, it's become more pure and the more pure it is the worse it is so for the damp and all the rest of it. So, basically, so it's not just damage of war or fixing them here. It's [00:15:04] - we're also fixing that breathability. You know?

Interviewer: That's interesting. So would there have been used cement renders and things like that on the exterior sometimes also?

Interviewee: Yeah, they would have used, you know, all sorts of whatever. ...... [00:15:19] ...... So basically, now we're using a mix of lime to change all that [00:15:34] up - to give that breathability and that flexibility back. Because a lot of the issues as well in Mosul are huge settlement problems, and also big problems with like cavities. So for example you know [00:15:49] one day you could find a wall's going to collapse because suddenly [there's] a cavity - there's like a big sinkhole almost. A lot of that has to do with like old infrastructure, and you know, the drainage is being drained to [00:16:04] dear knows where - nobody really knows. It goes somewhere. That's going all the way to the Gulf somewhere. So really it's, you know, all that is causing serious issues, yeah? [00:16:28]   And so you an imagine, its fun and games here just to try and repair and restore and preserve, you know! And we're not just doing the houses. So what we're doing is working in an urban area, and so we're not choosing sporadically houses over the place. We're actually making more of an impact by basically sticking together and also upgrading infrastructure. [00:16:43] So it's refining a lot of electricity networks for those wires hanging all over the place. You've got water issues, and, you know, there's like water pipes that have burst and they're just flowing all over the place, you know. And [00:16:58] the pavement, the whole, the whole lot is basically is what we're moving towards and restoring. Yea, so we're actually at the minute around the Al-Nouri mosque complex. We're doing the houses just on the outside of that. [00:17:13] Actually, I wonder, can I - I'll actually show you a map on the screen because then you can probably get a better ....

Interviewer: Thank you.   Is your background in conservation?

xxx

Interviewee: [00:17:28] I'm an architect actually. So, yeah, this is, to be honest, it's a lot of trial and error and for us.   It's a - you know, I have a really fantastic team [00:17:43] in Mosul actually. And we've sort of grown over the last year and a half, even through Covid, you know?

Interviewer: Ok, so is that mainly Moslawis?

Interviewee: Completely, yeah. [00:17:58] ..... Can you enable screen, share?

Interviewer: Um, where would that be? .... Yeah, I've got it. That should work in principle.......

Interviewee: [00:18:30] Yeah, we're good ...... [shares presentation slides on screen].
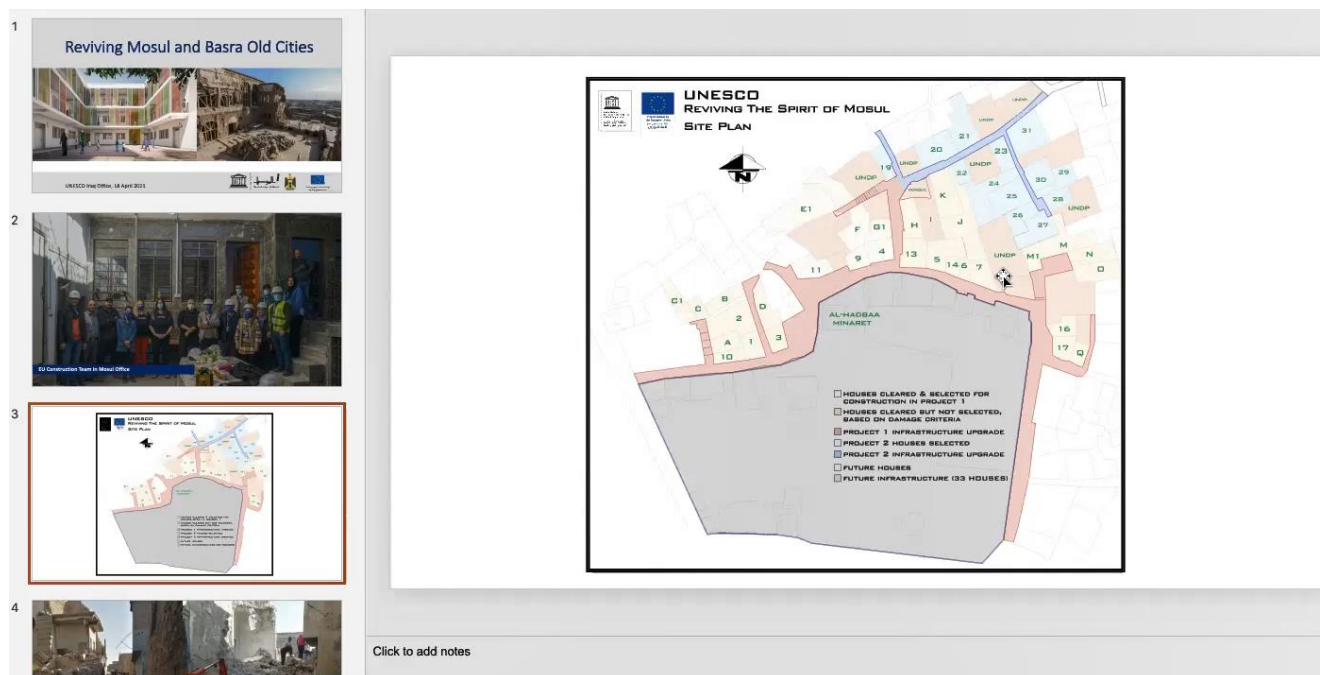
Screenshot of shared slide – showing areas identified for work.

Interviewer: Okay. All right, that's great. I can see that how you see it.

Interviewee: Okay. So all the grey basically is all [00:18:45] the Al Nouri mosque complex. So we actually started with this sort of area, initially with Sunni Waqf properties until we kind of got our head around what it is we're doing and how we're going to go about it. But very little now out of all those [00:19:00] houses that you see here - there's but 44 on this - and effectively they're all private owners. And about 8 or something like that are Sunni Waqf owned. .... like there's different colours here [00:19:15] So, essentially we also have UNDP working amongst here doing a shelter project effectively - like they're not fixing the entire house whereas we are. Already their mandate and what they're doing, their budget or something, is totally [00:19:30] different from what we're doing. We're

effectively all about making sure that heritage is restored, whereas they don't care, basically.

Interviewer: I'm sure you have different priorities, shall we say! [00:19:45] So, could I ask you a question about this? So they're private houses, so presumably the owners still retain their connection with the house, they are coming back to living it or are living in it?

Interviewee: So it's a combination, so basically some houses they have either rented it, if the house [00:20:00] is not in a terrible state, you know, and it's sort of relatively structurally sound, they might have rented it out maybe one or two rooms, and then some of the rest are wrecked and destroyed. But most of the time, these houses are empty, occasionally, a handful. So a lot [00:20:15] of the people are basically IDPs and they're either - I don't think any are necessarily in camps, but they're certainly living with a host family.   And the majority in theory, [00:20:30] from what they've told us, is that they will return once the house is completed. Some won't more for the reasons of sort, of negative, associations of what happened during the war, and maybe a family member was killed, whatever.

Interviewer: Yeah, anything [00:20:45] awful could have happened and you might not want to go there.

Interviewee: You see, and this is the level of destruction we are working with here. [Changes image on screen] And all this sort of clearance. So all of that you have to get underway and sorted before [00:21:00] you can even get to the point where you start this step on the houses, you know?
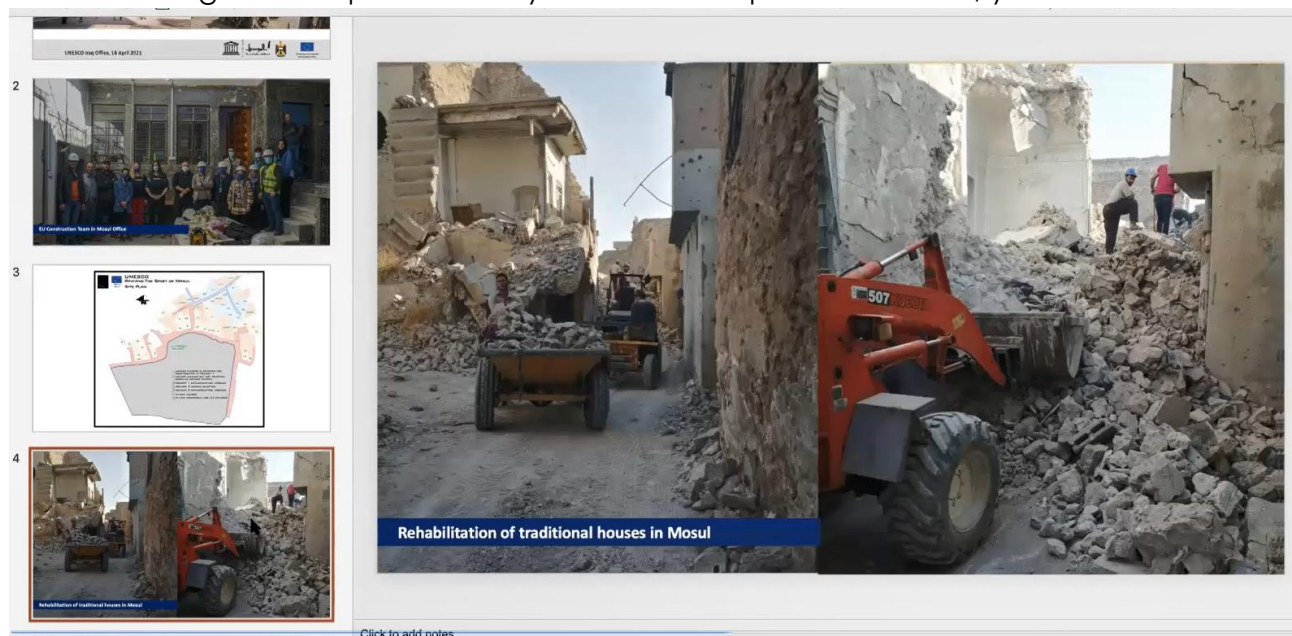
Screenshot of shared image – showing the kind of destruction evident in areas of historic housing and the clearing process.

Interviewer: And has everything been cleared of dangerous things like explosives?

Interviewee: From the whole of Mosul? No.   I mean what we [00:21:15] tend to do is if we have a house picked, what we will basically do is clear that house and any adjoining house. From anything in terms of construction, you know, and innocent moves and something goes off. I mean look just so you [00:21:30] know like we have, unfortunately, cleared some bodies.   And we have, you know various IEDs and all sorts of - suicide belts, like, you name it, its been there, we've had it. And so what happens [00:21:45] then, after this sort of assessment phase, and ..... we will basically put it into damage categories. [Changes image on screen.]
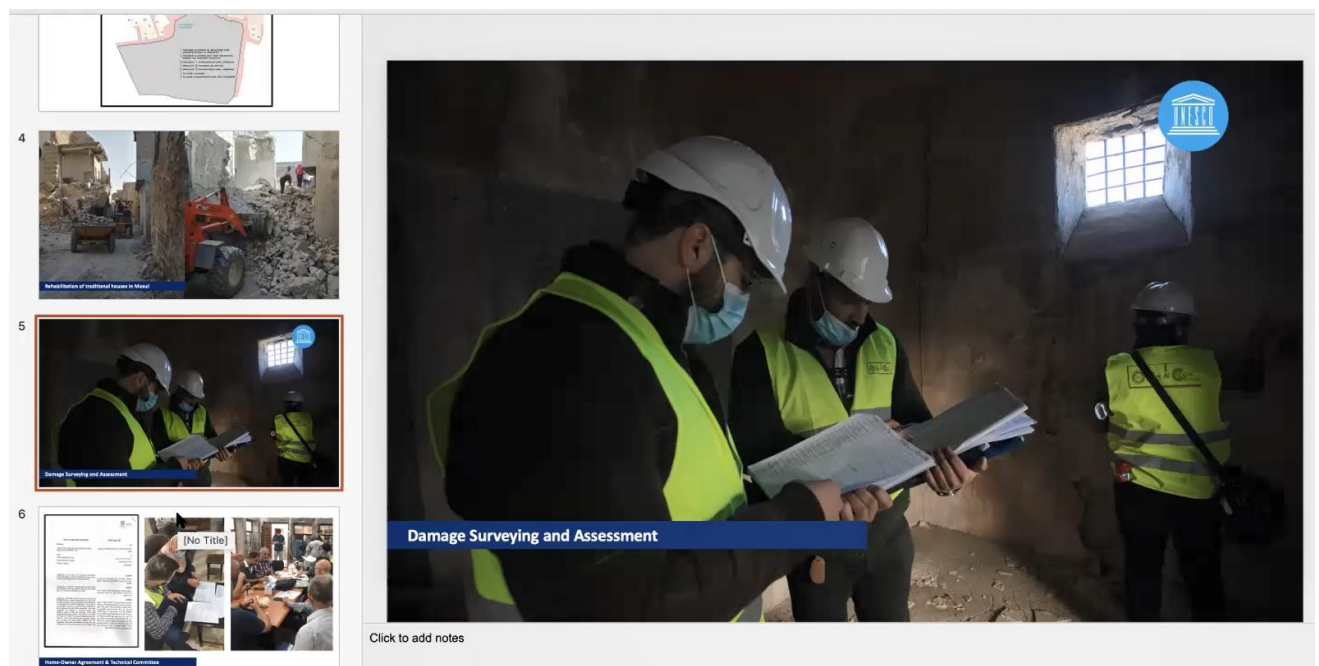
Screenshot of image – showing building assessment to identify extent of damage.

So, we have like I think it's seven categories, and we basically do everything unless the category is sort of where we call it [00:22:00] 'eroded'. Anything that's eroded, like that just basically means the whole house needs to be knocked down and rebuilt, and that's not really what we're about, you know. So we won't then do that. But we will do major damage and repair work.

So, [00:22:15] I mean, this is just sort of to show you that [changes image on screen] ……
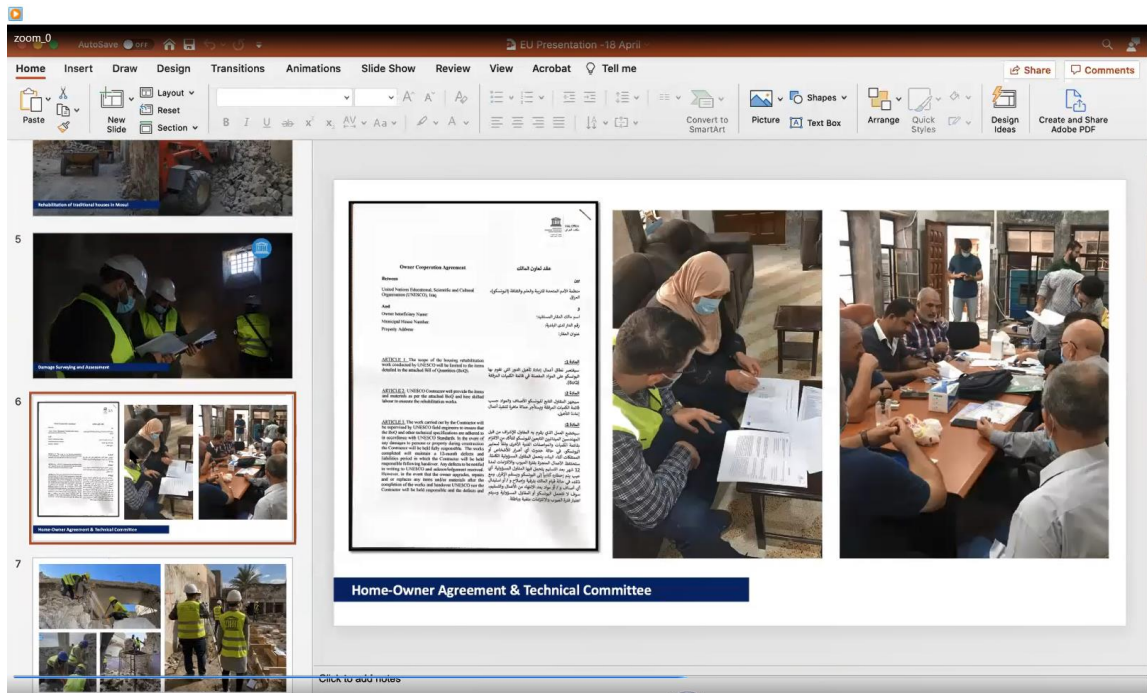
Screenshot of image.

.... once we do all our sort of technical documentation, bill of quantities, and everything, you know, we sit with the owner, and they get the choice of certain architectural elements. So for example, you know, doors [00:22:30] and windows and handrails and there's certain decorative elements that, you know, you can have a choice of. So I don't want everyone to have a potato print house, you know? They're all individual and people get the choice of certain elements that [00:22:46] that you know, they basically sign off and it's all goes through that whole technical committee. So, [changes screen] ....
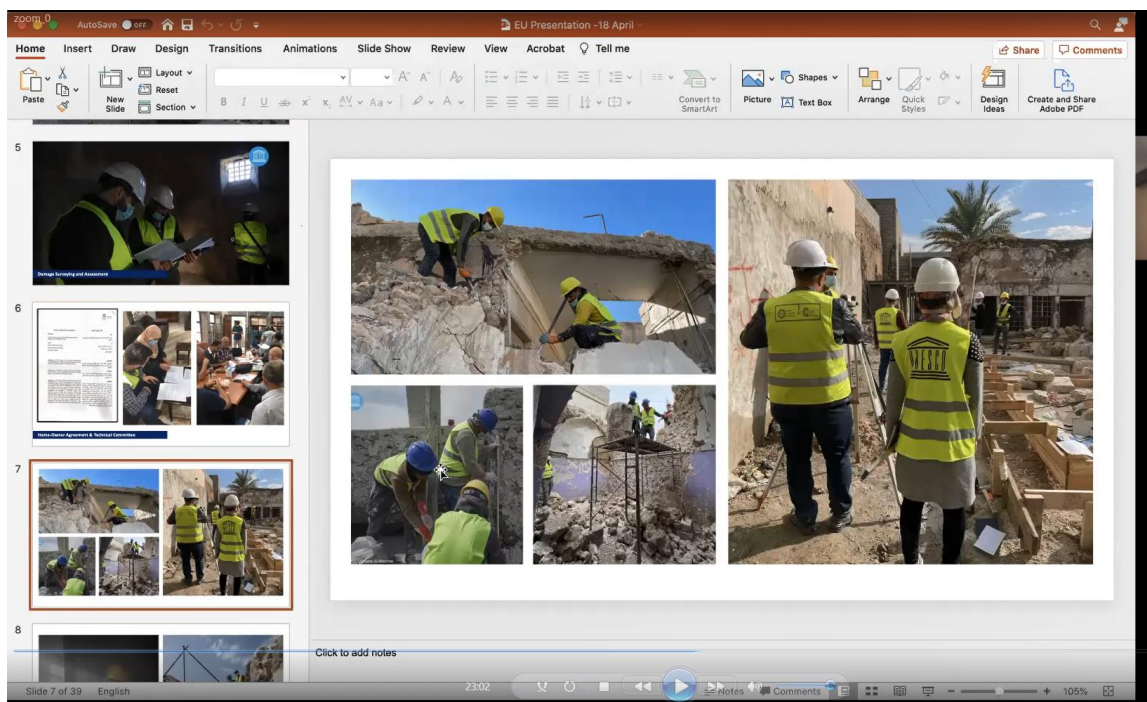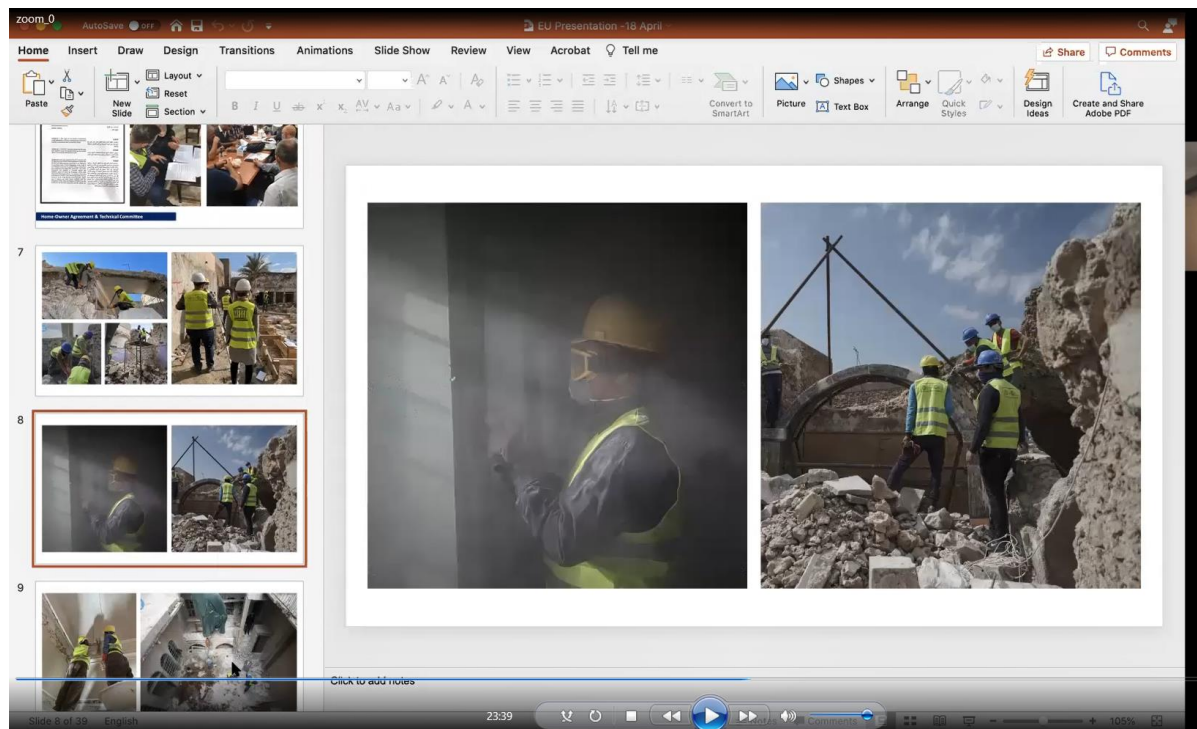

Screenshot of image.

these were taken a few months ago, so it kind of shows you that level of destruction and [00:23:01] what we're using, and peeling back all the different layers, you know?

Interviewer: So you just mentioned the technical committee - is that the same the technical committee that that Maria [Acetoso] was talking about in the context ...

Interviewee: No, it is one of the different ones, specific to the [00:23:16] houses and, like, that's sort of assigned to us out of the governor level. Where, you know, he'll give us a representative from each department to discuss this specific thing with.
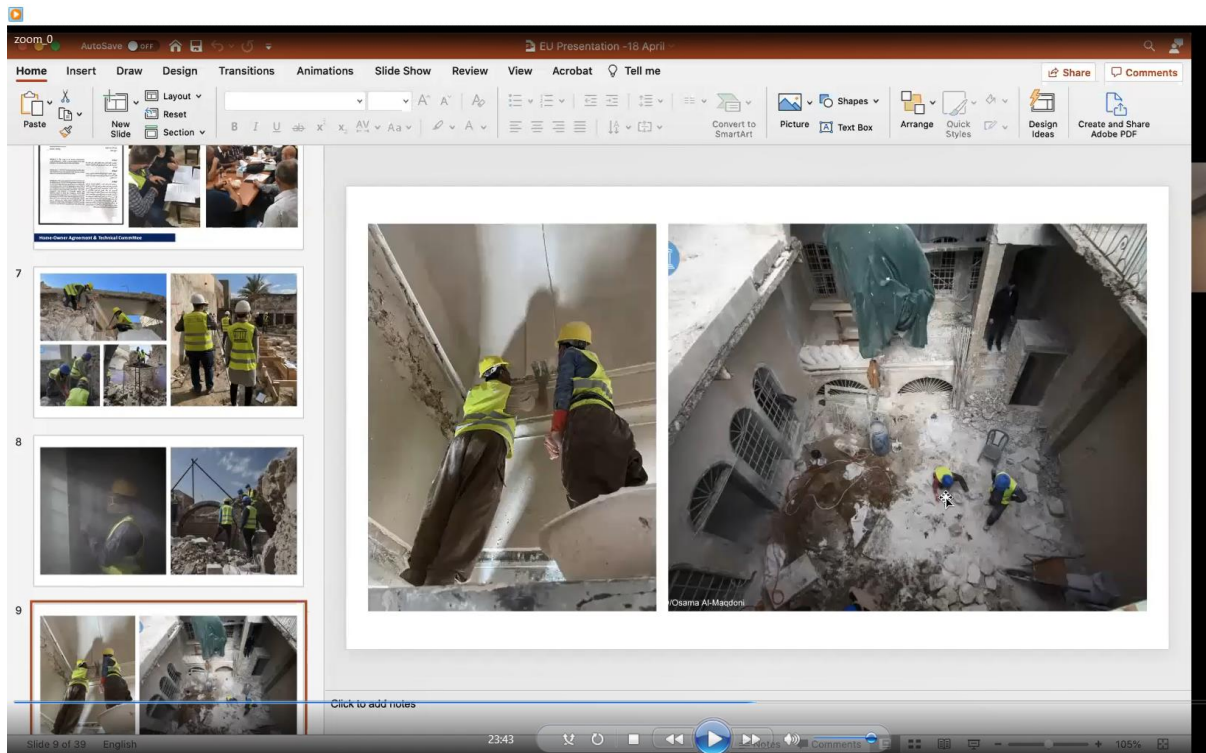
Interviewer: It's fairly detailed, isn't it? Fairly [00:23:31] .... less less high level than the other?

Interviewee: Yeah, exactly. [Changes screen] …..

Screenshot of image.

That's some of the new marble elements going in. Okay, so one of the major ..... [changes screen] ………

Screenshot of image.

.... there's some of the guys there - they're actually mixing a lot of the [00:23:46] lime mortar and that's all lime pressed in - that's quite a nice technique.   Actually a lot of them really like it, you know.   It's quite therapeutic, I mean I wouldn't have mind doing it myself, to be honest!   [Changes screen]
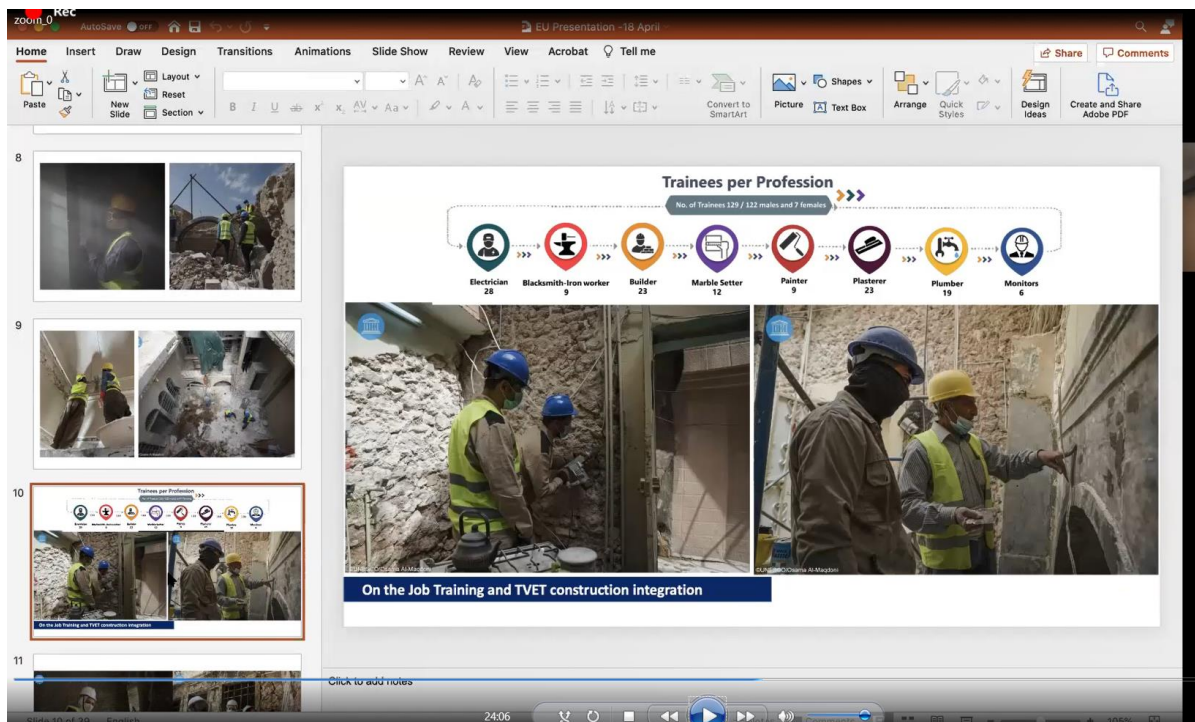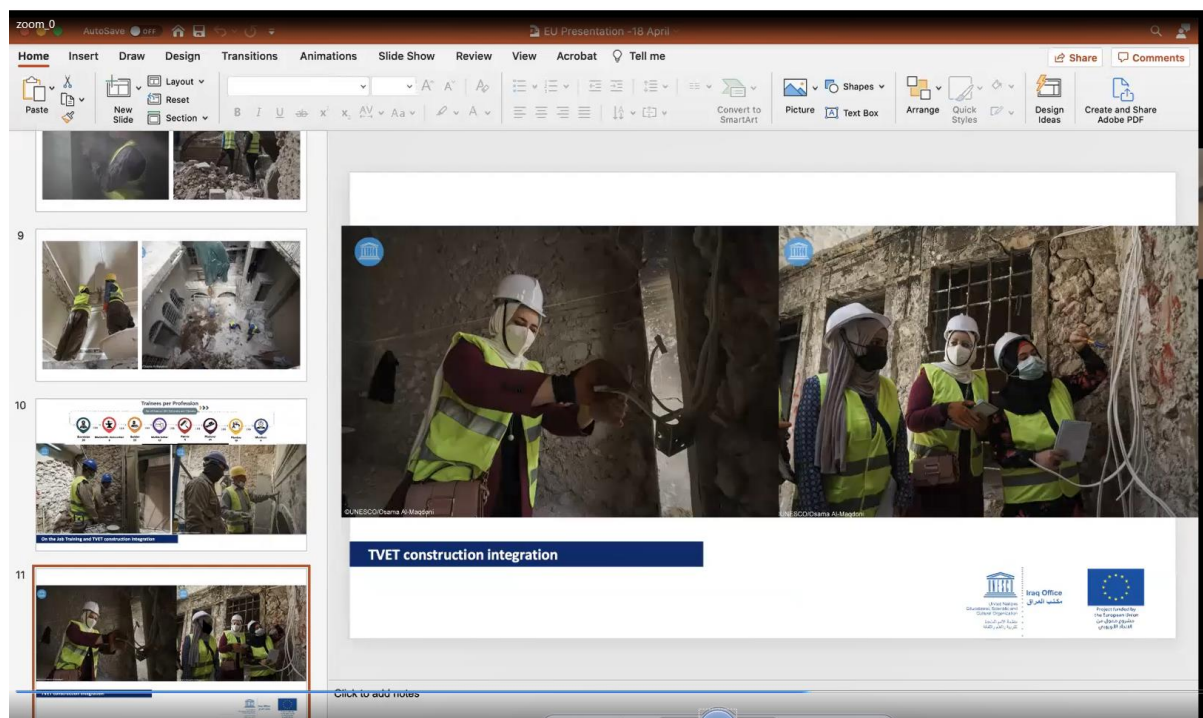

Screenshot of image.

One of the main, major elements [00:24:01] of this EU project, which is different from the rest, is that we do TVET training, okay? And so our education department do some training and construction skills for about, approximately four months, I think their course lasts. And after [00:24:16] that, those TVET trainees then go on to our construction site, along with the contractor, and all of our staff. And basically, they learn on the job - skills and experience - and they're helping with [00:24:31] this reconstruction. So, even in these photos, you're seeing that there's a guy who's an alabaster - on the right-hand side - he's an alabaster sort of craftsman, and he's teaching, you know some of these trainees how to fill in [00:24:46] basically the bullet holes and the cracks and the joints, and all the rest of it, and how to polish it up. Which again that is something that's it's not really a technique that's necessarily ever been used. Because this man, for example, has learned [00:25:01] alabaster and was all about it for all his life, but he's been used to replacing and carving rather than repairing in situ.

Interviewer: So it's a learning curve for him, too, a new technique? [00:25:16]

Interviewee: Yeah. [Changes screen] ……….

Screenshot of image.

So, we also have a lot of female trainees, as well, and they've actually been learning some electrical wiring - I think you probably saw that from Facebook - and some sort of alabaster repair work as well. So [00:25:31] I think it kind of gives you a bit of an idea. [Changes screen] …..
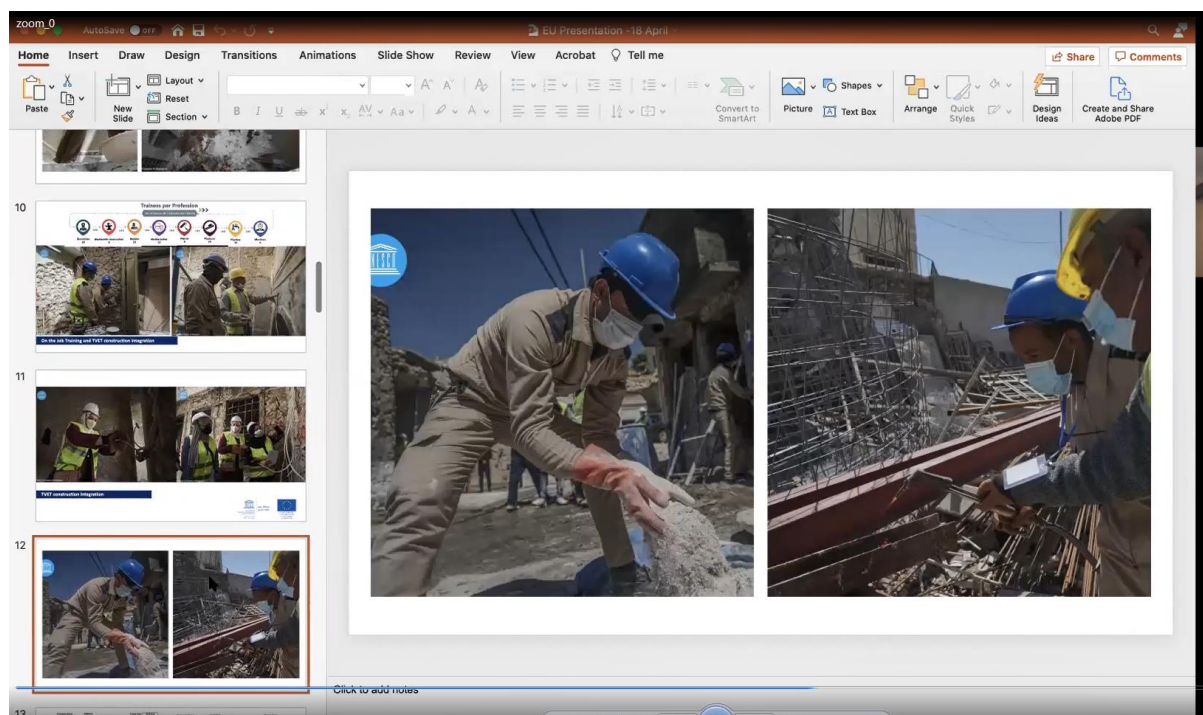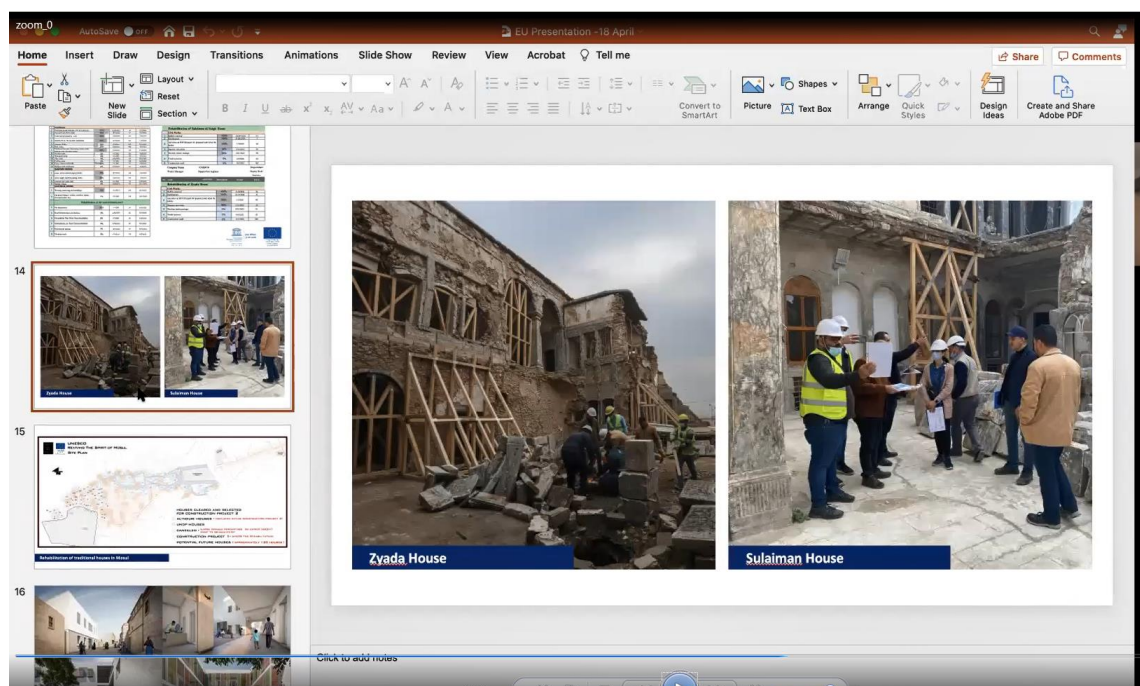
Screenshot of image.

So in terms of scale, it's not, I mean we're not UNDP, but what we're doing is totally different. And if we were doing what they were doing, our numbers [00:25:46] would be in the hundreds and hundreds, but we're doing very small because it's small and well, rather.

Interviewer: Yeah, it's a different kind of work, isn't it, as you say small and well?

Interviewee: Yeah. [Changes screen]

Screenshot of image.

And we do also have some really large [00:26:01] houses, which are these sorts of palatial houses. So these are owned by the Antiquities Board, Ministry of culture. So we're doing a couple of those as a showcase example of our sort of level of work. So they're sort of in the making. [Changes screen]
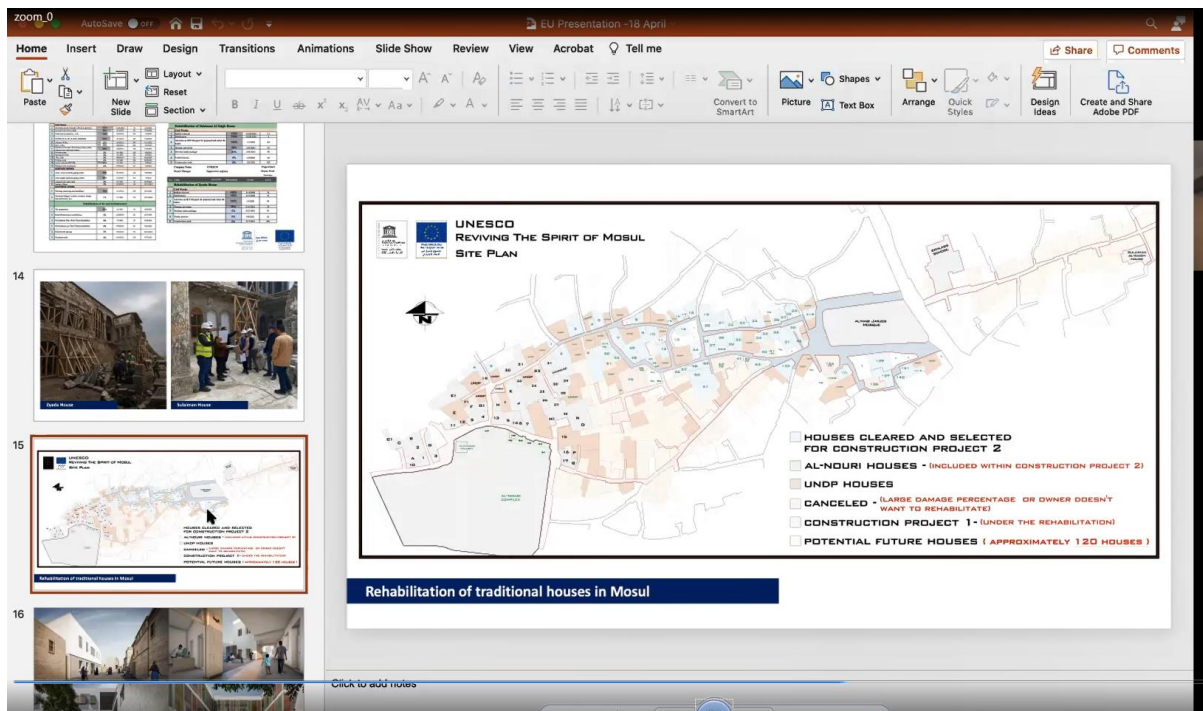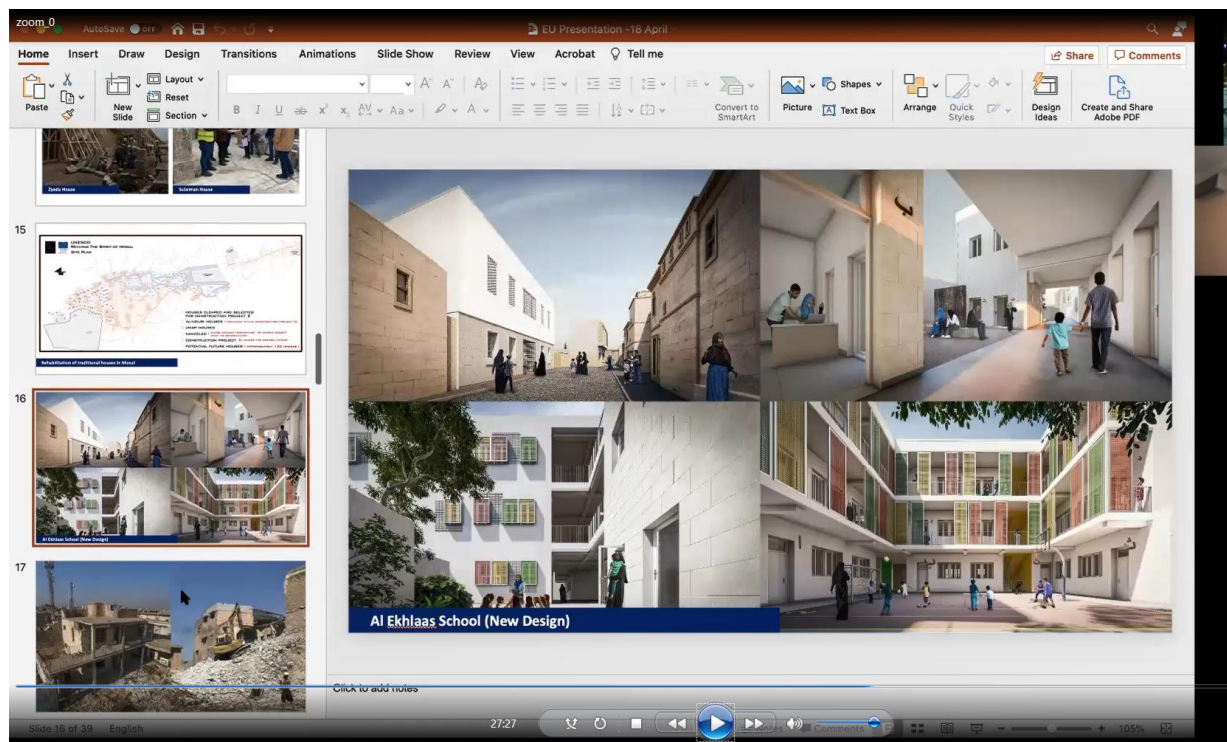

Screenshot of image.

Interviewer: [00:26:16] So is there much cross-working with the Antiquities Department, and are they taking on techniques or sharing techniques?

Speaker 2: From what I hear, whatever we're doing, they're doing. So it's fantastic [00:26:33] because they also have some funding themselves from another. I don't know, in some other NGO agency and it's kind of just letting them run wild and do it themselves which is, you know, there's pitfalls and that too. But [00:26:48] this sort of big map here in a screen - that shows you the Al Nouri complex in the bottom. The 44 houses we're doing here. And then the blue is our next package. It sort of moves [00:27:03] us along and is sort of heritage rich? And connects us with - can you see this, there's a school here? It says Al Ekhlass school. That's actually one of our schools as well. We're rebuilding from scratch. And then it really links up with our Souleiman too. All of our work is in a very [00:27:18] condensed area.

Interviewer: Yes. But for, I suppose, for impact really.

Interviewee: Yeah, exactly. [Changes screen] That's kind of what the new school will look like. So, yeah, we're doing bits and pieces, but mostly houses. I mean that's [00:27:33] ......

xxxix

Screenshot of image.

Interviewer: Yeah, it's that sort of working heritage as I would call it, where people are using it every day and perhaps not seen as heritage, but actually so important to an old city. That's really interesting. Thanks that was really helpful. [00:27:48] I don't suppose you can share that presentation, can you?

Interviewee: [Stops screen sharing] How are you going to use it?

Interviewer: Well, I'm writing a dissertation and I might quote things, but if you said it couldn't ....

Interviewee: Yeah. But if you do, let me find [00:28:03] out..... Yeah. It's probably not a big deal, but, you know ....

Interviewer: Sorry, so you know it's a dissertation so it's not it's not for publication or anything.

Interviewee: Yeah, that's ok.

Interviewer: I'm interested [00:28:18] in, actually I've been looking for what's publicly available. There's not so much, you know, that can be accessed.1

Interviewee: Yeah, it's one of our probably big pitfalls here is that, you know, there's a lot of energy and focus on the UAE project [00:28:33] which is the monuments. And unfortunately, the very thing that for me has one of the greatest impacts is not being shown and that's something that in time will definitely change. Hopefully you watch this space in the next, sort of, coming

[00:28:48] months really? [When the other project] has really been forgotten about, you know?

Interviewer: Yes, because it obviously deserves to be my better known about because it's really doing some fundamental stuff which unfortunately has applicability in many other settlements at the moment and [00:29:03] could really be useful.

Interviewee: Definitely I mean it's really it's a really well perceived project on the ground, it's for us - hey it's the opposite, because it's not controversial at all, although we do have some backlash at times from, you know, the [00:29:18] other projects we have because they're obviously very political and politics and religion mixed.

Interviewer: Of course ..... I was reading a hilariously splenetic review of the Al Nouri architectural competition that somebody [00:29:34] .....a professor of architecture from Iraq .... I mean, this is the kind of thing we hear in this country [the UK] all the time - thinking, oooh, somebody didn't feel he was involved enough and now he's giving it large to anybody wants to hear.

Interviewee: Yes, [00:29:49] that's exactly what's happened. You've picked up well - yeah, that's exactly what's happened. But who knows, maybe that will blow over, maybe there will be more drama but ....

Interviewer: Yes, well, that's another [00:30:04] topic. So could I just ask you a few follow-up questions. That's really helpful, and it just sounds like a wonderful project and it's really good. I think you've answered a lot of the stuff I was interested in. I noticed somewhere [00:30:19] it said, and I think you probably answered it, that it, you know, the focus is primarily but not strictly on heritage buildings. And I wonder if it was just that issue - you say well some of them are only 18th century - that somehow we've got this notion ingrained [00:30:34] that if it's not, you know, medieval it can't be interesting.

Interviewee: Yeah, I mean look some of them are, I'd say some of them are nicer examples, and other say, a lot of them are obviously built around the same time frame. It's just that, [00:30:49] you know, over time that sort of that Integrity gets lost, and for us the whole point is to make it as it should be, say, with celebrating all the elements that are classic in a Mosul [00:31:04] house. And to keep that sort of alive. And also there's so many people are putting in all these different things that are either more expensive or inappropriate and it's causing all sorts of problems, even structurally and all sorts of things. So, [00:31:19] it's really for us showcasing what we can do, and on top of that as well we also kind of - I know we've only selected some house and we got funding for a certain amount. But we're also, you know, we're looking at sort of [00:31:34] guidelines for reconstruction as well in the old city, and that will be in coordination with the Antiquities Board. So that, you know, if any - and also help in terms of other people

who, you know, may not necessarily know how to go about it. So [00:31:49] then technically that we can help them out rather than necessarily financially.

Interviewer: So, yeah, because that's that's an important thing isn't it? How it is taken forwards in the future and how you kind of set an approach really for future [00:32:04] people to pick up and work with even if that project, this project comes to an end. So that's really interesting to think. Do you think there is any chance of it being extended as a project, or - are you really just setting up a foundation ......?

Interviewee: I mean, who knows? I mean, like, the European [00:32:19] Union probably are not, maybe, the donor that necessarily appreciates the heritage end of things as much as maybe other donors would.

Interviewer: Interesting.

Interviewee: Your sort of drive and focus for this particular project is about vulnerable youth employment [00:32:34] and training and education and all that. And it just so happens they're going to do it on these heritage house. For us, and obviously, as UNESCO the heritage element is super important. But that's not to say that other donors, based on results, [00:32:49] would maybe come forward and you know, go ahead and do some more. I mean there's plenty to do, like really it's sky's the limit there. I just don't know if there's donor fatigue now with, sort of, Mosul and, you know, post-Covid [00:33:04] and you know, look even the UK, I mean UK government, by the way, don't fund UNESCO just FYI.

I had our UK ambassador come on site - just [00:33:21] kind of sprung on me. I didn't really know he was coming but apparently was all planned, but I just happen to be on site, so I got landed. And the first thing he said was, are you British? And I went 'No, I'm Northern Irish'. And he was like, okay, [00:33:37] I think he was hoping to hear that .... but like it's sensitive for us. I mean I can't say I'm British them even though I have two passports, but I can't say that when I'm working here - because anybody could be 'Oh, I thought that UNESCO wasn't hiring any British people!'.

Interviewer: They probably won't [00:33:52] anymore? .... Sorry, just a few questions - hopefully they won't take too much of your time. So obviously you are talking to individual house owners - has there been any wider consultation - I am guessing you must have ....

Interviewee: Yeah, I mean, obviously there's the Antiquities Board. I mean, obviously, like, there's no set way of doing this, no methodology, no standards. So a lot of it is trial and error, a lot of it is putting it in a certain way, and then you get on site, you end up tweaking it in here and there and everywhere and you know, you're changing things and make it better and better and better. And for us from our standpoint in terms of consultation [00:34:47] in

terms of Ministry of Culture, which is the Antiquities board there, and obviously, all the different departments, for .... whatever - it's for electrical department, water, and sanitation, all the rest of it. You know, it's all of the department's, to, you know, talk through [00:35:02] what our considerations are, and then see what it is that they think needs to be added or absolutely not or whatever, you know. And that's, you know, through that consultation, it's, you know, signed off [00:35:17] at every point and stage. The Antiquities board as well sort of monitor as well, some of the construction, if they don't like it, you know, you'll hear about it, you know.

Interviewer: Okay. That's an interesting question, about [00:35:32] how you sign it off, what the quality control is - but it seems quite hands-on, anyway ....

Interviewee: Yeah, UNESCO is probably the most operational here in one sense from an EU perspective, from [00:35:47] an EU like housing side. I mean, if you look at UNESCO globally, I'm not entirely sure they have a project like this at all.

Interviewer: No, no. I think this is very unusual for a UNESCO indeed. It is breaking a pattern I think which is why it's so interesting. [00:36:02] It's much more people-focused shall we say?

Interviewee: Yeah, UNESCO is not known for being very operational - this is very this is very unusual. So yeah, it's a [00:36:17] quite nice - I like it, for me I think it's more interesting than the monuments, that's just me. But we also, like I also have another mosque to do as well. So I'm scratching the monument edge if you really want to know. But, you know, it's just for me, I think [00:36:32] the biggest impact is this what we're doing from a housing .... we're regenerating that area, you know.

Interviewer: Yeah, I would agree with you. That would be my preference. Because so often in the, I mean, there are a lot of places in historic city centres or parts of city centres where [00:36:47] they get cleansed of people and businesses and they're very sterile environments. You know, the I think the words you least like to hear in this context is the 'open air museum' which immediately means it's going to be dead, to be a dead zone. [00:37:03] So just having houses and people in there is just so important really ....

Interviewee: Yes, so it seems that the, you know, the government even up to a governor level, they really are quite pleased, certainly with what we're doing. And just because they sort of [00:37:18] said, 'well you know, if you guys didn't do this, these houses you know people are actually going to come back here and live again' And like I've been here now over a year and a half and just before the Pandemic kicked in. You know, as time's gone on, you know, you can see progressively more people [00:37:33] moving back and back into Mosul, and the life's there's definitely like tenfold more than what it was when I was there first. And you know, it's just gonna take a long time as well for all the clearances and things.

Interviewer: Of course, yes, it's such a long-term [00:37:48] project that it's ...... yeah. But also [if] people move back and you know they don't have any help or guidance, they'll do what they can, which will probably be, you know, cement.

Interviewee: Well, yes, quite likely. Yeah, which is why you know if we can at least [00:38:03] put the messages out there of, you know, if it was a top ten messages, what that is, you know.   So that's kind of what we're hoping, we're sort of, we have a Mosul office and there and, you know, part of that there'll be sort of displays about, you know, your top 10 [00:38:18] key messages of, you know, what we would recommend if you want to keep something, or how to go about it, or what way to construct your plaster or, you know, all the rest. But so, I think it'll be good in the end, but [00:38:33] you know it's just it's slow. Slow getting started with contractors that are sort of like, what is this, you know?

Interviewer: Yeah so your contractors, they're SMEs are they?   Because I was reading somewhere - I think I saw something - something I managed to find - [00:38:48] it's working with small businesses, basically small contractors.

Interviewee: There are, well these contractors are not necessarily that small, and they are local contractors in Iraq.   But we are, there's another sort of component of the project that we were sort of doing. [00:39:03] We're actually working with the IOM and like small grants. So but that's not to say that subcontracted, you know, into the main contractor, then we obviously need a [00:39:18] fairly decent sized contractor to kind of handle it. So again, we've actually just we're about to start another 75 houses now. Hopefully in another month or two. We're [00:39:33] just sort of finished our tender process there, so we're just kind of in the evaluation stage and then we'll move forward. So within the Al Nouri complex as well, there's seven houses that we will also take on board.

Interviewer. Oh right, so you are doing them within the site - that's [00:39:48] interesting.

Interviewee: Yeah, in the site, sort of on the northern edge. And so thankfully that wasn't part of the competition so, no, that sort of backlash is not affecting that part.
Interviewer: Yeah. And I was interested in [00:40:03] what would happen to those.

Interviewee: So they'll just be, you know, again it's just whatever's there and we go ahead and repair and fix and anything that's missing, and we'll celebrate the elements that are architecturally of some kind of value.

Interviewer: [00:40:18] Yeah. That makes a ton of sense, yes, thank you. .... Oh yeah, I'm just just wondering - I went to a lecture a couple of weeks [00:40:33] ago about the ICCROM training project.   Is there any sort of intersection with that?

Interviewee: There is. So basically our ICCROM contract is kind of split into two tracks. Track one is all to do with sort of [00:40:48] long-term training and conservation. It's more geared towards maybe more so like Ministry of Culture and people that can obviously really understand so much better and get some kind of qualification at the end of it. Yeah the second track [00:41:03] is more to do with us, in that its training local people and it'll be more youth again, youth and employment we are concentration on youth.   So we'll be training local youth for example in [00:41:18] like alabaster. That's not so much - because we have done some alabaster training before with locals - not just on site but in addition to it, but this would be very specific to repair and fixing and all that kind of stuff, and [00:41:33] even like ironmongery. And so it'll be very - I don't know if they've completely defined exactly which trainings they'll do yet.   Yeah, and then there'll be the crossover on-site. So, once they have a sort of a bunch trained, then we'll get the contractor to hire those people, [00:41:48] in, sort of like a rotation. Yeah, that's the, that's the plan.   These things are not easy to put in place, but that's what we're doing anyway with the TVADs. [00:42:08] and the ICCROM people will also be rotating into the site as well. Well it will be interesting; ICCROM is obviously very very good at all these sorts of training, so to have them on board as well is pretty good.

Interviewee: Yes, I'm gonna talk to Rohit Jigyasu. So, [00:42:23] will they - oh, I can ask him - but will they be also restoring houses? Or will they really be focused on training?

Interviewee: Training, purely training.

Interviewer: Yes. So your guys will be doing the actual work.

Interviewee: Yeah, exactly. And [00:42:38] what else - there was something about ICCROM I was going to tell you? ...... Yeah, I think that really covers it really for ICCROM.

Interviewer: OK - it was just just useful to see how it all fits together.

Interviewee: Yeah, so many strands and components, [00:42:53] in the EU. You know, it's not just that so many other strands - you know they're obviously interested in this sort of employment and youth employment particularly. I mean it's like civilization projects, you know, it's like stabilizing in terms of the economy [00:43:08] and peace building and all that kind of stuff. [00:43:28].

Interviewer: Yes, on the principle that youth with time and no prospects on their hands tend to get involved in dangerous stuff - you can see why.....

Interviewee: So, so far, as much a disaster as that could be with a bunch of youth, like you know, basically - I think what we're basically doing it in 129 to 130 rotations. So based on the number of houses, we have a certain number we can absorb per house, right? And so otherwise you end up flooding the

site with [00:43:43] a bunch of people that haven't a clue what they're doing. So it's just finding that balance where there are professional people with people who're not sure, but once they're taught, they can go ahead. So, in terms of - you could say, well, is that going to slow the contractor down, or is that going to speed [00:43:58] them up? And basically, effectively some kind of an equilibrium happens there and it's effectively the same in terms of time frame. So yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah. Okay, good. Alright, I think that was everything. I was going to ask you, and that's [00:44:13] the been so helpful, and I do appreciate you're really, really busy. So, thanks for taking the time to answer and to have a chat with me ....

Interview concluded with a few more remarks and thanks from interviewer.

<u>**Transcript of Interview with Dr Rohit Jigyasu**</u>
Project Manager, Urban Heritage, Climate Change & Disaster Risk Management Programme Unit, International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM)

7th May 2021

<u>**Summary**</u>: -

Minute(s)	Subject(s) covered:
1 - 5	Discussion on changing conceptions of heritage value in post-colonial situations.
6 - 11	Consideration of the concept of authenticity, given changes that may have occurred to buildings over time, and the way that heritage values are continuously being remade.
11 - 13	Discussion on the modules for training architectural and engineering professionals and making them aware of the need to understand values based on peoples' appreciation of heritage, and how to handle stakeholders.
14	Agreement on the need for consistent terminology, certainly within the project.
15 - 23	Interviewee clarifies the two training tracks, for professionals and craftspeople, and discusses the practical aspects of training crafts people, including the research necessary to identify appropriate master craftspeople to act as trainers and the ways in which building practice have changed over time.
24	Confirmation that there are crafts guilds and associations in Mosul, and that the projects may help in their revival.
25	Discussion on timings and delays.
26	Conversation on the choice of buildings to form the focus for reconstruction and case study works, and the need to be flexible to integrate opportunities, for instance bringing in home owners who are willing to invest in their buildings as part of returning to the city.
29 - 32	Discussion on additional initiatives by ICCROM to engage local communities through community cafes, and by bringing in community mobilisers.
33	Confirmation of the project evaluation processes, to be made public in due course.
34	Confirmation that there are community and civic society groups, but they are not strong, and it is hoped that the reconstruction project will be a vehicle to develop their capacity.
35 – 37	Discussion on the concept of 'building back better' in order to mitigate against future physical and social risks.
38 - 39	Discussion on landscape and the importance of nature for city dwellers.
40 – 41	Discussion on the value of heritage for memory and association.
42 - 44	Discussion on the UNESCO design competition for Al-Nouri Mosque.
45	Interview closes.

Interview:
Interview starts with introductions and Interviewer describes research.

Interviewee: I liked in your email is something that I really appreciate that. [00:00:22] we can't go with, you know, those high-end conservation principles where we think about only preserving physical fabric; we have to address heritage in a very different way when we are dealing with [00:00:37] post-conflict recovery, you know, and it's more than just a physical reinstating physical fabric. So, I think that's something which as you said UNESCO is coming [00:00:52] to terms with that. But still I feel like they still face a lot of resistance, some among their own, internally, but also some from those who are, [00:01:07] you know, still kind of, how do I say, much staunch heritage preservationists as I would say, you know,

Interviewer: Yes, that's a really interesting point because ..... I was working out that it's a bit of a corner that has been turned for [00:01:37] UNESCO in that they are, you know, it's a much more people-focused an approach and its approach is focused on what I would call working heritage, living Heritage rather than monuments. Yes, but also .... very operational [00:01:53]. But you know, I think you're absolutely right. I feel it that there is that now a change of emphasis, and I was reflecting on this, there was something that Gemma (Houston) had said when she was talking about the houses, there were working on and saying, oh, they're only [00 :02:08] 18th century as if that was a sort of an apology for that. And I've heard other people talking about it and saying, oh, we conservationists aren't really interested in this kind of stuff, when in fact - in my daily work I am dealing with buildings right up - built [00:02:23] right up to the 1980s and they are heritage, and they all have to be adapted and made usable because that's the only way that they will stay in use and be looked after. And I was just thinking is this some kind [00:02:38] of a - it feels to me like a - colonial Legacy of, you know, very early on, for instance, in places like Iraq, only the pre-Islamic heritage was really valued and, you know, there was always an emphasis on, you know, Nineveh [00:02:53] and the big archaeological sites. And actually even medieval fabric wasn't seen as particularly interesting and it feels like maybe the systems in Iraq, perhaps, are moving - have had [00:03:08] to move past that sort of approach as well. But that the actually we have to have - there's a more fundamental rethink of what heritage is, which is, as I say (part of) daily experience elsewhere, but perhaps in somewhere like Mosul needs to be encouraged [00:03:23] and worked through.

Interviewee: Yeah, exactly. I mean, cultural heritage officially is under Ministry of Antiquities, and the way they look at heritage is much, you know, rooted in [00:03:38] colonial thinking where you you kind of somehow recognize, you know, what is associated with that great civilization, you know, all those Nineveh ruins and all that. So [00:03:53] so it's a kind of a dichotomy I would say because on one hand, you have belief in heritage, in a very kind of, you know, like what comes from ancient past. The other hand, [00:04:08] you have another extreme end where you know, architects and engineers and all those built heritage building professionals have absolutely no education in heritage. So you are actually [00:04:23] dealing with two extreme positions you see? And it is very hard to to kind of find a balance

and this is exactly what we are encountering because when you see, our participants [00:04:38] are mainly from ... with the background where they have, absolutely no clue on heritage. I mean, they are all trained in architecture and engineering and planning, but all in a very, you know, like only thing that they know and [00:04:53] are taught is about contemporary building, you know? And then if we have and when we deal with all these officials, from the Ministry of Culture and all the others, [00:05:08] I mean for them even in Mosul they look at it in a very 'okay, what are the archaeological findings inside in the in the city of Mosul?' .....

Interviewer: Which is interesting but not the whole .....

Interviewee: Yeah. Interesting because its a completely [00:05:23] different perspective isn't it? And then, and then, you know, sometimes I end up with this very strange kind of conversations where they say, 'Hey, you are working on this - so maybe now you can reveal some of those ruins, because it is all [00:05:38] out - there is a deletion.

Interviewer: Yes let's get rid of those pesky buildings and let's see the archaeology!

Interviewee: So, I hear your point is absolutely true. And [00:05:53] we are are kind of trying to achieve this balance, which is not easy. Now, I will add one more thing here. This whole thinking that there is something very pure [00:06:08] existing from the past is also a fallacy, you know, because there's nothing like that. I mean, in fact, any heritage structure, even that which is recognized officially has gone through so many additions [00:06:23] changes, alterations. A lot of their physical fabric. As, as I also mentioned in my lecture, is pretty new. I mean, you have RCC [reinforced concrete] or concrete slabs.

Interviewer: Yes, they were in your pictures.

Interviewee: I mean, in that case, even if you want [00:06:38] to go with the strict notion of what you want to preserve, you can't simply do that because there's nothing existing in that way. So, you know, that's why an emphasis that we also put in our training is that you, of course, have to learn [00:06:53] about traditional building technologies and traditional constructions and how do you repair them and restore them. But you also need to learn about contemporary construction at the same time and you have to have - because at the end, I always believe [00:07:08] that, you know, we end up with this very wrong kind of thinking where we try to kind of put traditional versus modern. You know, as to tradition is good and modern is bad [00:07:23] or, you know   .... And it's actually at the end between good construction and bad construction.

Interviewer: And compatible construction?

Interviewee: And compatibility and that is what I was going to say. [00:07:38] So you go with new constructions but do it well. But most importantly, see how good new constructions can sit together to old constructions. How do you make - you know - if you part of your building is historic, and you're going to make

a, [00:07:53] you're going to restore it and add a part of it, then, you know, your challenge lies in ..... you can't really, it's impractical to build it exactly how it was used to be before because material will not be available, you know, the technology will not.   It will not be economically [00:08:08] affordable also. So, you may be constructing a part of the fabric in using new materials and technologies. So, the important concern for us is how do we stitch them together in a compatible manner and that [00:08:23] one has to really, you know, learn.

Interviewer: I know I couldn't agree with you more. It's part of I suppose that thinking about Heritage in terms of the idea that Heritage isn't the product, [00:08:38] it's actually the process and it is - I think you had a diagram of - the Future Part. You know that the past, the present, the future and actually we can't compartmentalize the past; it's all part of the present and the future. [00:08:53] And I think if you're working with heritage, you kind of know that. But obviously - I think feels to me that sometimes that you have to present some of these ideas to audiences who perhaps might never have thought like that. And possibly [00:09:08] people with a general interest or people with this sort of idea of purity in mind. And I was actually thinking about this earlier and the word purity came to me, that people have an idea of the purity of heritage, which as you say rightly is illusory.   [00:09:23] Maybe I think there may be a purity in what heritage evokes and the sense you have, and a sense of connection but it isn't necessarily the physical fabric that is exact, and you know still there, because often [00:09:38] behind the building or behind the structure there is a world of changes.

Interviewee: And you know another thing is that it is also .... [00:09:53] you are in the process of rediscovering heritage continuously. That process, some new values are being created, you know. Also, you can't, you can't just always [00:10:08] keep certain values described at a certain period of time because we have to accept that we are in a situation where recovery is also a process of redefining different way values in a different way than in the past, [00:10:23] you know, and that process of redefining is as important and how do you engage people in that process of redefining is also very important, you know. And these engineers and architects have to be very well aware [00:10:38] of that and have to learn that.

Interviewer: Yes. Thank you. So that's kind of the .... that's some of, some conceptual stuff I was going to ask you about, and that's really helpful. In practical terms, how do you think [00:10:53] you will help these professional Architects and Engineers to take out on board these ideas. I know you mentioned training in what you're calling the soft skills. How easy [00:11:08] do you think that's going to be and how do you think you're going to make it take hold?

Interviewee: Right. You know I didn't show in my presentation all the different details, the different modules that we are developing. [00:11:24] So one of the modules that we are giving a lot of emphasis on is what we call context analysis. And when we talk about context analysis, it's all about understanding [00:11:39] the socio-economic and institutional and

environmental context in which you are operating. And understanding the conflict, and positioning heritage in that conflict is as much of an important part of your, your learning, [00:11:55] than, anything else. And we are actually giving three weeks only to that. In that process we also learn about who are the different stakeholders? What are their interests in heritage? What are the power dynamics between [00:12:10] stakeholders? You know, because you need to know all that. And then, very importantly, skills of negotiation, skills of consensus building, and skills [00:12:25] of decision-making - inclusive decision-making. It's easy to say, it's very difficult to do, but that, that is ... really important for them to recognize, you know. So, they don't [00:12:40] come across as decision-makers who know all what has to be done and just impose them. We want them to be very conscious of this, and only way we think we will be able to do that is if we can really give them all these [classes] [00:12:55] you know, and we keep on hammering that in all the time. So that's what we are hoping to do. But at the start of our training, we will know how difficult or easy it's gonna be. [00:13:10] It's hard to undo your five years of training and practice later on into something which kind of changes the thinking process. Because a lot of problems as you know, is rooted in our education system, right? [00:13:25] And it's not only in Iraq, it's in many parts of the world where we have - and I as an architect also in India, didn't get that kind of education. So you come up with these big egos as architects and engineers in decision-making.

Interviewer: I won't say I haven't [00:13:40] seen them because I have, yes! I've done some teaching and I think decision making ... that's actually just something that comes with practice. It really is to my mind, a practical thing, you know. [00:13:55] I've been practicing for many years and and I can see people at different stages of experience, who will start out being very strict, saying no to everything...... You know you've got to get a broader [00:14:10] appreciation of what you're dealing with. And I try really hard to get to student to understand the decision-making process ..... I use a lot of case studies when I'm doing that. To my mind that's the way to do it to show them the absolute variety in the scenarios where you can [00:14:40] test these ideas often against things that don't fit the pattern. So you really have to think quite hard.

Interviewee: Yes. And I mean, in this, in this process, you know, we also have to revisit some of those terminologies that we use. [00:14:55] You know: - restoration, reconstruction, rehabilitation. We get lost in all these different terminologies. And I think it's very important to have a very clear understanding on, [00:15:10] you know, on this. And we want to also in this process be clear because people use these terms any way they want. And even in this context, you have to, [00:15:25] you have to redefine them, you know what I mean?

Interviewer: Even if even if it's your own project's use of the term, as long as you stick to them and use them consistently. I think that's because, you know, conservation, preservation, rehabilitation, [00:15:41] they mean different things to different people.

Interviewee: Exactly we can never achieve this kind of global consistency, but for your own project, in a certain context, you can certainly have a certain consistency, right? I mean that's important [00:15:56] to define.

Interviewer: Yeah, and I think you showed us a slide of your different levels of intervention and the terms. So I guess you stick to those as part of your training……   I'm just going through my [00:16:11] questions if that's okay. ..... There's the practical element of the training - is that something that comes under your remit or does that then move on to the UNESCO [00:16:26] schemes and are they using apprenticeships. Are you feeding people into these?

Interviewee: So how we have divided our project is that we have one track which is going to be [00:16:41] with these professionals. Yeah, right, and there we are mainly working with these major monuments and their surroundings, you know, the Al-Nouri [00:16:56] Mosque and the three churches and and the surrounding kind of areas, which is a part of one part of the project, which is funded by UAE, you know?   Well, so that's one. The second [00:17:11] part [is working with] crafts persons that we have trying to work with Gemma. And for that we are [visiting] the houses being reconstructed as part of the EU [00:17:26] project. So the thing is why we have this is - of course, there are other kinds of more higher kind of reasons for that - but we also feel that the crafts persons need much more practical hands-on [00:17:41] learning at the site. And so it's much more useful than they are actually getting this apprenticeship while being on the real project.   And since the real project is going on with the EU on these [00:17:56] houses, we are going to connect it much more strongly with these live projects. So that these Master Craftsman, that we identify for different building skills, are going to learn these skills and then immediately, [00:18:11] apply them in the in these houses for which the work is going on. For the other one we work much more for the track one with professionals - we work much more in a more, let's say, in a more [00:18:26] conventional manner where you have classroom lectures, and you then go and do some field exercises and then, you know, maybe in between they will work on some [00:18:41] of these ongoing [projects]. Because you know the thing, the difference is also because track 2, which is what Gemma is managing, is much more the project which is going on at the moment.   [00:18:56] While I think the first one is really a lot of mine clearing. There's also a lot of, you know, pre-project, kind of thinking things going on, so it's not possible for them to really learn. While, you know, they can [00:19:11] learn a little bit on stabilization and all those techniques of documentation and all that, but the real hands-on work they can only learn if there's the other project.

So that's how we are trying to do it but at the same time we want to have a kind of connection [00:19:26] between these two tracks. So even if they are going separately and we have different target audiences, we want these architects and engineers to also develop a kind of - you know - they [00:19:41] also need to work with these crafts persons. So what we are trying to establish is that at certain points, they will work together, there will be meeting points for them. So these architects and engineers will be invited to [00:19:56] where these crafts persons are learning, and some of

those decisions they will have to review and look at as professional decisions, you know? So that's because ultimately I mean they all have to [00:20:11] know each other well and have to learn to work with each other

Interviewer: And that familiarity of speaking to crafts people is probably important. One thing I've learned since I've been when I was teaching and I had to go out and talk to at, [00:20:26] you know, expert crafts people who do things like traditional building techniques here, like timber framing or thatching. Actually, these people are incredibly knowledgeable about the buildings and the way they are put together because they spend their entire life looking [00:20:41] at a very fine level at the work - they can tell you the date of a piece of timber, say, just by looking at the shape of the tool marks. So actually, sometimes it's okay to just say to them 'look, you know what, the right thing to do is here, so [00:20:56] you advise me'. And actually build up those levels of trust is important, I think.

Interviewee: Levels of trust, and I also think, and you're not coming from my part of the world is another problem and that is a lack of respect. [00:21:11] Because they are treated, you know, for all the social reasons and all those other reasons, they are treated like a labour you know, and all their knowledge is not [appreciated]. So, they're supposed to just follow the orders and [00:21:26] and they have a lot of knowledge actually but and they use that knowledge but tend to use it more intuitively and from their own proactive kind of place. But we want architects and engineers to respect [00:21:41] a lot of that knowledge that these crafts people also built from their own practical experience, you know? And I myself have in practice I've also realized that engineers come with all these solutions and then [00:21:56] on the ground crafts people will know what will work, what will not work you know?

Interviewer: I was visiting a fairly big repair project the other day and you go and look in detail, and they've done this here. they've done that there - I don't remember it being exactly specified, but they've done the right thing in response to the materials that they have in front of them. And I think most projects will always turn out to be slightly different on the basis of what people have actually done when they were working. [00:22:26] How easy has it been to find the sort of master craftspeople who can do these sorts of teaching and tutoring roles?

Interviewee: Okay, so.... [00:22:41] what we have launched before we launch our training - we are actually going to do this very detailed assessment of who's existing, where this is, what is not there. You know, even looking at their socio-economic background, [00:22:56] whether, you know, some of them have moved away from the city. So we are also looking for expats who have - I would not say expats - those who have migrated out of the city. So yes, and we want to use this as an opportunity to also bring some [00:23:11] of them back in case you know they find it safe enough and because if they get some opportunity to earn money. And we are hopeful that some of them may like to even come back. You see? So [00:23:26] in order to identify these crafts persons, we will be basing it on a very thorough assessment that we have at the moment.

Interviewer: Yes. So there was a question I suppose about [00:23:41] quality assurance of the work, but I guess you are building that in ....

Interviewee: So what we are doing in this assessment is also to learn in this assessment [00:23:57] what are the best practices. Because you see one of the challenges we find in many parts of the world, I think everywhere, is that traditional knowledge gets degenerated over time. And what you think of traditional is actually [00:24:12] really something there where a lot of those skills have been changed, you know? So we want to really go back and also understand what is what were the original skills, you know? Maybe they've started [00:24:27] to use different materials over time or you know, compromised ......

Interviewer: Yes. Just a quick follow-up question about that - are there in Iraq or in Mosul any sort of craft associations [00:24:42] or guilds that would be helpful involved, you know for the future sustainability of the initiative? I don't know what the story is, what the infrastructure is.

Interviewee: Yes. In fact, there were very interesting guilds and also [00:24:58] they had specialized craft markets, you know, where the crafts will be pretty sold. So the thing is that that whole social fabric has been destroyed because of the conflict.   So as part of our assessment we will know what is still there and if we can build on some of that. And if so we will be always conscious that we must use that. But again, it will [00:25:28] be known only through our assessment and then, and then we will definitely try and make use of that.

Interviewer: Okay. So in a way, you could actually be helping to rebuild those sorts of institutions by providing the centre of [00:25:43] gravity of people and interest. Okay. That's really interesting. So I see your two tracks for this are slightly different time frames, aren't they? I get the impression you've already started [00:25:58] with track 2 and the practical work, because obviously the houses of the EU funded project are underway and - just to confirm the track one you're still working up and doing the investigations [00:26:13] - is that right?

Interviewee: Well both track one and track two we haven't lost any of those tracks yet. Both of them will be launched by June. We are in the process of making all the preparations, [00:26:28] but we will launch them by the end of June.

Interviewer: Okay. And presumably everything's delayed by ....?

Interviewee: Yeah, but I think actually that we were going to do this project last year.   But, you know, [00:26:44] you know what's happening!

Interviewer: Yes of course, everything's suffered basically, sure. Okay thank you. So, I had a few [00:26:59] more practical questions about how you .... do you have any involvement in the choice of the buildings or areas you work on or are you sort of led ......?

Interviewee: [00:27:18] Okay? So this is a very interesting question because it is, you know, it's very easy to say OK this is being offered by UNESCO and let's take it.

Interviewer: So, are you able to you do your own thing, is the question?

Interviewee: Yes. So [00:27:34] we are a bit conscious of the fact that it might not be seen in a nice, good way by the community. Because, you know, you want to then only concentrate on on certain buildings and you you can say are you are going to support UNESCO [00:27:49] project in a way you know......... Well, having said that we also know the fact that they are the sites that are readily available and there the logistics will allow us to do that. But what we're trying to do is a kind of a combination [00:28:04] of both; we are using some of these sites which are used by UNESCO for their projects, but at the same time, we are also trying to use other sites all over the city for [00:28:19] some practical exercises. You know, if you have to document, we divided them into four groups and and it's - they can go to look at one house, which is not part of the UNESCO project, you see? And we feel that overall we also are very much conscious [00:28:34] of how the community sees us, you know?   And so we want also to kind of - for example we came to know that there is a homeowner in the Old City who is very willing to invest [00:28:49] and that person is not living in the city but he's an expat, and he is ready to invest. So what we want to do is okay, well, this might be, this person is ready to invest and if he can also buy in to some of those exercises [00:29:04] and things there and he gives us permission, we will give back to him all the kind of things that we have done and in a way he will feel this is something that, you know, he's gonna use. So we are doing this kind of a combination.

Interviewer: [00:29:19] Okay and just yes, I thought I got the impression you had your own sort of projects outside the EU ones. So how are you tapping into local knowledge and responses? How are you finding out? Are you going out in a sort [00:29:34] of an engagement exercise or are people coming in to you?

Interviewee: So yes, we have already organized a few meetings with the local community in their, in their cafes, you know? But as an outsider and, you know, they have these very interesting cafes there, [00:29:49] where people come and talk and chat and have hookah and .... conversation.   So we have we have tried to build the kind of relation with these cafes and [00:30:04] have started to interact with the community at different levels. Having said that it's not easy to know what the real are situation is, right? If you come from outside, I mean, maybe they are good entrepreneurs and some of people, some of those people are left behind and [00:30:19] we are not able to reach out. So we have - you are always looking for the subtle things we don't know and and as part of our project we are also actually getting on board a few local community mobilizers we [00:30:34] will be hiring because we want them to be part of the project and they will know, you know, the internal dynamics of the community. Because otherwise, we are only outsiders coming in, that will never know, right? So that's [00:30:49] okay.

Interviewer: That's pretty sensible, and presumably if much of your, well your entire, cohort of trainees are also local, maybe they bring knowledge in with them as well.   That's [00:31:04] really interesting. So yeah, because sometimes I suppose you have to go for the right building to make the right training opportunity .....

Interviewee: Yes, and I always feel that this project it's like something where - it's like a story that evolves [00:31:19] and you cannot write the story from beginning to the end - you take a little bit of that narrative and the narrative will then have to take another direction based on how you move, no? When we do the briefing to everyone, we say, well we make this plan, this is how he wanted to do it, but we have to be very agile in our thinking and be ready to take a different course [00:31:49] if things work in a different way.

Interviewer: Yeah, and maybe seize opportunities in fact? Yeah I'm sure that it's very fluid like that and hopefully also seizing opportunities perhaps to extend the project or the value of what you do. [00:32:04] as you go along. Okay, that's really interesting. .... So I've been looking at the the slides you [00:32:19] presented us with - you seem to have some very clear process documents and plants, you know, there's clearly a lot of planning going on at the moment. Do you have an evaluation plan as well? You have that yet?

Interviewee: Yes, we will be doing evaluation every six months, okay? And then of course, after every module we will take evaluation from our participants. So this kind of monitoring and evaluation is very much embedded in the project proposal itself. [00:32:50]

Interviewer: Yeah, it's a very clear the diagrams, they are suggesting that - so it is very well-organized, of course! But you have you identified - I mean, I think you mentioned that something that you were [00:33:05] going to do is identifying key indicators. Have you had a chance to do that?

Interviewee: We had done something before, but we are in the process of revising it. But we are definitely having key [00:33:20] indicators to assess where we are, are we achieving what we wanted to do? And so we will I see how it goes, but we're revising now. But yes we will have them.

Interviewer: [00:33:35] And will any of this information be publicly available at any point?

Interviewee: Yes, of course.

Interviewer: Because it's really interesting obviously from my point of view.   [00:33:51] I just just asked about that ...... Are there any sort of local volunteering or civil society groups who are interested in this or [00:34:06] have any potential to be involved?

Interviewee: Okay, so we will be looking for that. But at the moment, we don't want to ..... we don't want to kind of get people [00:34:21] on board until we are firmly in the process of rolling out our....... Yes, because we, but in this

process, we will be always open to invite volunteers and engage [00:34:36] them and a lot of them will come from the participants themselves, I will believe. Because you know, one of the criteria is that we want participants from Mosul, so they are actually out of the city and they will be our, you know, messengers, let's [00:34:51] say, to even galvanized some community activities, you know from there?

Interviewer: So you need that critical mass of stuff that you're doing to sort of then generate that perhaps?

Interviewee: Yeah

Interviewer: It's probably early days - this is one of [00:35:06] the features of studying how things are as they happen, is that some things are yet to happen. Okay, we had a good talk about the sort of conceptual aspects. Yeah. [00:35:25] Interesting - perhaps we could just have a quick chat about your 'building back better' as you suggest. I guess we sort of touched on it. It is very interesting to see that the UK government has pounced on that phrase. I think you must have thought of it first, but they mention it quite [00:35:40] a lot.

Interviewee: Yeah, so I think I also mentioned I feel that that's a very important thing to keep in mind when you are involved in the recovery process because this is also a chance for you to bring out some changes, positive changes. [00:35:55] And when I say positive changes, they can be both in terms of the improvement in physical concerns - you know reducing vulnerability, let's say, you know in physical terms whether it is in terms of how you build [00:36:10] constructions maybe in a way taking into account all the risks. And you know this is also an opportunity for us to look at other risks that the city might be facing. You know we tend to focus only on conflict recovery, you know, but this is an [00:36:25] opportunity for us to think about all these other risks that the city might be faced with. And then, you know, also for example, improve accessibility where it is not there, you know, but of course in a way that, you know, doesn't compromise on [00:36:40] the traditional physical fabric, nor morphology. But at the same time maybe you need to provide access to emergency services if something happens and, you know. [00:36:55] So that's one thing. And then of course [there is] social vulnerability as well, you know, if you, if people need livelihood opportunities and they need places for social interaction, then this is also [00:37:10] an opportunity to bring out those things which are needed for the community. And so we are very much taking into account both protecting the values as much as you can and then [00:37:25] reducing the vulnerability. And that reducing the vulnerability and building on the capacity is something, which is really build back better principle for us.

Interviewer: Okay. Thank you for that. And is this is this something you sort of thought about [00:37:40] you introduced in Mosul? Or is it something that's been important in previous projects that you've done?

Interviewee: Yeah, it's very much embedded in our process in our thinking from the beginning, and in fact, If you have an opportunity do [00:37:55] look at a

document, we produced called 'Heritage and Resilience'. This was done with UNDRR or UNISDR as it is called. That's a whole document, which is available online. And our [00:38:10] primary idea was that we want to look at both vulnerabilities and capacities as an important aspect of, you know, of reducing disaster risks. And we have just Incorporated that [00:38:25] principle in the recovery process as well. So, this definitely comes from that thinking we have been employing in other projects,

Interviewer: That very much chimes with some of the theory I've been reading, which is [00:38:40] that you have to .... heritage on its own, it has to be linked in with the social benefits, the benefits for people.   Otherwise, if it's just an empty project as you could call it, it won't have [00:38:55] that same level of acceptance or value to people as it as it's restored.   So yeah that's that's really interesting. I hope it is okay to go on. [00:39:12] Thank you.   Here's just a slightly out there question ......   I had a chance to talk to somebody called Jala Makhzumi, who's a landscape heritage expert. She's from Lebanon. She was talking to me about the value, [00:39:27] well, first of the natural environment - and I know it's mentioned in your presentation. And so there's a question about how it will be possible to either, I suppose, strengthen what natural resources there are within the city, all to create links [00:39:42] to the peri-urban area. But also she talked about landscape in a different sense - the spaces between buildings, which in the Middle East is such a very strong arena for social interaction, and sometimes you know, actual transactions, [00:39:57] economic transactions, and the actual importance of the public realm in towns like this. And have you got any opportunities, to recognize, to strengthen, to treat, to manage to improve that. Also, just one of the things she [00:40:12] mentioned, even tiny, patches of nature, in terms of trees, can be hugely valuable for people. She talked about Amedi in the north of Iraq, and how everybody seems to have a pomegranate tree outside their house, and the huge value that it is to that household.   [00:40:27] So any of those things - are there any opportunities ....?

Interviewee: Definitely, I mean, even if you go back to my presentation, you will see that I started with looking at different elements or attributes of the city and and those attributes definitely include open [00:40:42] spaces, hard landscapes, soft landscape elements as well.   And they definitely need to be part of the story, no? And of recovery and definitely will be there, yes.

Interviewer: Okay. Thank you. [00:40:58] Also another - tangential - something different. So ...... you were talking about [00:41:14] the issue of memory and the validation of ..... the memorial value of some of these buildings and sites. And the creation of new memories as well. How in a practical sense, how do you think [00:41:29] you will be able to do that in in the project?

Interviewee: In the recovery planning process - so of course, one is in the process of identifying, [00:41:44] the values, and, you know, value assessment as we call it. So that's one thing. And that in the recovery planning process, how to integrate that assessment of values? We have the decision - if you take, in terms of what [00:41:59] uses you want to put in or what kind of you know, interventions you want to do and how you want to do, are all going to be

determined on this element of, you know, memory in this recovery process, no? [00:42:14] How do you integrate that? So it will be always there right from assessment onwards and ....

Interviewer: part of the process? Okay. Thank you for that. These are all really interesting [00:42:29] aspects. I just have two more questions, so ..... One was obviously the UNESCO .... this is just a complete aside ..... I'm just really interested in your view on it - the UNESCO competition for the rebuilding of the Al-Nouri complex. .... They obviously announced the results a week or so ago, a couple of weeks ago now and I'm already seeing some sort of criticism of that.   And also, I think I'm Gemma mentioned [00:43:14] the backlash and I just wanted to know your view on this kind of, you know, that the approach ..... It's been couched as modernism versus traditionalism in some of these criticisms I've seen. I just wondered - not for quoting or anything - what you thought about the [00:43:29] winning design as a matter of Interest.

Interviewee: Yeah. I mean, I'm a little bit also wondering like, how much of that community engagement process has been built into this decision as [part of] the design. So [00:43:44] I question the process and I am not clear, how, what is that process, you know? So, one is to see what the proposals are, but I would be very much concerned about the process, how they arrived at it, and I would question that.

Interviewer: [00:44:00] Okay. Now, this is just interesting because I am sorting through and thinking about those sorts of reactions to it, which is quite interesting. And the last thing I was going to ask was, is there anything [00:44:15] from my research that I can kind of help you with, that I can offer you.

Interviewee confirms that he would be interested to read the finished work, and that he will be creating a database of researchers working on Mosul with a view to future cooperation. The interview concluded with a few more remarks and thanks from interviewer.

# Appendix 6: The Al Nouri Mosque design competition

The architecture of Al Nouri

The significance to Mosul of the Al-Nouri mosque and its minaret Al-Hadba is immense and based on its historic role, geography, and visibility, rising above the buildings of this low-rise city in many views. It also includes the largest area of open space within an otherwise extremely densely developed area. In straightforward heritage terms, the site and its uses are extremely old. However, as examined above, it is in human terms that the site achieves its greatest resonance both as an iconic symbol for the town and touchstone of memory for its inhabitants. There is probably no greater signifier of this than the story that the first attempt by ISIS to destroy Al-Hadba was blocked by a human chain, at great risk to those participating (UNESCO 2020 ii)).

Al-Nouri Mosque site post destruction and clearing, but pre-stabilisation, showing the surviving section of the prayer hall. (UNESCO 2020 (ii)).

Understanding this building begins with the plans by Friedrich Sarre and Ernst Herzfeld from 1911. They show a major congregational mosque featuring an enclosed prayer space and large courtyard to accommodate the large numbers attending. The internal hall is a large and broad hypostyle space, with a *qibla*[1] wall, the wall which shows the direction to the Ka'ba in Mecca and thus the direction of prayer (in this case south) marked by one large central *mihrab*[2], *the* prayer niche found in religious buildings indicating the direction to the Ka'ba in Mecca, providing a focus for prayer, and a number of supplementary ones for those whose view of the centre would be impeded by the rows of columns. In the west wing was the mihrab relocated from an earlier Umayyad mosque. The position of the main mihrab and qibla are marked externally by the presence of a conical dome supported by octagonal structure set on a rectangular central chamber. The geometric difference between the two structures is negotiated internally by four pendentives, one at each corner of the ceiling, which, a photograph from the 1930 faintly indicates, were adorned by *muqarnas*[3] vaulting, sometimes called stalactite vaulting, which is composed of small arches arranged on top of each other forming a decorative design akin to honeycombs. There is a raised platform outside the prayer hall, and an external mihrab to guide those praying al fresco. In the courtyard sits an earlier, rectangular ablutions fountain, the sabil[4], predecessor of the current octagonal structure.
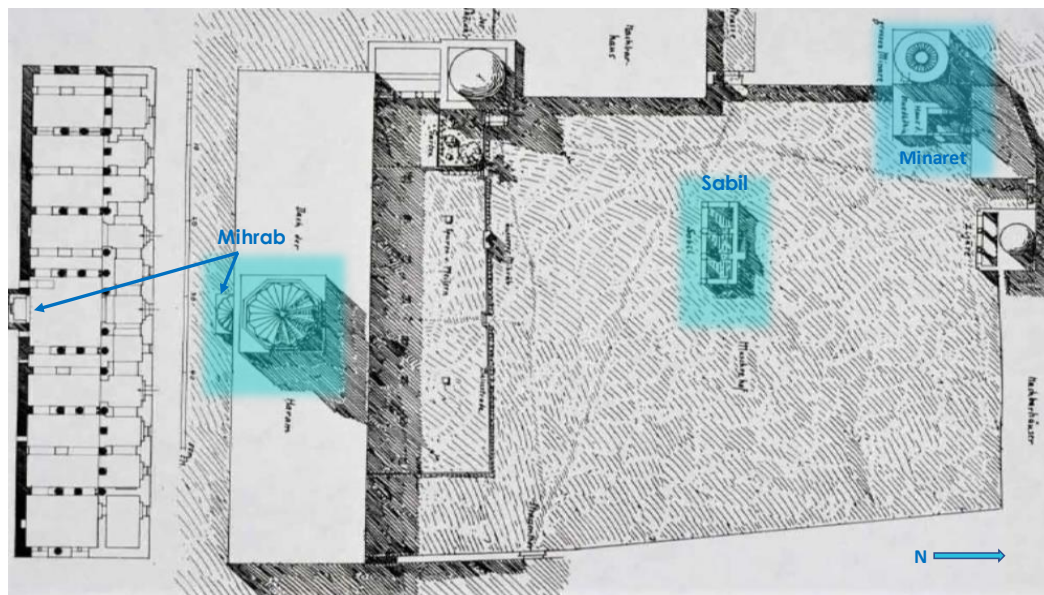
Serre and Herzfeld's 1911 illustration of the complex, reproduced in UNESCO 2020 (ii) with my additional annotations.

[1] Islamic Art Foundation, Definitions of Islamic architectural terms.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

The octagonal Ablutions Fountain, left, dating from 1925 and proposed for restoration, with the base of minaret behind it to the right and the stacked architectural remains in the foreground. The remains of the prayer hall lie to the left of this viewpoint. (UNESCO 2020 (ii)).

Photographs reproduced in UNESCO 2020 (ii)
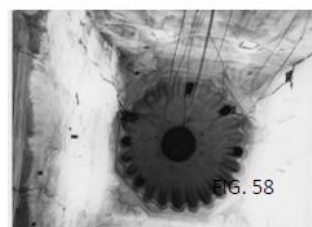
Written accounts of the evolution of this structure are very limited. However, from the plans and photographs reproduced in the UNESCO's architectural brief for the competition, it is possible to see that it was the result of several phases of extension both northwards into the courtyard and probably eastwards and westwards too.

The picture at the lower left, looking upwards into the dome in the interior of the prayer hall, gives an indication of muqarnas vaulting in the corner pendentives. Also visible are examples of the octagonal columns, some of which were re-used in the subsequent rebuilding.
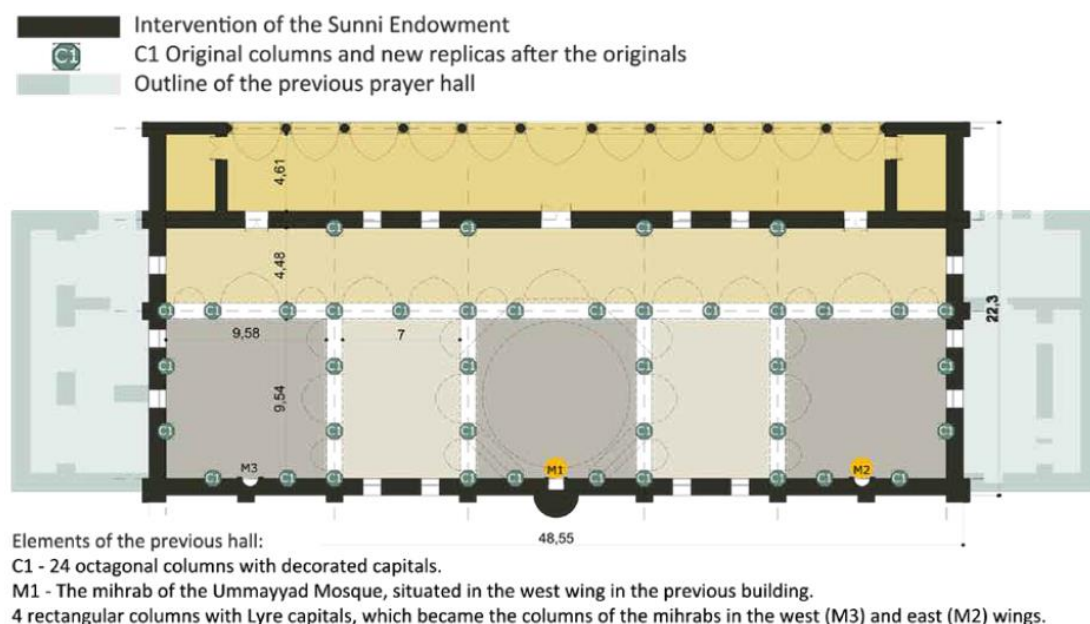
The surface finish of the building is not completely clear, but appears to be rubble walling on the southern, external facing, long elevation, and rendered on the internal facing north elevation, marking the difference between the most functionally

important face of the building, to be seen by those praying inside, and the less important back.

In the 1940's, the Sunni Waqf undertook the complete rebuilding of the prayer hall, creating a structure of lesser length and greater depth, with a colonnade on the northern side – replacing a structure lost in the late nineteenth century – and a hemispherical dome replacing the conical one (there was then and remains an unsubstantiated belief that the original dome was hemispherical, UNESCO 2020 (ii)). It is possible that the new structure contains more extensive surviving parts of the pre-existing sturucture than simply the columns – the available literature is not clear about this, and it may not be a matter of record[5]. For instance, retention and remodelling of the masonry of the rear long elevations would not be unthinkable as a mean of saving time and resources in preference to complete reconstruction.

Construction was carried out in stone masonry with reinforced concrete forming the flat roof structure – both can be seen in the photograph of the remains of the Al Nouri Mosque above. Elements preserved from the previous structure included twenty-four octagonal columns with decorated capitals, the *mihrab* of the Umayyad Mosque, relocated to the centre of the prayer hall, and four rectangular columns with Lyre capitals dating from the late nineteenth century, which became columns of the *mihrabs* in the west and east wings.

Legend:
Intervention of the Sunni Endowment
C1 Original columns and new replicas after the originals
Outline of the previous prayer hall

Elements of the previous hall:
C1 - 24 octagonal columns with decorated capitals.
M1 - The mihrab of the Ummayyad Mosque, situated in the west wing in the previous building.
4 rectangular columns with Lyre capitals, which became the columns of the mihrabs in the west (M3) and east (M2) wings.

Plan of the Al-Nouri Prayer Hall prior to destruction. UNESCO 2020 (ii)

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[5] Indeed, vaulted subterranean rooms possibly used for ablutions were found under the main floor of the prayer hall in 2022. See https://youtu.be/pYdp7Inonew.

The Competition

Al Nouri

At the heart of UNESCOs architectural competition was the reconstruction of the largely destroyed prayer hall to its 1940s form, subject to three key requirements; that it recreates externally the building that was there prior to destruction; that the surviving fabric is retained and integrated into the new building, with which it should be structurally compatible; and that the interior of the building provides re-organised and improved internal spaces to include a VIP area and new women's prayer area. The competition documentation, including the responses to two rounds of questions from potential competitors, was emphatic about this, and clear that this was responding to the wishes of the community of Mosul (UNESCO 2020 (iii)). Surviving architectural elements from older phases were to be integrated into the reconstruction where possible, and where not, to be displayed on site.

The phase of the Al Nouri Prayer Hall chosen for reconstruction under the UNESCO competition is thus itself a modern reconstruction. This choice, a response to an unambiguous local preference, is also a logical and pragmatic response to anti-reconstruction arguments which sometimes raise questions about what state a building should be returned to, I would suggest, disingenuously. Here the familiar structure valued by citizens was the 1942 construction and it is the appearance and surviving fabric of this, plus fragments of older phases, which are the focus of recovery on the site.

There may be physical challenges to this approach; for instance the reinforced concrete roof slabs had been introduced at a time when this was a novel and unfamiliar construction technique possibly resulting in sub-optimal practices such as the use of contaminated aggregates or poor coverage of reinforcing elements. Survivals of this construction may be hard to salvage and re-use. New works might beneficially employ an alternative approach in the interests of future stability, and it remains to see whether this will be proposed as technical details of the reconstruction proposals become available. However, the historic stone masonry walls offer an opportunity for creation of a more stable, traditional style of construction which can support training in traditional building skills and perhaps provide opportunities for salvage and re-use of stone rubble from earlier phases within the new structures. Archaeologically it is possible that the stone walls of the 1942 building incorporated elements of previous phases, and so their retention is a significant response to the retention of historic fabric given the level of destruction.

The other physical challenge would be the integration of historic architectural elements, themselves integrated into the 1940s rebuild, to ensure that they make a meaningful architectural contribution rather than presenting a mosaic of fragments. Pieces such as the historic columns and over one thousand other fragments have been recovered, indexed and stored by the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, and happily the Ummayad mihrab is said to survive.

The wider site

Aspirations for the remaining part of the complex were for the introduction of new functions, which would create, in the words of the brief, a peaceful, tranquil place for worshippers and a vibrant vital centre for the community (UNESCO 2020 (ii)). The proposed new functions were to be hosted in newly designed or rehabilitated secondary buildings, with the additional benefits of securing the repair and re-use of the various historic houses on site. The uses include a substantial new mixed school, a Higher Institute of Art and Islamic Architecture including 8 classrooms for up to 25 students and a library; and a Festivities Hall seating up to 200, and with a stepped auditorium hall for lectures, preaching and lessons, equipped with all the latest accessories and a projector. More workaday facilities would include offices for administration and security, and an ablutions and WC building.

Little was said in the brief regarding the Tomb of Al Nouri, a shrine to be rehabilitated and opened, along with other ancient tombs, as a *ziyarah,* a place of pilgrimage, with associated facilities. Whatever survives of this place of presumably ancient origins is not clear and so it is not possible to assess its significance in heritage terms.

The former open area to the north of the mosque was to be redesigned as a multi-functional space including use for prayer during the summer, outdoor community gatherings as well as quiet contemplation. Landscape features anticipated in the brief include trees, pavilions and *sabil* - water wells and fountains. The *sahn*[6], the formal courtyard of the mosque, continues to be, as it has been historically, the largest open space within this densely developed city centre (UNESCO 2020 (ii)). Maintaining a restrained recreational and social use would thus have value to the city.

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[6] The court of a mosque whether it be opened or closed, Technical Glossary of the Islamic Art Foundation - http://www.islamic-art.org/glossary/Glossary.asp?DisplayedChar=17

The Competition Result

At the heart of the competition was an open call for proposals based on an anonymous design submission. The governance approach followed normal transparent practice for open international competitions as set out in the International Union of Architects (UIA) recommendations (UIA 2017) which have been updated to respond to increasing numbers of competitions for increasingly complex projects on a city-wide level, including development, planning and urban regeneration. The objectives of this guidance are stated to be to emphasise fairness in evaluation, quality and innovation, set against the challenges of sustainability and climate change.

The competition result was announced on 15th April 2021, with the winning entry coming from a team of eight Egyptian architects and academics experienced in heritage rehabilitation projects. Their press statement suggests a good grasp of the intentions behind the architectural task, as they welcomed the results of the competition saying 'Our team worked with high passion to submit a project that primarily addresses the need for social cohesion and revival of souls' (UNESCO 2021).

At the point of writing in 2014 only a small number of images have been reproduced of the award-winning design. One, below, is a 3D rendering of the site from an aerial perspective looking north-east to south-west across the site. It shows the space between the restored prayer hall and minaret filled with a grid of pavilions covering the open space, trees and vegetation glimpsed through the gaps between them, and canopied *sahn* added to the mosque. A new entrance from the south, initially following the line of the historic thoroughfare, runs through a tree lined avenue and gateway, although its path through the site is not entirely clear until it exits again, now passing by the east of the minaret. Various pools and fountains are evident, although of the octagonal ablutions fountain, there is no obvious trace. The historic houses to the north and west are shown retained, with houses 8, 9 and 10 incorporated into a number of new buildings, their functions as yet unidentified. On the face of it there is compliance with the competition brief.

Aerial perspective of the winning competition entry, UNESCO 2021 ©Salah El Din Samir Hareedy & team.

A more human perspective on the winning design is shown in a second image, where the viewer is placed at ground level, looking into the site through a new western gateway, towards the viewpoint of the minaret. The largely new buildings on this side of the site rise to left and right as a set of interlocked forms in a calm and contemporary brick, pierced with simple rectangular window and door openings and relieved and linked in places with pierced screens in what appears to be some kind of unglazed ceramic. While thoroughly modern, they evoke very well both the forms of the tightly packed town around them and the traditional brickwork of the minaret, in a subdued composition which emulates without attempting to imitate and does not compete with the important historic elements of the site. In these respects, and from an external perspective, this appears to be a very successful approach, to non-local eyes at least.

Ground level perspective of the winning scheme, UNESCO 202 ©Salah El Din Samir Hareedy & team.

Debate regarding modernist versus traditional approaches to design in historic areas can become unnecessarily polarised; sympathetic solutions to a site of this kind will often lie somewhere between the two, able to respond to character without simply copying existing designs, in a contemporary manner but without jarring. From the few images publicly available at present, the winning design, while definitely not a copy of the traditional townscape of the area around it, is hard to characterise as assertively modernist either. Rather it appears contextually driven but contemporary. Matters such as planting (non-native palm trees) or signage (in English) on the outlying buildings, which have been criticised, are unlikely to be anything more than indicative at this point in the design process.[7] This site was not simply a chunk of historic townscape like that around it; it had had its own distinct character, including an extensive garden area, unusual for Mosul. The newly designed complex similarly needs its own distinct identity and mix of uses if it is to repair the city and fulfil the needs and expectations of Moslawis through delivery of sustainable value in environmental, social, cultural and economic terms.

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[7] I have personally seen conceptual design drawings in planning discussions for major development sites in London featuring surprising numbers of palm trees. It is taken among professionals to be the case that such drawings are also used to engage potential funders or even future residents, but also that the development will not feature these elements in real life. This is not necessarily obvious to local residents.