The University of Nottingham

Department of Architecture and Built Environment

The Role of Local Participation in Decision-making Processes of Built Heritage Conservation

A Critical Analysis of the Role of Local Community in the Current Revitalisation Process of Erbil Citadel

Mohammed Awadh Jasim

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Nottingham
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2018

To those who taught me,

To those who care about science

ABSTRACT

Present-day conservation policies of built heritage have undergone dramatic changes, shifting the policy-making mechanism from being deep-seated in the site's decision-makers towards granting genuine opportunity to its local communities. For the decision-makers, built heritage is regarded as a cultural asset of the site, with a consequent touristic potential for the entire place. This has increasingly induced many conservation policy-makers to dominate the conservation policy formulation, thus marginalising the role entrusted to the locals in the process, making it unable to achieve its goals. Accordingly, heritage global charters started strongly recommending involving the local communities in such processes due to their insightful vision in boosting diverse cultural-related potential to achieve different cultural-led goals.

Within this context, this research attempts to indicate the role that local participation can play in enhancing the site's cultural values in order to serve these goals. In particular, the study explores how the local community of Erbil Citadel in Iraqi Kurdistan can boost a series of decisions made by the current revitalisation policy-makers on its built heritage, particularly the decision to demolish the Babylonian Gate. In fact, the revitalisation policy delivers an array of goals that set the site's cultural assets as a keystone to achieving them, which in return have sparked resentment of some locals, considering them a source of concern that may threaten the site in the long run. Consequently, local participation here is expected to deepen the revitalisation vision in how to involve and simultaneously maintain the site's cultural assets in its decisions. In order to meet this aim, the research adopts a mixed methodology of qualitative and quantitative techniques, and thus aims for triangulation of the data so as to increase validity and reduce subjectivity to a minimum. Through the decision of the Babylonian Gate, the research indicates that local participation is unable to demonstrate a concrete contribution that really can support the revitalisation policy. It lacks a critical contemporary reading of those cultural assets of the site that can re-display them in a more feasible performance that can be more responsive and fit with the site's present-day issues on both urban and architectural levels. The research suggests that although local communities can make possible contributions by referring to the diverse cultural potential and values of built heritage, still their views need to be taken into more thoughtful consideration by conservation policy-makers before forwarding them to the implementation stage.

Key words: *Local participation, Top-down policy-making, Decentralised conservation policy-making, Authenticity, Integrity, Outstanding universal value, Cultural significance, Islamic architecture, the Babylonian Gate.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to say that this research would not have been completed without various professional efforts. Foremost, I extend my gratitude to my supervisors, Dr. Laura Hanks and Dr. Katharina Borsi, for their evident scientific efforts, critically inspiring feedback, guidance and superb supervision throughout the journey of this work.

Secondly, I would like to thank the Department of Architecture and Built Environment and the Hallward Library, the University of Nottingham-UK for the excellent facilities that I have been provided with while working on this research and in different scientific and humane aspects.

Finally, I would like to thank all of those participants who have contributed to making this research come into existence.

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PUBLICATIONS DERIVED FROM THE RESEARCH

Jasim, Mohammed Awadh and Hanks, Laura and Borsi, Katharina (2017) *Do really the audience's views efficiently boost built heritage conservation policies?* Athens Journal of Tourism, 4 (4). pp. 283-306. ISSN 2241-8148

Jasim, Mohammed Awadh and Hanks, Laura and Borsi, Katharina (2018) *Repercussions of singularity of site authorities in making heritage conservation decisions: evidence from Iraq.* Built Heritage, 2 (1). pp. 77-91. ISSN 2096-3041

Jasim, Mohammed Awadh and Hanks, Laura and Borsi, Katharina (2018) *When Marginalising the Role of Local Participation in Heritage Conservation Policies: Evidence from Erbil Citadel*. Heritage & Society (coming soon)

PREAMBLE

To begin, it is pertinent to point out the practical and academic relationship between the researcher and the case study (Erbil Citadel), which may stand as one of the motivations behind selecting this built heritage site to be investigated here. *Practically*, the researcher was part of the site revitalisation process between 2007/8 as a Senior Architect within the High Commission of Erbil Citadel Revitalisation 'HCECR', which is assigned by UNESCO to run the process. In fact, this position granted the researcher the opportunity to work on drawing the architectural and urban plans of the site and demonstrating its historical and cultural values (including its cultural history). In addition, the researcher delivered some talks about the cultural importance of the site for some global delegations who desired to sponsor its revitalisation. All of this facilitated discussing in-depth the site's diverse issues, particularly those directly linked to its current revitalisation process, with different characters who are from the HCECR's team or those who are global delegations, which may have enabled the researcher to be close from some of the study's key debates and themes.

This prior experience gave the researcher a greater understanding of the site's deep history tracing back to its cultural roots, socially and architecturally, and consequently assimilating its thorough historical-cultural map. This also aided the researcher in identifying some of the site's key issues (and consequently obtaining more evidence about them), particularly those that currently seem controversial within its revitalisation. Some of these issues are, for example, the decision to demolish the Babylonian Gate of the site, the policy of the Buffer Zone including its suggested Green Belt surrounding the site, and the step of Evacuation of the site. All of this assisted in developing, even initially, a brief assessment of the upcoming cultural panorama that the site is going to witness. This subsequently helped the researcher to give priority to the decisions that should be investigated first here.

Academically, as a member of the teaching staff at the University of Koya (in Erbil city where the site lies), sharing this realistic experience with the local academics and students of architecture has helped in receiving more academic views regarding these issues. In fact, the advantages of including these academic views have firstly assisted in exposing the researcher to more theoretical contemplative narratives about the site, which subsequently lead to more searching within the architectural and urban heritage treatises. Such a step helped in establishing a knowledge base regarding the site, which aided the researcher to consciously

navigate around its cultural issues. Secondly, despite being raw material, these views gave the researcher an initial vision regarding how those issues are seen academically, which might be seen differently from the vision of the local community of the site who possesses some sociocultural ties with this built heritage. This also helped in enlarging the choice of the "participants of the study", leading the researcher to incorporate different samples of the local community, as indigenous and non-indigenous of the site, and academic and non-academic individuals.

INTRODUCTION

The research aims to explore to what extent the locals' participation of built heritage sites can assist to better construct and develop heritage conservation policies in a wider framework that can tackle different sociocultural issues within the site. It is argued that such participation would enable the site to be more responsive to diverse contemporary requirements of its local users and global visitors (Huang, 2006, Nicholas et al., 2009). To achieve this, the study starts with a review of the literature to construct a platform of knowledge whereby the research thematic and sub-thematic issues will be stated consecutively. A rich body of literature is investigated regarding diverse cultural-tourist themes of built heritage in order to indicate the specific role that the local community can play in drawing the site's conservation policies, which may consolidate its future aims. Thence, to approach more the main issue of the study, the research looks into this role within Islamic built heritage based on similar themes, reviewing them within different key literature on Islamic heritage. This role, if taken a step-forward by the policy-makers, might offer real contributions to different Islamic heritage sites in general and to Erbil Citadel in specific, which therefore suggests some techniques regarding balancing the role of planning for such traditional environments (see: Chapter 2). In general, the literature highlights the importance of involving views at the grassroots level of the site whilst formulating its conservation policies and thus, merits further studies. In particular, this is clearly shown within numerous theoretical studies, such as Wager (1995), Taylor (2004), Aas et al. (2005), Huang (2006), and Nicholas et al. (2009), and different ICOMOS Charters and UNESCO Conventions, such as ICOMOS (1999), and ICOMOS (2013a), which robustly recommend efficiently engaging the local communities in the conservation policy-making.

However, despite strenuous efforts on the part of the theorists, the focus on the local community in dynamic participation still does not reach a satisfactory practical level (ICOMOS, 2004), particularly in some Asian heritage sites. Curbing the policy-making of heritage settings only by a self-centred scope of academics or professional practitioners has led to systemising a methodical process of repetitious decisions that have resulted in globalised conservation policies (Carlsson and Berkes, 2005). Continuing to grapple with heritage conservation policies in this way would undoubtedly lead to creating more difficulties in precisely understanding the background of the site as well as complicating the

manner of reaching its cultural roots, which is paramount to distinguishing a specific site from other sites that may reflect similar materialistic features. In light of this, many heritage studies, such as Timothy and Boyd (2003), Poria and Biran (2006), and Fisher (2006), show that the main purpose that most of the top-down conservation policies seek is the dynamic involvement of heritage socio-cultural values and historical events in the future plans of the site in order to serve two main aims: to create visitor attractions, which leads to heritage tourism. Another array of studies, such as Casey (2007), and Chapman (2008), emphasise the role of the audience in detecting these values and events. Therefore, the literature review ends with a discussion which shows that the local community, in some cases, needs to be interacting with the decision-makers while formulating the futuristic policies of the site (see: Section: 2.6, Chapter 2).

Secondly, there is still a scarcity of studies that empirically validate some real contributions offered by local communities towards conservation policies that might annul the need for more research. Accordingly, the current research attempts to explore the role of local participation in consolidating heritage conservation policies in general, and the policies and decisions of the current revitalisation process of Erbil Citadel's built heritage in particular. Erbil Citadel is a built heritage site situated in Kurdistan of Iraq dating back to the fifth millennium BC (MacGinnis, 2009), and is currently witnessing a revitalisation process that perhaps requires real local participation, which will be detailed subsequently (see: Chapter 3). If the inhabitants value these traditional built environments differently from heritage practitioners and academics, their contribution might be valuable for the site. Therefore, the study moved forward towards detecting the potential beyond the local participation in formulating heritage policies, distilling the local experience of engaging the local community through that, and emphasising the current problems in local participation in the Citadel's revitalisation project (see: Chapter 3). Thereafter, the focus shifts towards demonstrating the concerns raised by the local community concerning those revitalisation decisions. As such, analysing and discussing these concerns will be undertaken through focusing on the local visions and interpretations, and on each decision separately, and according to what the criteria of the research permit here.

Nonetheless, the local community is consulted here retroactively/retrospectively upon the revitalisation policy-making of Erbil Citadel as a step that aimed to underpin a series of decisions drawn by the formulation stage of the revitalisation policy.[1] This is justified through the evident local opposition towards these decisions, which argued that real engagement with the local community, particularly those indigenous inhabitants of the site, has faced a number of difficulties that will subsequently be revealed (see: Chapter 3). This also encouraged the researcher to conduct this study within two steps. The first step focuses on primary research, which is designed with the desire to understand the attitudes of the local community as a main stimulus and motivation for the study, followed by an in-depth step of data collection. Through the first step, a clear image of diverse information and motivations is documented about these attitudes, which enabled the subsequent step from detecting different cultural issues of the site without imposing a certain typology upon the participants that may lead the research findings to falling into a state of subjectivity. Furthermore, it facilitates a clear categorisation of data collection among the research participants, thus avoiding any subjective impacts that may influence the research data resulting from a conflict of interests among the site's decision-makers, for instance, that has been explored during later stages of the data collection.

The criticisms and views expressed (negative and positive) by the local community regarding the revitalisation decisions are prioritised in order to comprehend the actual change local participation could make to the whole policy. This requires a particular methodology that is able to tackle different qualitative information and quantitative data to deeply reveal some related socio-cultural issues surrounding the Citadel's built heritage, and consequently the revitalisation policy. To this end, the research adopts a mixed method platform of qualitative and quantitative techniques (see: Section: 1.4, Chapter 1). However, the qualitative technique will take a bigger proportion in this methodology in order to attain its aims, including revealing the introspection of rich values and meanings rooted in the site and overlapped with or mediated by the local community. Therefore, as commonplace, realistic research would

[1] Though some studies on the site refer to them as main "steps" of the revitalisation policy, the research considers them as "decisions" due to different crucial reasons. For instance, different local and global heritage parties have partaken in making these decisions, in addition to the huge budget that each one requires besides their robust impact upon the future of the site, which receives noticeable reactions locally. Above all, the ICOMOS Doha (2014) has explicitly referred to one of these steps, which is the suggested location of the KNM Museum in front of the site –inside its green belt-, as a decision that it is directly connected to the site's decision-makers and thus needs to be well considered by the current revitalisation policy (see: Section 7.3, Chapter 7 for more details).

accept that the qualitative research process will often struggle against subjectivity, as it involves people and their feelings, emotions and opinions. As such, the researcher strives to be as reflexive as possible in order to prevent subjectivity from influencing the study and its results in addition to aiming for triangulation of the research data in order to increase validity of the findings.[2]

Thus, the foundation of the study relies on the increasingly significant role the local community plays and on different levels of reading built heritage's diverse social meanings, cultural values and historical events. This is to understand the deep interrelatedness between these traditional built environments and their residents, which compels the researcher to efficiently consult the locals when constructing heritage future policies. This is for the possible contribution that can be made to the policy, such as developing a long-term conservation plan based on delicate understanding of the site's historical and cultural layers by its inhabitants that can serve different aims, including the tourist destination of the site. More importantly, some Islamic heritage sites, such as the case of Erbil Citadel, are developed on the ancient material and immaterial cultural layers of pre-Islamic civilisations where the role of their local communities are perhaps constructive in revealing those layers (see: Section 3.2, Chapter 3). Whereas the local community is able to contribute sufficiently to the mechanism of identifying and developing heritage cultural and tourist potentials, and particularly and as locally argued, the current policy of revitalisation lacks critical investigation regarding these potentials. Therefore, the real investigation of these issues starts with displaying the local criticisms raised against the policy, categorising them into main and sub themes to facilitate their analysis and discussion afterwards.

The study aims at supporting the theoretical and practical fields of built heritage with genuine contributions regarding how top-down policies are assimilated by a bottom-up reading of the site's local communities. The locals' views may contribute to the shift whereby the site's cultural values may re-display or even re-define the built heritage through new historical and cultural settings. A plethora of reasons underlies this. Firstly, by exposing the top-down policy to a bottom-up critique the research's inductive quality will be boosted while the restraints of its results will be understood. Secondly, by following a bottom-up investigation,

[2] What might be supportive for both reflexivity and triangulation is the level of knowledge that the researcher has about the site's issues due to his previous role as a Senior Architect in this project.

the top-down views of the policy-makers would no longer affect the transparency of the findings (Beltran, 2000, Castro and Nielsen, 2001). However, that does not prevent the review of some top-down data concerning the raised problems, which enables the scrutiny of these problems from different sides and thus, they will be openly investigated. In light of this, the research also seeks to scrutinise what has been established by the literature in that local participation is always fruitful and supports the conservation policies with what is more constructive.

The scope of the research is confined to investigating local participation only with respect to the central raised matters against the revitalisation policies. In other words, the study attempts to consider the most important decisions the revitalisation policy-making brings with it, which locally are considered to be contentious, and which mainly led to the decision of demolishing the Babylonian Gate 'BG' of the site, (the key issue of Chapters 4, 5 & 6). Furthermore, the debates and arguments regarding some other decisions are also summarised and suggested as future studies by the researcher (see: Section 7.3, Chapter 7). This provides an opportunity to unleash the bottom-up reading to re-review this decision before initiating the implementation stage of the revitalisation process, particularly the majority of those local people who were found to have been marginalised in the whole process.

Accordingly, the research further contributes through re-directing the whole policy formulation stage of the revitalisation project towards re-engaging Erbil Citadel's local community who was not categorised within the different positions of the policy-makers, and therefore perhaps deserved a more fitting title in this process (see: Chapters 4). If a variety of studies, such as Timothy and Boyd (2003), and Poria and Biran (2006) state that conservation policy-makers frequently work on employing the cultural value of a heritage site to serve some tourist ends, the endeavour of the revitalisation policy-makers attempts to support the whole cultural value of the site in order to serve the tourist goals as an essential destination (Brammah, 2009b). To this end, the policy strives to fortify the site against any additions that can be seen as reflecting a negative impact on its historical and cultural values (the decision of the BG: Chapters 4, 5 & 6).

In return, the pertinent relationship between the site and its inhabitants is expected to help the latter to make real contribution to serve this decision. Furthermore, its roots extend to involve diverse historical-cultural values, such as authenticity, integrity, outstanding universal value

‘OUV’ and cultural significance, and the literature showed the efficiency of the inhabitants in demonstrating such aspects. In fact, this reasoning is one of the main motivations that led the researcher to focus and prioritise this decision among a series of decisions made by the revitalisation project. The discussion of the findings about the role of the local community in supporting this decision comes with unexpected findings that firstly assist in identifying the barriers that impeded the dynamic involvement of the indigenous of Erbil in the first stages of the formulation policies of the revitalisation.

Finally, the above discussion enables the research journey to move towards stating its final conclusion, which in is essence is to show that subjugating the local community’s views to critical investigation of deep rumination by the conservation experts, before promoting them to a higher level of implementation, is crucial. Submitting to the truth that the local community’s views can make real contributions to heritage conservation policies, and embedding them as an essential part in these policies, may lead to adverse results. In addition, regardless of whether it is a top-down or bottom-up judgement, self-interpretations constructed by a superficial judgement may steer the whole policy towards destructive outcomes (see: Chapter 7).

CHAPTER ONE:

Problem Definition and the Research Methodology

1.1 Problem Definition and the Research Question

Starting from the case study, Erbil Citadel is a fortress tailored from diverse cultural values and historical events composing its rich built heritage as the heart of Erbil city. It is regarded as the oldest continuously inhabited citadel throughout the world (see: Figure 1.1), and some recent archaeological, historical and cultural studies define the site as a piece of built heritage teeming with diverse cultural values. Archaeologically, Erbil Citadel is considered by MacGinnis (2009) as a genuine and unique archaeological treasure. This is owing to its potential for providing:

> A complete sequence of stratified material stretching from the modern age back to the dawn of time [;] its legendary status as the world's longest continually occupied city means that it has the potential to address major gaps in our knowledge. Erbil was founded at least eight thousand years ago and appears to have been continuously inhabited since that time. [Therefore], there is every reason to believe that the site contains remains from every civilisation of Mesopotamia –from prehistory through the major cultures of ancient Mesopotamia and on into medieval, Ottoman and modern occupation (p. 14).

Historically, the site 'is a unique survival of the very earliest type of town and the only chance to walk the streets of a town as it would have been [thousands] of years ago', which gives evidence that 'human beings first learnt to live in urban settlements in Mesopotamia' (Michelmore, 2009b, p. 4).



Figure 1.1: Erbil Citadel as a cultural built heritage, an aerial image for the site in 1951 (Huszar, 2009a, p. 91).

Culturally, the property, and due to a synthesis of literature, such as HCECR (2008), Progetti (2012), UNESCO (2013b), and MacGinnis (2013), is a rich cultural composition of diverse potentials of historical events, ample traditional urban components and Islamic architectural vocabularies that should be an inspiration for any conservation process. What deepens its cultural features perhaps are the tangled urban uses of three sectors of residential zones (*Mahallas*), overlapping with the other public and religious buildings in addition to an organic system of alleyways among them. These features are reflected upon the cultural values of the site, granting the site its distinct urban character that makes it different and worthy of being considered a legitimate power of physical capital that should represent the place permanently. Accordingly, this built heritage represents a core aim for the local authorities to reintroduce the site globally, and to redevelop the entire place, relying on redirecting the site towards the global tourism more than tying it to its current traditional residential character.

This top-down strategy draws upon the contemporary vision deduced from some recent studies that reinstate built heritage as a permanent process of construction of values and events in the present-day cultural life based on its ability to constantly generate meanings (Waterton, 2005). In fact, this characteristic is presently widely utilised when drawing up the site policies which serve some tourist interests, and also contribute to regenerating its urban vicinity. As a consequence, the site can be employed as a local economic resource, acting, in Su and Li (2012), and Kaltenborn et al. (2013) words, as a new strategy of place-making catalyst which aids the entire place. This top-down approach consequently gives primacy for the site authorities to control the policy of the current revitalisation process.

However, some of the literature, such as Stewart (2003), Rodwell (2007), and Huang et al. (2012), point out that the authority control on the conservation policies often results in an incomplete methodology of drawing comprehensive decisions. This is attributed to either the inefficacy of how to avail from the traditional social resources of the site comprehensively, or confining introducing the site to the visitor on displaying what is materially tangible from the heritage only, because they are easily read by the visitor. In other words, more top-down efforts are exerted on maintaining the built heritage's physical ruins, but less on its memories and bygone events, and in all cases there is a marginalised role for their local communities (Taylor, 2004, Aas et al., 2005).

In fact, applying such a top-down tourist vision upon the Citadel is somehow contentious as it firstly results in condoning the authentic residential traits by which the site is principally and globally defined. Erbil Citadel is deemed to be an unparalleled site for its persistent local human experience as a residential property, dating back to the fifth millennium BC, revealing its local community's diverse social values and habits at different periods of time. It depicts an integral structure of a sophisticated sociocultural language of local conventions and norms that have filtered through different generations who have successively inhabited the site (Buckingham, 1971, Kasab, 1999, SOITM, 2013, UNESCO, 2013b).

Secondly, it condones the deep relationship between the site and its inhabitants, consequently underestimating the role of local participation in constructing the site's overall conservation policy. In this respect, '"there is a vast body of work that demonstrates that [] the views [of the] local communities in the third World countries [where the Citadel lies] are rarely heard"'. The notion of 'listening to the "lowers" clashes with the common situation of authoritarian top-down views by the politically powerful [site decision-makers]', considering those "lowers" as '"people outside the plans"' of heritage revitalisation (Hampton, 2005, p. 740, 743). In fact, what reinforces the gap between the local authorities and community of some heritage sites is the conflicting vision towards the modern techniques that the decision-makers often seek and the traditional methods that the local community frequently offers in formulating heritage policies. For the authority, the modern technique 'equals progress and the ideal to strive for, [while] the traditional is equated with backwardness or even "primitive"' (p. 749). Such gaps limit heritage rejuvenation from being more comprehensive. Consequently, it discourages the local community from efficient engagement in planning their homes as if they were 'seen as being "backward"' (Ibid, p. 749).

However, the Citadel is 'powerful [] in the memory of its inhabitants [that its] significance...is [also] given by the stories, feelings and relationships that the inhabitants...have with [it]' (HCECR, 2012b, p. 9). Thereby, the local community should be prioritised in emphasising the local meanings and traditions being deeply experienced of the site and they are inherently a part of its massive structure (Taylor, 2004, Jedlicki, 2005, Waterton, 2005). Built heritage is culturally rooted in the locals' social environments and integral to their daily traditions, enabling them to demonstrate its diverse cultures, meanings and bygone events in line with its physical tangibles in a case of wholeness and verbatim original state (Jokilehto, 1986, Harrison, 2013).

Therefore, their local participation in formulating the revitalisation policies and decisions of the site is essential for a fundamental point that will now be explained. The cultural privacy of built heritage is undoubtedly 'considered as a being, a social construction..., its particular meaning and significance are in fact created and then shared by a particular human society' who are the local community of the site (Hampton, 2005, p. 738). Their voices should be 'a start…point' (Ibid, p. 740) in drawing these policies and obtaining new measures through exchanging views, which can assist in refining the entire policy (Blandford, 2007, Kim et al., 2007). Hence, the question that might emerge here is: *how can local participation consolidate the top-down decisions in order to draw efficient revitalisation policies that can support Erbil Citadel's cultural issues and powerfully activate the site to serve its tourist destination?* The research endeavours to critically analyse the strengths and weaknesses in one of the current decisions of the Erbil Citadel revitalisation process regarding this built heritage, but through the lens of the local community. As a consequence, it involves an array of sub-questions aiming at fulfilling an overarching aim in addition to a series of sub-aims.

1.1.1 Research Questions:

The overarching question is:

- How can local participation consolidate the top-down decisions in order to draw efficient revitalisation policies that could support Erbil Citadel's cultural issues and powerfully activate the site to serve its tourist destination?

Some sub questions, throughout the whole issue of the site, emerge as:

- How and why the gap between the bottom-up views and the top-down objectives should be bridged when making built heritage conservation decisions?
- How and when exclusivity in formulating heritage conservation decisions by the site authority lead to prejudiced outcomes?
- By what means the top-down policy-making of heritage conservation lead to politicising heritage cultural values?
- In what way the public views efficiently boost the reconstruction of conservation policies and the industry of architectural heritage?

1.1.2 Research Aim and Objectives

The research overarching aims:

- As a main tool in the formulation stage of the policy-making, to explore the role that local participation can play in supporting the efficacy of the conservation policies of built heritage sites.
- Breaking the rule of top-down decision-making and involving the bottom-up views so as to crystallise unified flexible decisions regarding conservation policies.

The research objectives:

- Emphasising that assigning the power of the revitalisation decision-making to the site authorities is essential sometimes.

1.2 Rationale of the Study

As a Senior Architect working with UNESCO/HCECR[3] on the site's revitalisation between 2007/8 (see: Figure 1.2), it can be argued that the issue around the whole policy of Erbil Citadel's current revitalisation partially stems from the revitalisation policy-making itself, in particular, the rigorous approach taken by the site authorities towards the formulation stage of its decisions. This requires investigating, on the one hand, the essence of the revitalisation policy and its futuristic goals for the site, as well as what kind of impact local participation can have on supporting the policy on the other. To achieve that, several steps need to be undertaken. Firstly, the causes behind the need for the revitalisation of the site should be disclosed, whilst specific emphasis should be given to its current series of decisions. Secondly, the role that both of the site's local authorities and global experts of conservation will play, particularly in the formulation stage of making the revitalisation decisions, should be revealed. Thirdly, the role of the local community will be examined in terms of their vital input on the whole policy aiming at inferring some purposeful contributions and applicable suggestions that can reinforce the policy. More precisely, there is the hope of revealing to what extent local participation is efficient and able to make the whole policy more dynamic and comprehensive.

[3] HCECR: High Commission for Erbil Citadel Revitalisation

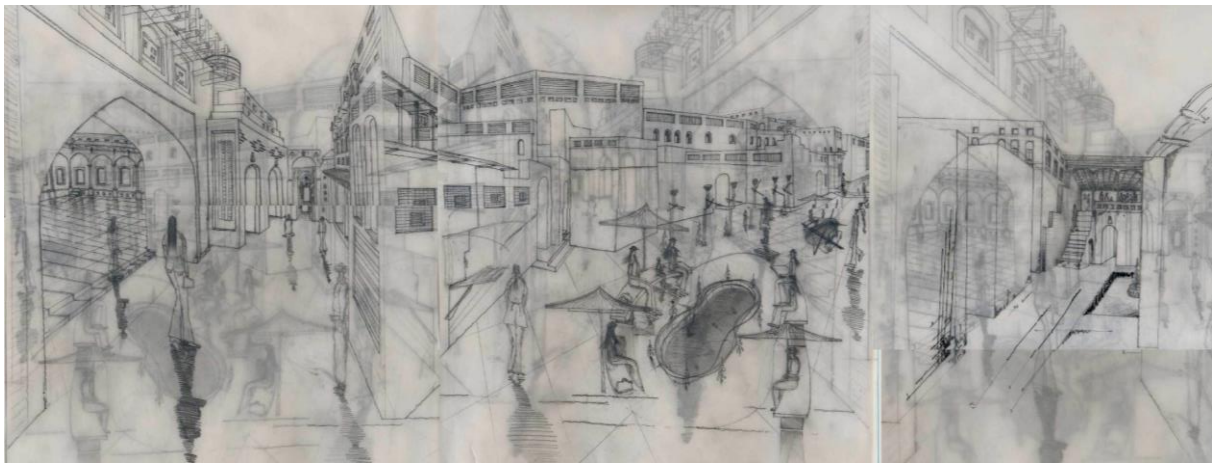


Figure 1.2: Future prospects for the Citadel revitalisation, sketched by the researcher in 2008 as a Senior Architect with the HCECR; source: site archival data

As the revitalisation policy's purpose is to dig deeply into the global tourist aim, it concentrates on demonstrating the site's tourist potentials. Accordingly, the policy mainly relies on detecting the spectrum of diverse cultural values that the site stands upon. As a result, the study traces the revitalisation method of embedding the site's cultural values and the place's historical events in order to build up the future of the fortress. As *cultural values*, the "origins" of the Citadel's urban settlement are regarded as one of the fundamental assets that contribute to the 'Mesopotamia history' (HCECR, 2012c, p. i), making the site 'an example of the development of the concept of living in urban settlements, a key contribution of Iraq to world civilisation' (Ibid, p. i). Furthermore, the multifaceted cultural story embedded in the mound-slop that the site rests upon also significantly enriches its cultural values to be considered as an outstanding value for the site, per se, for the diverse cultural merit it currently brings to this settlement. The mound involves a multiplicity of cultural layers, indicating the multiplicity of civilisations that have settled in the Citadel, which might justify its deep cultural history of thousands of years (Michelmore, 2009, ICOMOS, 2014) (see: Section 3.2.2, Chapter 3).

In addition, Islamic norms have also left different traces of influence on the current sociocultural, architectural and urban values of the site that mostly belong to its Ottoman period (UNESCO, 2015). For instance, the current architectural vocabularies, such as the *bent-entrances* of its residential units and their *inner courtyards*, and the urban configuration of the fortress, such as the *alleyways* including their inner meanders, are clear proof of these

norms, and are either assigned by them as a pure contribution of Islamic architecture to the site (HCECR, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c), or they are established by the site's pre-Islamic cultural layers and subsequently maintained by these norms due to their conformity with some sociocultural criteria that legitimise their continuity within the Islamic urban fabric of the site (Hakim, 1994).[4] In fact, these features left some unique social characteristics upon the site's individuals, such as the principle of "privacy", which are inherited from the ancestors to the descendants of the site to be self-maintained by its local community to this current day (Bornberg et al., 2006, SOITM, 2013). This, perhaps, is one of the considerations that highlight the importance of giving more priority to the site's indigenous people in making its future policies.

As *historical events*, based on Villard (2001), Neveling (2004), HCECR (2008), Novacek et al. (2008b), the Citadel has witnessed a series of notable events represented by different Empires throughout its ancient times and until recent times. Firstly, in the pre-historical period, many intangible historical events have introduced to the site different battles and political actions led by famous historical characters who dominated the settlement, such as Alexander the Great, who controlled the Citadel in the "Battle of Gaugamela". The relay of those historical characters on the site represents intangible events over its lifespan, including characters such as *Shamshi-Adad, Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal,* the King *Sennacherib* and then Alexander the Great, passing through the Kurdish leader *Begtegin*, and then *Muzaffar-al-Din Kokbari* who is a brother of *Saladin*.[5] In fact, despite the difficulty of identifying an inscribed physical influence upon the site of these historical events and periods currently, each of them left an intangible impact on the site, evidenced firstly through the continuous alterations to its name throughout history, such as *Arabales, Arbira, Arbailu, and Urbi-lum* until it became *Erbil* more recently. Secondly, the multi-layered archaeological-mound, which the site rests upon, is said to have concealed many submerged cultural remnants that perhaps maintained tangible evidence of those periods (Novacek et al., 2008b, Kehrer, 2009, 2010, HCECR, 2008) (see: Sections 3.2.1 & 3.2.2, Chapter 3). Thus, what is important here is how to identify an appropriate strategy that should consciously involve and re-display such values

[4] These sociocultural criteria are mainly inherited/generated from the Talk of the prophet Muhammad: "There should be neither harming [Darar] nor reciprocating harm [Dirar]" related by (Malik, 2/746).
[5] Saladin is a famous Islamic historical character who fought against Richard the Lion Heart.

and events within its future tourist policy for the site that can really acknowledge this built heritage globally.

More importantly, as the research mainly focuses on investigating the potential contribution that local voices could make to the decision to demolish the main gate of the site, it is fundamental that the current revitalisation policy precisely considers some cultural values and events that the gate has witnessed before proceeding with such a decision. This, in fact, facilitates, and simultaneously necessitates, a more thorough reading of the whole cultural story of the gate, which may entail enlarging its cultural frame to include some recent settings. As cultural values, its deep history witnessed different cultural epochs dating back to the Neo-Assyrian period, passing through its Ottoman epoch until the present day, and this is seen as adding great value for the gate. After some modifications to its architectural setting during the Ottoman period, the gate reflected a religious value for the site through its visual symbolic link between the site's central Mosque and the main Qibla of Muslims' prayer. As historical events, the gate told different stories, such as when it was employed to protect the site from some outside invasions, as with the Mongol invasion in 1258. In contrast, in its modern history, the gate has documented a significant political event, namely the previous Iraqi regime, which seemed no less important than the warlike Mongolian event (Brammah, 2009b, HCECR, 2012a, 2012b, 2014, SOITM, 2013).

To be adequately and appropriately inspired, these values and events need to be understood by the revitalisation policy-makers, and thus, it is requisite that the policy formulation stage should be both delicate and realistic.

Firstly, to draw up clear-cut policies, heritage experts have the knowledge of how to set up some protective measures and efficient decisions as a result of their extensive experiences of dealing with different issues of heritage sites. Secondly, however, to continue as a realistic policy, the indigenous of the site are more informative in relation to the deep understanding of the site's values and events as they assimilate them more flexibly over time. When dealing with this varied civilisation-site of Erbil a sense of wholeness is required with regard to these various values and events that have been witnessed throughout the generations, and which demand an efficient role of local participation in the revitalisation policy-formulation stage. Yet, the policy's overall aim sets the site's historical-cultural values as a tourist destination, but without real engagement of its inhabitants in such a process. Therefore, the research

endeavours to resolve this problem, not through suggesting solutions, but through scrutinising the local alleged motives and causes behind it. This in turn dictates the study follows a trajectory of three ends. Firstly, it reveals the grounds by which the policy-makers move forward to achieve the policy's overarching goal. Secondly, it investigates the objections against the methodology used to achieve this goal raised by the local community in addition to investigating some obstacles caused by the policy that is believed to impede the dynamic local participation in its formulation stage.

Whilst trying to avoid any misleading outcomes, the research distils the above three ends through inductive procedures so as to state to what extent the site's cultural values and events, and its physical setting, are introduced to the public.[6] Accordingly, the research reviews the level of singularity in the revitalisation decision-making process and simultaneously dissects the extent to which the site's diverse potentials are given primacy in this process as the site's revitalisation birthplace. The study does not judge whether the local community should be offered a similar opportunity to that given to the decision-makers, but rather the level of primacy given to the site's values and events during the policy formulation stage. However, the study also evokes what the literature suggests, referring to heritage scholars and global charters, regarding the significance of the mutual participatory role between the site's decision-makers and its local community at this stage, which is what the study foresees here. As a result, the research methodology charts a specific line in gathering and then tackling the data that is believed necessary for the methodology to fulfil the aims of the study.

1.3 Research Design and Scope

Designing a research study entails deciding 'how [to] formulate a research strategy; how [to] execute the plan; what issues may arise; how [to] make sense out of [the] findings; how [to] write up the findings.' (Nagy et al., 2011). It is to show how to clearly build its themes and indicate its main purpose through organising its story into clear routes. Based on the above series of questions and aims of the research, demonstrating different data that can assist in identifying the cause and effect related to each question as well as achieving these aims is essential for the research. To fulfil these aims, three thresholds are traced here. Firstly, a

[6] Induction: means the inference of a general statement from particular instances (see: section 1.4).

specific theoretical knowledge base is built and navigated by the contributions of the previous studies in the field. This threshold links the literature part with the next part, which is the real investigation into the role of local participation in supporting the revitalisation project's current policies. Secondly, an analytical framework is developed regarding the real issues of the Citadel through accumulating what has been raised locally as with-and-against views towards these policies. This entails investigating the role of local participation in each decision separately from the other within the revitalisation policy. As the research concentrates on the investigation of the potential role of the local views towards consolidating the decision of demolishing the Babylonian Gate 'BG', an open investigation into some purely cultural controversies mainly associated with this decision is employed here. In fact, the open investigation enables the research to revisit the gathered data at any time throughout the analysis and discussions, and regardless of whether these data are gathered from the site authorities or from the local community. Accordingly, the research encodes any controversies raised by these data into clear layers to prevent directing the investigation inaccurately. Thirdly, the overall outcomes and the specific results concerning each issue raised by the local community and each fixed aim by the policy-makers are discussed in order to evaluate whether local participation can really make a shift in the current revitalisation policy of the site. As such, each question and aim the research proposes beforehand will be clearly undertaken to the extent that it enables the setting of future suggestions and recommendations for similar studies.

As the research problems and aims, particularly those surrounding the issue of the BG, are mostly linked to some epistemological themes, the research employs an epistemological approach to track them. If this type of "philosophical belief system" is associated with certified truths rather than raw ideas (Cresswell, 2009), it therefore serves two ends. In general, the epistemological approach of the study assists in constructing a clear 'relationship between the research...and research participant(s)' (Nagy et al., 2011, p. 13), which is requisite for the data collection. This is pertinent in constructing knowledge related to the research main issues, such as the issue of demolishing the BG that receives some local opposition. Consequently, it also leads to strengthening some traditional cultural constants, such as authenticity, integrity, and cultural significance of the site, as related themes surrounding this issue through developing an intensive theoretical framework to sift and analyse the data regarding these themes. Through an epistemological approach, "nature,

origin and scope" of these themes would be well-established, enabling deep understanding of each (see: Chapter 4).

Heritage's authenticity and integrity, for instance, involve some criteria that have been critically debated by heritage specialists to be considered here as factual truths within the whole genre of the gate (Stovel, 2007, Zancheti et al., 2009, Nezhad et al., 2015). However, some of these truths involve what is material and immaterial; what is sensible and insensible; and what is measurable and immeasurable (see: Chapter 5). Accordingly, to precisely investigate that and maintain the research findings, employing an epistemological approach here facilitates intensifying a specific theoretical framework that can firstly assist with understanding and sifting through the material and immaterial aspects of these truths. Secondly, it is important to understand the nature and scope of these truths, particularly after analysing the gathered data, including any views from the Citadel's local community and the revitalisation policy-makers.

Authenticity, for example, demands investigating specific themes, which despite their comprehensiveness, are still tied to specific dimensions of built heritage that are categorised as material, constructive and expressive dimensions (Zancheti et al., 2009). Each dimension is based on specific realistic norms that, despite involving some immaterial aspects, make the overall investigation methodically applicable. Furthermore, the material dimension, which involves tangible/measurable aspects, is often set as a starting point when investigating the constructive and expressive dimensions (Nezhad et al., 2015). This may enable a more scientific methodology that relies upon particular norms in the investigation of the latter two dimensions, which involve different immaterial criteria, such as the social value that a heritage component may reflect locally (Rowny, 2004). This, in fact, gives more legitimacy for the research to adopt an epistemological approach while investigating the gate authenticity, which maintains the validity of its findings (see: Chapter 5).

Integrity, perhaps, does not stray far from this epistemological vision, and thus to be scrutinised through a similar methodology, particularly its general frame also syndicates conditions and criteria that combine what is material and immaterial when investigating its embodiment within a heritage component (Jokilehto, 2006a, Stovel, 2007). The investigation of integrity also involves some physical details, such as the wholeness and intactness of a heritage component, in addition to the non-physical, such as its ability to state the story of

why it is culturally outstanding (Stovel, 2003, 2004, and 2007). It allows for exposure to the locals' sentimental views regarding these two kinds of integrity of the scientific dimensions revealed by various heritage scholars, which also supports the findings.

Whilst the gate's cultural significance entails many criteria, such as 'the aesthetic, historic...social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations' of built heritage (ICOMOS, 1999), the greatest priority is given to the participatory role of the site's local people, which firstly challenges the transparency level of the research findings regarding this issue. Secondly, therefore, an equal distance between the researcher and the locals is required, as they make up the main part of the research participants, such as the "level of importance...of intimacy and duration" of the gate to the local community of the site (Kerr, 2013, p. 17). This targets local contributions to the investigation of this level, which consequently entails epistemological reading of their contributions seeking evidence that may justify the findings in this regard.

Similarly, the gate's OUV should be defined and tested through its "typological value" –for instance-, it should prove grounds that it is 'a piece of the history of a community...within a cultural area' (ICOMOS, 2008b, p. 8). Thus, it also sets up the locals, and their participation, as an essential aspect, which also necessitates an epistemological investigation into their views regarding some material and immaterial dimensions within the gate in order to maintain the transparency of the research findings. Finally, the research, including its findings and results, is influenced by different aspects, such as the participants of the study (the site's policy-makers and locals, including those professionals and non-professionals; and, the global experts on the revitalisation). Consequently, on the one hand, this entails a reflexive approach, which enables reflecting on their subjective influence on the research (Davies, 2008). Moreover, also requires running the study according to an epistemological approach in order to maintain its findings, on the other.

1.4 Research Approach and Methodology

The research attempts to synthesise what is theoretical from the literature with what is empirical from the site (Erbil Citadel) so as to broaden the scope of complete understanding, and consequently establish well-structured information about the site's issues (Bryman, 1994). This makes the research findings more critical, and may support heritage studies with

new contributions. As the research is designed to investigate the Citadel's revitalisation policies, a broad range of explanations and documentation will be provided with specific consultation from the site's global experts. As a rule, the research will adopt a disclosed structure to achieve the investigation, providing a comparative analysis formula in addition to the opportunity of engaging various key players of the revitalisation policy with diverse empirical testing tools (Cresswell, 2009), related to one of its main issues, which is the BG.

Erbil Citadel's archaeological mound, which differentiates it from its surroundings, in addition to its continuous habitation, has robustly assisted in forming the site's unique cultural character. These two characteristics have made the site a distinct urban settlement rich in histo-cultural stories and events throughout the millennia, which is evidenced by its name that developed over time as '*Irbilum, Urbilum, Urbel, Arbail, Arbira, Arbela, and Erbil*' (HCECR, 2012c), granting it its cultural emic nature. However, the Islamic cultural character of the Ottoman period, which dominates the site currently (HCECR, 2012b, SOITM, 2013), is organic and entangled, and though objective in nature, grants the site some *etic* dimensions also. This makes the concomitance of the emic and etic approaches inevitable in the study. [7]

The histo-cultural stories and events of the site over millennia as well as the specific Islamic Ottoman character currently support gathering bottom-up data at the grassroots level of the site to decode the nature of some current issues, such as the issue of the gate. Therefore, subjectivity and objectivity are expected here, and it seems hard to exclude one of them at the expense of the other until the final results, giving more justification for the conjunction between these two approaches here.[8] The research adopts the idea that social researchers who believe they substitute synonymous concepts for emics and etics in fact settle for less precision by distinguishing between subjective and objective perspectives. If the different perspectives characterised as emics or etics are ignored or conflated, the theoretical aims and empirical data of the study will be rendered worthless. Therefore, activating these two

[7] *Emic* and *Etic* are also two different codes to research human beings. Emic: an approach to the study of a particular culture in terms of its internal elements and their functioning. Etic: an approach to the study of a particular culture that is general, non-structural, and objective in its perspective.

[8] In the emic approach, the research participants' perspectives are the starting point, and it is a bottom-up approach (developed from participants' words). In the etic method, concepts and ideas are studied, and it is a top-down approach (developed from literature). Consequently, both are essential for conducting this research as it firstly draws upon different views and opinions of the participants, and then debates that through different ideas from the literature.

approaches concurrently here helps in identifying the structural/essential and reflective/meditative dimensions within the implications surrounding the issue of the gate.

Meeting the emic and etic approaches of the study, an open and flexible strategy of inductive and deductive approaches is employed here to firstly understand the nature of the site historically and culturally. Secondly, it hopes to grasp a sense of the actual issues that the revitalisation policy attempts to cover, but simultaneously confront some local dissatisfaction, and thus to determine the proportion of acceptance and refusal of this policy locally.

To run this strategy, firstly an inductive approach is employed to begin the investigation of the research 'with specific data out of which more general ideas…are generated' (Nagy et al., 2011, p. 13). This enables the description of each issue in the revitalisation process to construct the next step, which is the framework of the research reliant on analysing and discussing the general problem of the public's engagement in this process. This helps to create a firm step towards the real issue of the research (local participation), which involves multiple objectives that will be explained subsequently. Therefore, the inductive process is more compatible with the overall cultural genre of this study as the general argumentative line mainly relies on its collected data, which depicts a flexible track for pursuing data analysis and then openly discussing its results (Saunders et al., 2003). In more detail, induction broadens the platform of tackling the research data qualitatively as well as amassing diverse methods deployed to gather these data, such as in-depth and on-site interviews about the socio-cultural issues of the BG, and then presents them in a more abstract method (see: Figure 1.3). This enables bringing together a variety of views and ideas about each of the issues these matters trigger (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002).

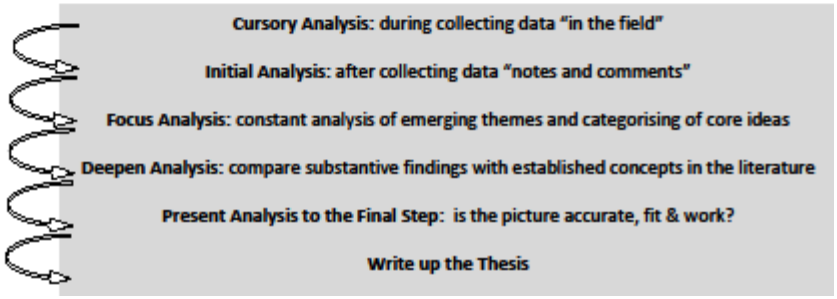


Figure 1.3: the process of inductive analysis; the researcher

Whereas the inductive approach here refers to dialectic debates about the site's cultural and historical issues including multiple realities that celebrate its urban context (COE, 2006), the deductive process is used to measure the level of local acceptance regarding the solutions that the revitalisation process offers about these issues. It focuses on measuring specific criteria inferred from the literature about some particular aspects surrounding these issues, such as authenticity, integrity and cultural significance that shape the issue of the BG (see: Chapter 5, Four Tests).

In this respect, and if "methods" denote what is done to gather, analyse and present data, and if "methodology" is 'a bridge between philosophical framework and methods design' (Nagy et al., 2011, p. 7), the study draws on a mixed method that facilitates the establishing of an evident track to analyse and discuss its main issues. Mixed qualitative and quantitative techniques will be employed here aiming at giving primacy to the local narratives and understanding of built heritage as an "emic" or accumulative build-up of values and meanings, and "etic" or deep scrutiny of concepts and themes, enabling a review of the revitalisation steps and assessment of the diverse bottom-up views regarding them. In fact, the nature of the research and the architectural and urban context of the Citadel both demand this mixed-method, and for many reasons. Firstly, 'the research development' will be motivated, as 'one approach is used to inform the other' in addition to 'increased validity' (COE, 2006, p. 4). Secondly, it provides new ways of thinking resulting from the advent of novel insights and constructive paradoxes, and finally, it serves as 'barriers' that support the research integration against its inner theoretical differences (Ibid, p. 4). Indeed, this array of advantages is at the heart of this research, and particularly its traditional-cultural issues are related to the issue of the BG (see: Chapters 4, 5 & 6).

In regards to the specific role of the qualitative technique here, it is used to collect, analyse and interpret data related to different meanings, cultural values, symbols and descriptions extracted from both the local community's views and the decision-makers' objectives about the above main issues of the site (the BG), including other sub-issues that will be revealed subsequently (such as the decision of evacuation). Finding an answer for questions such as 'how, why, or what' through this technique would contribute to evaluating to what extent local participation can be workable here (Nagy et al., 2011, p. 3). As a congruent procedure, the qualitative method seeks to explore how both the site's local community and decision-makers on one side, and the revitalisation themes on the other, can environmentally interact,

depicting the meanings and experiences of individuals, and the site's values and events together. Following (Joubish et al., 2011), this enables a focus on the "why" and "how" when discussing the site's revitalisation policies as well as applying some criteria that support the findings. It also enables the review of some studies during the progress of the research, providing a constant interplay between the analyses of some data and the evolution of their theoretical frameworks in the literature.

According to Cresswell (2009), and Survey-Gizmo (2010), a qualitative method assists in building an initial interpretation regarding each raised objection against the formulation stage of the revitalisation policy by the site's local community, and seeks to diversify the views related to it. Secondly, it enables the gathering of detailed information, which can be grouped into main themes before developing them into broader patterns and generalisations in accordance with each objection. Furthermore, this technique facilitates the recognition of the causes and effects of each opposition on the site and suggests varied endpoints for the study. In addition, it detects the impulses that underlie the views of the site's authorities and individuals regarding the overall policy of the revitalisation to be tackled from different angles. Finally, it offers a flexible and in-depth comprehension of the engagement between the Citadel's features, as different historical and cultural values, and the issues evoked by the local community towards the policy of revitalising these values.

Following Nagy et al. (2011), the qualitative approach proves a realistic methodological approach of ongoing construction regarding investigation of some conceptual and intellectual attitudes pertinent in the Citadel so that the limitations of the research can be minimal. It also suggests an exploratory discourse to follow an incessant interpretation of the diverse cultural values of Erbil's built heritage. In short, the qualitative method can be used as 'unique grounding' that offers 'particular ways of thinking through problems' (Ibid, p. 3), working as a tool for increasing understanding of the life story of the site's traditions and cultural meanings.

Nevertheless, according to COE (2006), the 'interpretive' and 'dialectic' nature of the qualitative technique that focuses on 'participants' makes it more subjective, particularly as 'the researcher is part of [the] process' (p. 3). In addition, its procedural inductive method in building arguments cannot certify objective results (Christensen and Carlile, 2009). This perhaps results from a clear dependability on materials and explanations generated from

respondents' individual interpretations when developing general latitude about the revitalisation issues. This then makes it difficult to formulate a clear vision towards the validity of the whole revitalisation policy, which is crucial for the study. Therefore, the quantitative method is needed for an engagement that emphasises objectivity and complements the use of the qualitative technique (Cresswell, 2013). The latter is supposed to be more 'objective' and 'deductive' due to its movement in focus from 'concise [] subjects and narrow [] parts' towards 'the whole' of the site (COE, 2006, p. 3). Also, it compels the researcher to be separate from the research, thus creating a transparent data base where the qualitative data starts. As a result, if the quantitative 'counts the beans', the qualitative 'provides information as to "which beans are worth counting"' (Ibid, p. 3), leading to more transparent results.

1.4.1 Data Collection Mechanism

If methodology is 'the bridge that brings [the research] philosophical framework together with [the] methods practice' (Nagy et al., 2011, p. 13), a clear connection should be made between the research purpose, the data collection and the various methods used in order to ensure the collection of rich and precise information that provides the study with a sufficient range of evidence. As an investigative case study technique, the study relies on some qualitative and quantitative data and records. Qualitative and quantitative methods are used as 'tools…to gather data, [and] gathering evidence' (Ibid, p. 13), facilitating the obtaining of fundamental and ancillary data that may boost the validity of the findings. Data collection was conducted in two phases. The first phase focused on general information about the site and the revitalisation policy as a prelude to more specific detail in the next phase, which depended mostly on what has been extracted from the first phase.

Two main methods, in addition to documents and archives, are employed here, which are interviews and questionnaires, and each one of them includes some sub-methods. To understand the way these methods work here, it might be useful to shed light on the rationale and design of the questions the research raises in each method. The first set of interviews aims at recognising the nature, the tools and the extent of involvement of the locals in some conservation processes conducted at the site, including the current revitalisation policy. This helps to give a preliminary indication regarding understanding the expected role granted to the locals in the process, which entails designing questions that assist in reviewing and

accumulating views from different official parties that would participate in formulating, or in perhaps influencing the policy. The second set of interviews pursues realistic investigative evidence at the grassroots level of the site that show the inhabitants' efficiency to contribute to the future policies of the revitalisation. This entails a form of questions that help in gaining precise and concise information to keep the core of the data valid and functional regarding the main-and-sub-issues surrounding the current decision to demolish the main gate of the site. This, therefore, entails preparing a series of questions that firstly aims at objective views, which accordingly should target the educated elite of the locals, particularly those who have witnessed different events and cultural stories of the site's history. However, those who lack such qualifications, but have robust spatial relationships with the site owing to their daily work, are also prioritised and targeted here. This should also motivate the participants to narrate a constructive knowledge regarding the site's culture and history in a way that may really assist in detecting the site's potentials, which can support its revitalisation policies further.

With regard to the questionnaires, their general function is to investigate some direct cultural issues within the Citadel Gate decisions, which are locally perceived as controversial at present. As a consequence, the questions are designed to indicate the reasons and implications behind the acceptance/refusal of these issues locally, and therefore to enable understanding of which of these issues is more controversial locally in order to be more deepened in the next step of data collection. Owing to the difference in the local vision to these issues, the investigation into this step should not be confined to a particular occupational group only, but surveyed at various educational levels among the locals. Any expected outcomes of this questionnaire afterwards will be probed among the local professionals (who are more responsive to any sensitive dialectical point that may be raised unexpectedly) and the site's decision-makers through another series of in-depth interviews, which allows for a real discussion of everything.

1.4.1.1 Documents and Archives "audio/visual material": One of the main steps of this study is to deal with some historic information regarding Erbil's life story such as the historic evolution of the site and the influence of the Islamic philosophy on its urban and architectural fabric, including the impacts of the historic events that occurred during that period (SOITM, 2013). These data reveal the site's constant evolution as an urban and architectural setting until now, aiming at understanding the exact key-factors of the site's historical and cultural

values. Additionally, the archives and documentation allow for an investigation into the local traditions in terms of its diverse cultures reflected in the urban planning and the architectural design of the Citadel, which can aid the understanding of to what extent they are well-managed within the current revitalisation policies. This kind of data offers some tangible evidence that facilitates a questioning of the major changes and challenges that the site confronted. For instance, the mechanism of the recent renovation policy on the site left many weaknesses in the built heritage, where its archives contribute to disclosing those weaknesses in order to indicate how the current revitalisation considers it (see: Chapter 3). As a consequence, the Citadel's archives play an essential role in how to collect the information that helps in mapping the physical storyline of the site.

1.4.1.2 Interviews: two kinds of interviews are deployed, which are:

a) In-depth Interviews "Key Informant Interviews": manufacturing the substance of the research based on this qualitative method contributes to gathering direct information and operative data for the research aims (Robinson, 2014), and via three routes. Firstly, they generate precise and concise information in relation to the main concerns raised by the local community regarding some decisions made in the policy. Secondly, they abstract some live information from the decision-makers of the revitalisation as local and global experts with regard to the major themes that the policy attempts to resolve. Thirdly, they extract more general and raw information from some key-figures belonging to some local authorities that indirectly impact the decision-making process of the revitalisation policy, politically, economically or even culturally. At the end, the three routes meet to demonstrate some major points, such as:

- Valid analysis of public feedback on the recent renovation and the current revitalisation policies related to deciphering the current site's issues.
- Exploration of more possible alternatives with regard to the current policies of the site.
- Accumulation of more local opinions, then screening them through the global charters of heritage conservation to make them more practicable.

Based on an array of cultural and tourist themes that the revitalisation project aims to cover, the selected sample from the local community to fulfil this task encompasses four groups. The first group, 23 per cent of the total, is comprised of those indigenous inhabitants of the

site who have a strong relationship with the residential habitation and simultaneously possess a political, economic or religious position currently. The second group, making up 16 per cent, is comprised of those non-indigenous professionals who have some practical experience about the site, which helps to receive more views about the revitalisation policy. The third group, representing 54 per cent, encompasses the local decision-makers of the revitalisation project as well as some parties from the site's local authorities that are believed to be influencing the revitalisation decisions directly or indirectly. This intended sample is to assure the coverage of all concerns that have been raised locally against the formulation stage of the revitalisation policy. The attitudes and opinions expressed by these first two groups are then forwarded to be indirectly discussed globally through the last group of interviewees, making up 7 per cent of the total, which is comprised of those who act as global experts on the formulation stage of the revitalisation policies. This supports a better grasp of the issue under inquiry in addition to navigating the research findings towards more credibility.

Evoking the local bureaucratic systems, the revitalisation process was not devoid of some conflicts of interest among some of the local decision-makers of the site, which is predominantly concentrated around the presidency of the process.[9] Taking into consideration how to protect the transparency of the study from the impacts of this conflict, the interviews have been designed carefully and with careful selection of the research participants, as aboriginals from the site or locals from the place, focusing on their level of education and current profession. Moreover, it is hoped the interviews will reveal what kind of relationship may connect them with the site's decision-makers, which may assist in anticipating any kind of biased information the participant may reveal and which could influence the research findings. More importantly therefore, the researcher focused on keeping questions clear and concentrated on more objective data as opposed to consequences of conflicts. Finally, gathering this group of data has been managed personally, which may offer the participants a resilient ground enabling them to freely express their views on certain issues of the study.

[9] The roots of this conflict started in 2008, but it took a more formal form after 2009 during an international workshop on the site presented in the Sheraton Hall in Erbil by some key experts of heritage conservation. Professor David Michelmore, an international key expert and team leader of the revitalisation, revealed in personal emailed communications what verifies this issue that the managerial system of the revitalisation suffers real discord regarding its leadership. Michael Brammah, another international key expert on the revitalisation and the chief designer of the revitalisation master plan has confirmed this issue in a direct interview in Huddersfield, UK stating the sorrowful situation of this conflict, which was just about to shift the theme of that workshop from '*how to identify and boost the potential of the revitalisation* to *who will be the Head of the revitalisation' (see: Chapter 4, Section 4.2.4)*.

The researcher strived to record these interviews, as much as permitted, enabling the direct quoting of these views wherever necessary throughout the research. High levels of responsibility and reliability are considered here so as to keep the research ethically safe and scientifically precise.

b) On-site Interviews/Survey: Examining the local consensus about the whole purpose of the revitalisation necessitates this kind of interview. It entails the gathering of some succinct opinions about specific aims that the revitalisation works on and about some contentious matters that seem problematic for the whole cultural value of the site, for instance, the site's authenticity and cultural significance, particularly its Islamic traits and residential character (see: Chapter 4). This method facilitates the assembly of concise and clear records about the investigated matter, conditioned to be trustworthy information. Therefore, the elected elite of the locals here concentrates on those who are indigenous to the place (Erbil City and its surroundings). This ensures two points: veritable information with quick answers in addition to a large-scale acceptance among the local community. In other words, it abbreviates the local community's attitudes towards those particular investigated matters, documented and scheduled in the research as semi-structured on-site interviews. This kind of interview comprises 70 people, mostly conducted with the main stakeholders, aged between 18-65 years old, all male, and who were familiar with the site by virtue of the large number of daily commercial dealings in and around it, which enabled them to exchange views on the various site's issues. Overall, the in-depth interviews form 18.5 per cent of the total, whilst the on-site interviews are 81.5 per cent.

1.4.1.3 Questionnaires: This quantitative method is carried out here as a complementary technique to the above two kinds of qualitative techniques in order to design specific questions that will be directed to the local community, as locals and indigenous of the site. Two kinds of questionnaires are employed here:

a) Direct questionnaires: This kind comprises 100 people from the site's inhabitants, aged between 18-65 years old, all male. The reason behind focusing on the site's inhabitants here is also to become more familiar with the site's cultural values, historical events and social traditions by virtue of the deep-seated relationship between them. The reason they are all male returns to some specific cultural traditions and norms that make it somewhat difficult to obtain the same information from the females.

b) Semi-structured questionnaires: This type comprises a cultural synthesis of 40 participants from the local professionals as architects, urban designers and other professionals who are familiar with the site and can demonstrate some valid contributions to the study's main issues. The questions concentrated here on some specific historical aspects and cultural themes (with a broad image somewhat). Both of these questionnaires are designed to facilitate a diversified insight into how the overall purpose and the various aims of the revitalisation policy are understood by the audience in terms of their futuristic impact on the site and the place (Hantrais and Mangen, 1996), and in relation to two major points: the diverse values of the urban fabric of the Citadel's heritage; and the new visual relationship between the site and the surroundings and to what extent the cultural value of the site will be affected by this new relationship.

This technique boosts the research outcomes of being able to cover different points and matters, and receiving direct answers, facilitating the building of a clear inference towards the revitalisation policies, such as the criteria used by the revitalisation plan towards maintaining integrity and authenticity of some urban and architectural settings as *areas in danger* in the site (see: Chapters 4).

1.4.1.4 Data Analysis Approach, and Conducting Research

To strengthen the criticality of the study, the content analysis technique, which relies on data gathered from books, documents, reports and archives belonging to the site, is employed here to reach a precise analysis by probing many cultural and architectural aspects of Erbil built heritage (Nezhad et al., 2015). Likewise, spatial analysis, such as plans and maps, in addition to thematic analysis, including encoded data of the two kinds of interviews and their analogues of the two questionnaires, are also used in this research to deepen the analysis and temper the assessment (Yin, 2009). Undertaking the research based on thematic analysis, and in line with (Massey, 2011), empowers the researcher to tackle articulated levels of data (such as the archives of the Citadel and the recent reports on its revitalisation) that fit the inductive story of the study, which highly expects new insights and involves what is unanticipated from the data. Moreover, coding and sub-coding data is necessary here, using it often as "blocks" while tackling the research issues 'in a new light [to] identify additional aspects of significance' or even refining its inner themes (Lewins and Silver, 2007, p. 146). Tracking such data analysis enables the grouping of the main and sub themes of the literature leading

to sorting the collected data of the interviews and the questionnaires into fundamental and subordinate matters and concerns, consequently categorising the main section of the discussion into subdivisions. This solidifies the research validity.[10]

However, it is important to know that the core idea of the study has emerged principally from the local community itself based on different objections against some essential steps of the revitalisation policy. Therefore, the study mainly relies on deciphering predetermined objections or discussing a priori controversies that are widespread locally and mainly coded into general themes in advance by the local community of the site. As such, the task of data analysis here is to take these general themes and codes further towards more sub-coding and sub-theming in order to reach the sub-and-in-between-issues and controversies. This can soften a subtle investigation about each matter within the revitalisation policy.

A number of well-organised steps are pre-determined here to conduct the study. The first step, which is theoretical, analytically links the findings of the literature with the next step. It is the current role of the local participation within Erbil Citadel revitalisation policy-making. The purpose is to identify whether there is any chasm or fissure in this procedure, and what causes might underlie that. This paves the way for the subsequent applied step, which is an empirical data collection concerning the role that local participation can play in buttressing a series of decisions that the revitalisation sets. The local participation role here comes through the diverse efforts of revealing the positives and negatives of these decisions and their futuristic impact on the site alongside their suggestions. Followed by another empirical step of gathering data, the latter step focuses on gathering well-founded arguments and reasoning about these decisions from the site's local decision-makers, and then intersecting them with another group of data collected from the global experts on the revitalisation.

Afterwards, ample -but directed- data of different reasons and justifications regarding these decisions are set. It accumulates a thick layer of material that attempts to legitimise the cultural ground that these decisions are standing on, consequently justifying the top-down insight from one side and stimulating the bottom-up attitudes from the other to drive towards the next decisive step. It is the real investigation which leads to the assessment of these local attitudes. This includes re-scrutinising these decisions based on the provided data from the

[10] NVivo has been utilised here in the initial stages just for grouping those matters and concerns, and consequently the issues of the research into main and sub categories.

previous stages affected by manifold conditions that would calibrate with evidence the transparency of both of the top-down insight and the attitudes of the locals' views regarding each decision.

The first series of data collection was started in July 2014, followed by another series, which was in August 2015 that completely centred on gathering the site archives, interviews and questionnaires (each of two types) as well as some site observations. In fact, the analysis and findings of the first series urged and simultaneously guided the second series towards more precise matters, such as focusing on the subtle issues within the Grand Gate decision of the site. Here, gathering and analysing the data through a sequential procedure enabled the coding and sub-coding of the research issues into main-and-sub-themes within a well-deliberated plan. This guided the research more flexibly towards achieving a delicate investigation of these themes and their related issues until the final step of the research final aims. This formed the final step of the research, which was structuring the research parts, followed by writing up the thesis.

1.5 Research Structure

This chapter constructs firm grounds for justifying the research methodology and design. The next chapters (2 & 3) summarise the background of the significance of local participation in formulating heritage conservation policies in general and the selected case study for this research (Erbil Citadel). Chapter Two reviews the literature with regards to the significance of local participation in heritage policy-formulation, and attempts to approach the case study before ending. It focuses on detecting the essentiality of involving the local community in formulating heritage policies for their efficient contribution culturally and touristically upon the process, particularly within Islamic heritage, as in the case of Erbil Citadel. Moreover, it attempts to outline some dilemmas within the local experience of local participation that often lacks practical and genuine embodiment. Chapter Three takes the case study forward, and is dedicated to demonstrating the problems of local participation in the formulation stage of the current revitalisation policy-making of Erbil's built heritage and providing a theoretical platform from which to examine local participation retroactively. This then forms the access to the next chapters, which focus on demonstrating the local criticism, opinions and attitudes towards some steps of the revitalisation formulation stage set earlier.

Chapters Four, Five and Six display, analyse and discuss the main problematic steps that are principally formulated by the revitalisation and the research attempts to demonstrate to what extent the local community could support them through retrospective local participation. For instance, decisions will be considered regarding the Grand Gate of the site, which traces a literary trend in displaying the issue. Here, the research adopts a thematic and sub-thematic framework to pursue the issues within this decision evoked by the public, consequently revising and tackling them through the contribution of local involvement. Hence, analysing, testing and discussing the data as well as reflecting on its results are demonstrated in Chapters Five and Six. Chapter Six, for instance, furthers the discussions on some specific tests on the Gate through a cross-discussion to explore the local participation efficiency in consolidating the revitalisation process. It attempts to briefly enchain the findings of the literature review with the analogues of the subsequent chapters dedicated to the case study. This is to elucidate an obvious path whereby the local participation in Erbil's current revitalisation can be judged whether it is efficient or inefficient in consolidating the whole policy of the site, which assists in shaping the final chapter of the research conclusions. Chapter Seven demonstrates the research conclusions, including some practical and theoretical implications, in addition to the contribution of the study as well as recommendations for some future studies.

1.6 Discussion

The explicit aim of the research, which is to understand the role of local participation in supporting the Citadel's revitalisation decisions, entails an invisible aim, which is the detection of the level of transparency within the bottom-up views towards the current revitalisation policies. To achieve this, the nature of diverse cultural issues that the locals trigger against these decisions, makes it imperative to use a qualitative-quantitative method in designing the research methodology in order to cover these issues from different perspectives. However, as aforementioned, the qualitative technique acknowledges inherent subjectivity and celebrates it, as it recognises that its participants are human beings, and therefore prone to emotions and feelings that are inevitably subjective and influenced by their own experiences. Davies (2008), suggests that one of the methods to argue against the questionable validity of a qualitative approach is to tackle the research through a reflexive approach, whereby the researcher reflects on their own influence on the research and the

inevitable subjectivity. According to Davies (2008, p. 10), one main issue to consider here is 'how to write about such research in a suitably reflexive manner'.

In other words, there is a 'potential threat' of reflexivity, which may influence the research as it has been 'frequently discussed as a "problem" which threatens to undermine the research efforts' (Davis and Klaes, 2003, p. 333). Reflexivity is a tool used by the researcher, and therefore it can be either 'destructive' or 'self-defeating', based on the mechanism by which it operates (Ibid, p. 346). However, many results of research, 'informed by reflexivity [] are expressive of a reality' (Davies, 2008, p. 6), and particularly if these themes are neither accessible directly through their independent themes nor simply a reflection of the researcher. Therefore, by being reflexive, the researcher must avoid influencing 'the products of research [] by personnel', by making the investigation of these themes a 'process of self-reference' inherent in them, employing specific literature where is it necessary (Ibid, p. 4), which is a solution that will be adopted here.

Nonetheless, by focusing on investigating the local community's views, this study does not claim that they are objective and transparent enough to refute the policy-makers' objectives, and vice versa. Both of them will be exposed to evidence derived from ICOMOS charters, UNESCO conventions and other different studies on heritage sites. Some hermeneutics are expected to form a noticeable part of the bottom-up views regarding the Citadel's diverse sociocultural themes that will not necessarily be completely identical to the pure facts of these themes, where the revitalisation policy-makers' objectives are also considered subject to such expectations. The former is expected to interpret the site's cultural values according to their private experiences, and the latter may also interpret them in accordance with their envisaged objectives for the site. Thus, this necessitates that the reflexive role is to be, in Davies' words, 'self-emancipation' (Ibid, p. 21). It should centre on the essence of the site's investigated themes in order to facilitate distinguishing their epistemological core (what is factual) from the ontological implication drawn by the participant upon these themes (what is emotional).

To reduce subjectivity, despite the synchronisation of these qualitative-quantitative data, this necessitates maintaining the 'internal validity of the research' (Bryman, 2008, p. 34), which entails internal validity of its data (Veal, 2001). In this sense, the researcher aims for triangulation of the data analysis and discussion. This enables the researcher firstly to reflect

on the inner emerging themes and residual sub-issues within the gathered data while tackling and discussing the revitalisation issues to 'reveal [or] dig down to' reveal the underlying 'facts' beyond the local critiques of these issues (Gibbs, 2002, p. 6). Secondly, the researcher can contemplate the overall purpose of the revitalisation policy, which is purely touristic (Brammah, 2009b), in order to decrease the limitations and recognise the inherent subjectivity in the participants' views against the revitalisation decisions. Saunders et al. (2003), consider this is crucial for reaching purely cultural and social knowledge of the site in addition to avoiding the blurred ideas from the participants, which might lead to a state of misconstruction by the researcher. Yet, the research cannot confirm purely objective results and there should be an inevitable amount of subjectivity. This also may call for triangulation of the research data in order to increase validity.[11] It keeps the findings mostly centred on 'what they appear to be about' (Ibid, p. 101), and thus, the research credibility and reliability would be highly maintained.

[11] The researcher will emphasise any outcome or argument, which may assist in forming a conclusion regarding any investigated point, but through evidence wherever possible. This is due to his previous position with the HCECR/UNESCO and thus, his closeness to the site including its nature, issues, community, policy-makers etc.

CHAPTER TWO:

The Role of Local Participation in Formulating Heritage Conservation Policies

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a rich body of literature will be reviewed with regards to the core of the current study aiming at demonstrating the global emphasis, as theoretical studies and international charters, on engaging the local inhabitants in drawing up the conservation policies of built heritage sites. Traditions, cultural values and heritage tourism are also covered in this review in order to investigate their potential position in some contemporary conservation approaches, and how local roles can contribute in this regard. To reveal how this discourse should be reflected in the current case study of the Islamic heritage of Erbil Citadel requires reviewing some literature on Islamic heritage. To achieve this, the chapter relies on some key literature that will be categorised into some essential trajectories. Firstly, it will briefly recapitulate the global emphasis on the necessity of involving the inhabitants in planning for their *homes*. Secondly, it will debate some key issues regarding the contemporary approach of heritage conservation, and then a similar debate will be run on the current trend of Islamic heritage conservation. Thirdly, the review ends with a discussion about the impact of the top-down approach on the conservation decision-making processes, and the role of the inhabitants in formulating heritage conservation policies related to the cultural heritage values and the touristic objectives of the site, as two essential goals for the current revitalisation project. It concludes by discussing some fundamental factors that support that.

In regards to the series of research questions, this chapter endeavours to answer the following question: *How and why the local views and the decision-makers' objectives should be linked in preserving the heritage site's cultural and historical values?*

2.2 The Role of Local Community in Formulating Heritage Conservation Policies

2.2.1 Within the Treatises of Heritage Specialists

A heritage conservation process was considered by the American Institute for Conservation 'AIC' in (1996) as: 'the profession devoted to the preservation of cultural property for the future' (p. 1). Vinas (2005) states that the contemporary theory of conservation aims at involving 'diverse, as often as fragmented, sources who go beyond the universe of [conservation]…[to] engage on a profound and coherent analysis of the ideas' (cited in Hidaka, 2008, p. 6), thus attempting to include different locals' ideas around the site. De Guichen questions the limited contribution made by some conservatory specialists to 'the protection of our heritage' and he points out that there is a delicate gap between them and the process of conservation itself (Vinas, 2005, p. 142). Therefore, the need is to ensure wide participation of views so all can contribute to broadening the mechanism and objectives of conservation, in reference to *the importance of involving the local community* in such processes. Crooke (2007) demonstrates the local community's role as a substantial factor embedded in the heritage expansion throughout history that enables the vernacular heritage actions of individuals to conserve and present some cultural features associated with the local history of the site.

However, engaging the locals in making future policies and conservation plans of their built heritage is an issue that still receives little attention, not just in some Asian heritage sites, but globally also. According to Chitty (2017), this issue can be seen more clearly in the practice of conserving 'tangible cultural heritage: buildings, structures and remains in which material interventions are made with the intention of safeguarding and revealing aspects that are valued' (p. 2). Despite its focus on what culture can do for communities, not vice versa, the UK Government White Paper on Culture attributes that to the fact that 'the challenge of creating more cultural opportunities, particularly for those whose chance to experience culture is more limited' (DCMS, 2016, p. 13), where heritage's local inhabitants may come first. Conservation work currently demands a gesture towards real local engagement with its communities, whereby a variety of its activities might be reframed towards more viable implications that serve its cultural and social settings alike. This can be seen as new

community networks that can materially contribute to conservation policy-making structure acting, in Jones and Yarrow's (2013) words, as 'actors, co-creating material forms and new participative experiences' (Cited in Chitty, 2017, p. 23).

Wan (2004), and Jiang (2006) explain that despite the diverse cultural and tourist potentials of the built heritage, many challenges emerge during the elaboration of thorough plans for the site and the optimisation of its conservation policies. Accordingly, the local participation in constructing these policies is usually considered as a significant theme for resolving such challenges. This is attributed to the inhabitants' rich knowledge of local environments, cultural traditions and social habits, and thus their experience and ability to tackle such local themes, reviving these policies with practical ideas stemming from the reality of the heritage.

In this respect, Lowenthal (1985) argues that if real appreciation of a heritage site is premised on the values attached to the site that nurture its vitality, the conservation policies should carefully consider the locals' experiences and coexistence with that site. Some bygone cultural information of heritage is inherent in the local social repercussions entangled with the site as an essential key whereby the individual and collective memory are inseparable or correlative. Therefore, the defiance is not "*when*" and "*where*" in the heritage chronology that this information would be objectively analysed, but identifying a specific involvement of the *popular elite* in order to achieve objectivity in the analysis. According to Taylor (2004), and Silva and Chapagain (2013), the locals who share a mutual sense of heritage and are consequently able to emphasise the heritage spirit are the popular elite who should know more about their heritage and its traditions, meanings and values. In this regard, Jackson (1983), and Taylor (2004) indicate that some of the heritage cultural meanings are strongly embraced by, linked to, if not formulated by, the locals' cultural values and their social traditions. Thus, it is crucial to call for the involvement of the locals in drawing up the future policies of these sites; those locals are truly "akin to" and "built-in" the site's significance and meanings.

In this regard, Jokilehto (2017) states that, 'only through strengthened relationships between people and heritage...will the "future we want" become attainable' (Kyoto, 2012, cited in Jukka Jokilehto, 2017, p. 18). This is owing to the fact that firstly, 'community can be defined as a social unit that share common value judgements' (Freeman, 2010, cited in Jokilehto 2017, p. 18); and secondly, heritage has also been seen as a 'carrier of knowledge

embedded in the creativity and innovative solutions that became testimony to the learning processes by the community, not only internationally, but also in exchange with others' (Jokilehto, 2017, cited in Chitty, 2017, p. 18-19).

With regard to the potential role of the local stakeholders, Zhang and Ma (2006), and Huang (2006) point out that their participation resuscitates the totalitarian image of the requirements of the site through the growing improvements of their local life criteria as a reflection of heritage development. To ensure integrated policies, vast participation of the stakeholders can assist in formulating new guides with regard to the site's continuous changes so as to prove the vitality of the conservation policies over time and keep them able to respond to any future changes. Nevertheless, a wide range of literature, such as Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), Feilden (1998), and Poria and Biran (2006), has pointed out that there is still an absence in the local stakeholders' actual engagement in how to balance between the conservation objectives in some global archaeological and heritage environments.

Based on Hall (1999, 2000), Roberts and Simpson (1999), Castro and Nielsen (2001), and Aas et al. (2005), stimulating the local stakeholders' participation can enrich the conservation policies of dynamic intents and more coherent goals. Furthermore, gathering a variety of interests and attitudes from them with regard to the process of patronising the diverse motives and potentials of the heritage undoubtedly facilitates establishing an applicable, efficient and collaborative mechanism. Through opening up conservation policies towards involving more opinions from such sites' experienced people can reinforce awareness and self-reliance of them as well as enlarging their consensus and responsibility towards these mutual historical properties. Nuryanti (1996), Hall and McArthur (1998) argue that the concept of involving the stakeholders recently became more significant, particularly for those who are custodians of the site. Their participation can increase the level of interaction to its extreme, thereby reducing different cultural problems of patrimony. Similarly, Wager (1995), Thapa (2007) and Nicholas et al. (2009), affirm that incorporating locals' views as well as actual collaboration with the principal stakeholders is crucial to ensure long-term heritage policies. In conclusion, endorsing local residents and stakeholders' support of different opinions and attitudes about built heritage conservation policies is increasingly viewed as fundamental to the sustainability and integrity of the site.

Presently, urban heritage of many traditional built environments suffers uncontrolled mass tourism due to many top-down economic ambitions, which some heritage scholars, such as Labadi and Logan (2015), consider require substantially new approaches to development and sustainability. Revisiting policies and plans of some heritage conservation processes reveal that there is an imbalance access to planning for socio-economic potential offered by these environments and how it should be managed touristically, which have seen "common threads", and thus may even partly stand behind this issue. The notion of "balance" within heritage conservation policies is 'an oft-heard planning objective, but in fact, of the chief conundrums bedevilling contemporary heritage [] practice' (p. 1). It mainly appears when planning for a heritage environment with deep and rich history, and where efforts are concentrated to create modern economic activities for better environmental conditions, whilst heritage tourism is often seen as a fertile ground whereby such economic activities might be cultivated. There should be a broader scope of 'inclusive and holistic approach to...heritage conservation [which] may create a stronger basis for the sustainable growth of [built heritage] (p., 1).

> Too often heritage destruction is carried out in the name of modernity and progress and against the wishes of local communities for whom the heritage is a valued part of their living environment and a manifestation of their identity. Local people are left out of discussions about the future of their places and innovative grassroots approaches to the development pressures faced by urban heritage are seldom considered (Labadi and Logan, 2015, p. 2).

In fact, it can be stated here that the mechanism whereby the local community of Erbil Citadel had to leave their home highly reverberates heritage conservation behaviour of the nineteenth century where local communities suffered a real detachment from their local environments (Labadi and Logan, 2015). However, planning for a tourist future for the site might require an integrated policy that inspires 'Darwinism and the theory of evolution', which looks at the place as a unified whole (p. 4). A policy may be needed that firstly should understand and map the site's diverse potential precisely and secondly, considers and invokes the "traditional heritage ecosystem", thus conserving it as a unified and inseparable setting. Local communities, sociocultural values and traditions should have been seen as part of this heritage system and tourist destination. In fact, the roots of this separation between the site and its social structure are still too vague to emphatically declare whether they can be linked to local and regional (and therefore Asian) conservation rules, or to the shallow local

experience of heritage conservation, or to the superficial expertise of some local consultants. Here, despite some heritage scholars calling for maintaining the privacy of heritage local settings through adopting very local conservation norms, this does not negate the use of some successful global experiences as inspiration. This is particularly the case for those experiences that see local communities as an integral part to the process of planning for heritage tourist goals through the site's cultural potential. In this concern, some global heritage norms can really offer more than a proposal. For instance, Araoz (2015) points out that some heritage conservation norms of the United States set heritage local communities as a genuine part of their core: 'thus, from its very origin, the preservation [process] in the United States has been characterised by being a grassroots effort driven at the local level and one that evolved in isolation from outside influences, responding only to perceived local needs' (cited in Labadi and Logan, 2015, p. 5). Opening up the process towards such global experiences and norms may maintain its flexibility in dealing with its inner sociocultural values and traditions, consequently tackling its broader issues that involve some tourist destinations.

There is, and still is, a gap and lack of engagement in bottom-up approaches to planning for the grassroots heritage including its cultural issues that revolve around diverse cultural identifications and historical interpretations of the site's cultural map, where the locals can be seen as the most appropriate elite that has genuine attachment to these issues. This requires an open process of decision-making through a democratic strategy that should be accountable to the citizenry of heritage.

Little and Shackel (2014) argue that the focus of built heritage studies should be shifted from modelling a predetermined formula that can ease the definition of the cultural values and significance towards establishing more realistic mechanisms that can work to 'enhance the value of cultural heritage to safeguard it and to use it to build cultural understanding instead of cultural trenches' (p. 45). Perhaps, it would help to rethink the current widespread technique applied to this issue that perceives the top-down approach, particularly in some Middle-East sites, as a permanent solution. Understanding and employing some grassroots cultural patrimony and traditional legacy require firstly a bottom-up effort, which may provide a more elastic process of re-embedding them into the future goals of the site, particularly those cultural tourism-based goals. This, in fact, facilitates revising or even reworking those top-down techniques to embedding them new tools to what fits achieving

these touristic goals more efficiently. Furthermore, interaction between visitors and some grassroots heritage might require local community-based means whereby some basic definitions of this heritage can be provided. This may offer access to the visitors who can then receive more understanding of the history and culture of the site, which will ultimately revive its touristic goals.

Torre (2002) writes that the multiplicity of cultural dimensions within heritage structures has become more complicated, necessitating a state of inclusiveness, and that the professional sphere of conservation should seek sharing power and thus involve popular opinions, even if they lack practice and/or experience in this regard. The Getty heritage convention on heritage cultural values shows that 'heritage conservation is an integral part of civil society', and opposing views of heritage can be noted as 'contingent-universal debate' (Avrami. et. al., 2000, p. 3). Whilst the latter universal view rests on a rational vision of adopting an enduring idea of heritage as an intermixture of universal qualities, the former view believes that cultural heritage is a structure socially constructed and explicitly impacted by repercussions of power and identity related to a specific time and particular place (Little and Shackel, 2014). In fact, these two viewpoints seem like a two-sided coin, neither of which can be ignored at the expense of the other. Nevertheless, if cultural heritage is a construction of diverse positions and attitudes in a multi-cultural realm and therefore may consolidate the achievement of universal human ambitions, it is still 'constructed to support the activities or dominance of powerful groups...that has been [tailored from] various traditions [of particular] communities' (Jensen, 2000, p. 43).

2.2.2 Within UNESCO and ICOMOS Charters

Many of the ICOMOS Charters urge robust local participation in sustaining the various dimensions of built heritage sites, as they have established strong relationships with their legacy through embracing the local traditions and norms in conjunction with these environments. Some others indicate that in order to consolidate the role of local traditions and values in drawing heritage conservation policies, direct reference to the role of the locals is essential. The Venice Charter (1964), for instance, reminds of the necessity of valorising the locals' awareness of heritage values when conserving built heritage as those 'people are becoming more [] conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage' (p. 1). The Burra Charter (1999) opposes the underestimation of the locals'

views when it comes to the historical chronology of the heritage and its events, since the growth of heritage awareness among the local people is attributed to the local values that those people have experienced through the site's events over time. The locals are more informative about their heritage and its culture as they are regarded as experts of the physical features of the heritage and its meanings. Their consciousness is therefore comprehensive, and enables them to reveal the site's diverse values through their mutual relations with it that demonstrate the sensation and belonging of the place. Consequently, the Charter stresses 'the participation of people for whom the [site] has special associations and meanings, or who have social, spiritual or other responsibilities' for the site, who are the locals' (p. 5).

In addition, the ICOMOS Charter for Managing Tourism at Places of Cultural Heritage Significance (2002) compiles the basic procedures that must be involved in setting out the conservation policy, setting the role of the indigenous people in the foreground, and stating that 'indigenous peoples should be involved in planning for conservation' (Principle 4, p. 11). The Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites of ICOMOS (2004) also gives a priority to the local role in both authority and audience in deriving their own local legislation and capitalising from the international methodologies of protecting the built heritage. Findings of this Charter show that the success of some of heritage conservation policies in China holds a strong connection between the site and the inhabitants as an interrelated element in the site's history and culture. This robust link significantly assisted in assimilating the sound comprehension towards the past, and then, to be a base for the future planning for the site. These motives, for the Quebec ICOMOS (2008a), support involving the inhabitants of the site in preserving the built heritage as "the spirit of the place":

> Given that local communities are generally in the best position to comprehend the spirit of [built heritage], especially in the case of traditional cultural groups, we maintain that they are also best equipped to safeguard it and should be intimately associated in all endeavours to preserve and transmit the spirit of [the site] (ICOMOS, 2008a, p. 4).

Another attempt of the Australia ICOMOS Charter (2013a), which is a revision of the 'Burra Charter' (1999), clearly refers to the locality of the heritage rather than the universality of the Burra guidelines. The Charter quotes the Burra principles of (1999) and repeatedly underlines the priority that should be 'provide[d] for the participation of people for whom the *place* has significant *associations* and *meanings*, or who have social, spiritual or other cultural responsibilities for the place' (Article 12. Participation, p. 5). The second attempt of the

Australia Burra Charter (2013b) also highlights that *the knowledge and expertise of indigenous peoples should not be ignored*, and thus:

> It is critical that assessments of cultural significance for indigenous heritage places reflect the views and input of the relevant indigenous knowledge-holders. Indigenous people are the relevant knowledge-holders for [built heritage] of indigenous cultural significance. Their traditional knowledge and experience must be appropriately used and valued in the assessment of [these] places (p. 3).

The Burra Charter of the Australia ICOMOS (2013a) defines conservation as 'all the processes of looking after a [historical] place so as to retain its cultural significance'; the latter should reflect 'a range of values for different individuals' of the site, linking it with them (p. 2). The same Charter determines policies of cultural heritage conservation that should consider 'the owners' needs' of the site (p. 4). "Article 29" puts explicit emphasis on the "responsibility" of the individuals in accordance with the decisions of the built heritage. Their responsibilities 'should be named…for each decision' (p. 9). Some very recent international conventions on heritage sites put some pre-conditions to their inscription into the WHL and safeguarding heritage intangibles, calling for the local participatory role of their communities to be in the foreground amongst them. For instance, the UNESCO Convention (2016) states that any nominated heritage site or element should be followed by the 'widest possible participation of the community...and with their free, prior and informed consent' (p. 20).

The contribution here might be represented by the new criteria that appropriate the local practice of conserving the significance of the heritage sites through the potential role for the local people to be engaged in preserving their heritage. The local community is able to propose advice, participate in the decisions, and perform the conservation process at the site of cultural significance through teamwork including managers, owners, stakeholders and the inhabitants. This Convention clarifies the role of the locals through utilising the term "*place*", which involves diverse matters, including the local views and social effectiveness with their interrelated cultural traditions that together lead the heritage preservation works to accomplish their results. Consequently, it emphasises the necessity of local involvement in heritage conservation processes from the base to the top of formulation and implementation of the heritage conservation policies that are clearly cited in the general process of the Burra Charter (see: Figure 2.1).



Figure 2.1: Community involvement in understanding heritage significance and developing its conservation policies according to 'The Burra Charter Process' (ICOMOS, 2013a, p. 10)

Florence ICOMOS (2014) indicates that the cultural identity of heritage, which is partly formed by its cultural values, is subject to influence by the current economic and geo-political circumstances. Yet, it is still part of its local community. Therefore, involving local communities in reading such circumstances, consequently this identity, promotes building 'peaceful and democratic societies'.

> Community identity [of heritage] is a living concept that is constantly evolving thanks to an interplay of past and present in the context of current geo-political circumstances...Community identities are expressed through (and can be shaped negatively or positively by) the range of activities and service provision offered at cultural heritage tourist destinations that are intended to take advantage of the economic, social and cultural benefits of tourism (ICOMOS, 2014, para. 1.1. p. 3).

In this respect, the World Conservation Union 'IUCN' (1996, 2000, and 2004) recommends a dynamic and 'effective participation of local communities…in establishing and reviewing…protected areas policy' (IUCN, 2004, p. 6). The IUCN counsels that the locals' contribution should be a part of every action of heritage protection and encouraged 'to debate their environmental priorities and to develop local strategies. [The authority] should then help the community to convert their strategies into action' (Ibid, p. 10). Accordingly, achieving successful conservation policy-making, the inhabitants should be engaged in deciding on the site's diverse issues. A collective right should be set that guarantees their seniority, which grants them the precedence in maintaining their own cultural and urban heritage.

The World Conservation Union (2004) indicates that the residents can contribute to some real consultations regarding the decisions and objectives of built heritage, which facilitate valid cultural information about the site. This necessitates empowering the inhabitants in dynamic engagement of assessing some relevant issues inherently associated with them as well as creating a state of conjugation between those inhabitants and the site experts so as to delicately distil the cultural knowledge rooted in them (see: Table 2.1). Thus, the role of locals' participation is powerfully endorsed globally to the extent that some heritage specialists strongly suggest that it might need to be taken as if it was an "imposition" on the local community of the site. This efficient role, following Beltran (2000) and Kerr (2013), can only be justified when we know that the indigenous and the site are inextricably tied to each other culturally due to their long-term cohabitation, which consequently acts as a mutual identity between them.

No.	Title of the Charter	Reference to Local Participation
1	ICOMOS (1964): Venice Charter	Through emphasising the locals' awareness of the site's local culture, social dimensions and local traditions
2	ICOMOS (1999): Burra Charter	Through emphasising the link between the locals and the site's cultural values
3	ICOMOS (2002): Principles and Guidelines	Through exalting a general reference to the locals' position in setting out the heritage site's conservation policy
4	ICOMOS (2004): Getty Institute	Through the priority given to the site's local authorities and inhabitants in deriving a particular approach to dealing with the specific site
5	ICOMOS (2008): Quebec Declaration	Through the locals' ability to reveal the site's bygone history
6	ICOMOS (2013): Australia Charter	Through the reference to the locality of the heritage rather than the universality of the international guidelines
7	IUCN (1991, 2000 & 2004)	Through the recommendation of effective participation of the locals in drawing up the site's conservation policies

Table 2.1: direct and indirect reference to the role of local participation in the ICOMOS Charters and the ICUN; source: the researcher

2.2.3 Examples of the Role of Local Participation in Heritage Conservation

Central to the above specialists' theses and international charters, some global examples can show dynamic local participation in the formulation of the heritage policies, which reflect some fruitful results for the site. These examples provide lessons about the positive outcomes that can be achieved through the active engagement of the local community in making the heritage decisions. They refer to genuine experience that should provide inspiration for any future conservation process on built heritage. In particular, those instances hold tourist, historical and cultural aims as an overall objective, which corresponds to the goals behind most of the current conservation processes on built heritage sites.

For instance, a study of Borobudur site considers tourism as a 'vital tool for economic growth[,] specifically [for] the authorities' (Hampton, 2005, p. 743). Here, the political power has directed the site to serve some global tourist purposes, which were subsequently interpreted locally as a way of globalising the site's traditionalism. In return, the locals submitted an alternative proposal, showing more respect for the genius loci of the site to be used as a means of tourism attraction instead of implanting "Java World" (series of modern shopping malls) adjacent to the ancient site, which subsequently gained high consideration by the site authority. In fact, such a contribution by the locals has prevented the site from being directed by 'the "one size fits all"' strategy drawn by site decision-makers (Ibid, p. 754). This entails giving up the mono focus on the concept of "the bigger mindset is better" in generating more viable ideas (reference to the top-down vision of decision-making processes). This might not always be a wise trend towards the tourist approach particularly when it necessitates detecting some traditional cultures that are rooted in the place. In such cases, the mindset of experts needs to be intermingled with the local traditional experience of the inhabitants.

In line with this, the study of Nicholas et al. (2009) on the "Residents' Perspectives of a World Heritage Site" on PMA shapes the next piece of evidence for the positive impact of local participation in constructing heritage future policy. It is indicated that 'despite their lack of involvement', the more dense views from the indigenous inhabitants, 'the more supportive they will be of the PMA as a world heritage site and [its] Sustainable Tourism Development' (Ibid, p. 405). Perhaps, this is attributed to the significant level of cultural attachment of those indigenous with the place, which grants them more confidence to be

rightful decision-makers ‘over their own resources and livelihood infrastructure’ (Cochrane and Tapper, 2006, p. 101).

Likewise, Wager (1995) demonstrates that the participation of the locals in planning for the Angkor World Heritage Site, in northern Cambodia, has vitally assisted in building a broad understanding and further awareness for protecting the surrounding urban landscape of the site. Additionally, it integrates its global tourist aims into the urban economy of the place through the well-exploitation of the notion of the buffer-zone surrounding the site. Conversely, the study of Aas et al. (2005) on “Stakeholder Collaboration and Heritage Management” reveals that one of the setbacks of Luang Prabang Heritage Site in Laos was attributed to the shy engagement of the locals in a real decision-making process, which limited their capabilities in the participation in active negotiations. The study indicates that ‘involving the local community in decision-making’ processes of this site should have been considered more as a key issue in heritage conservation (Ibid, p. 28). The local power approach of Luang Prabang as a centralised authority was identified as the main impediment, which was ‘not to be conducive to stakeholder collaboration’ (Ibid, p. 43). Henceforth, ‘“manipulation” and “therapy” [on the] ladder of citizen participation should serve as a warning against involving the local community in decision-making at a superficial or manipulative level (Ibid, p. 43). Otherwise, it exacerbates the case of deadlock to achieve the goals of the site policies.

Hence, ‘each [site] has its specificity’ (Chitty, 2017, p. 23), which makes it questionable to local communities whether top-down methodologies of heritage conservation are really able to maintain such specificity, particularly regarding local assets and settings of the site, and this is seen as one of the bottom-up objections against them. The Suleymaniye and Zeyrek quarters in Turkey (inscribed on the WHL in 1985) can be set as an example of this. The traditional urban fabric of the site has been demolished for some business development including some other top-down aspirations that failed to match the same level of authenticity, which the site was showing previously. This subsequently has led its inhabitants to leave it and move towards the surrounding areas, making it therefore semi-deserted, which is considered one of the basic reasons behind the lack of more realistic ideas towards its conservation plan. In contrast to this example, in Harar Jugol, Ethiopia, the locals have succeeded at maintaining their traditional fortified town (inscribed on the WHL in 2006).

The main motive behind the site's conservation policy was firstly to present a plan that could really contribute to the continuity of the site's sociocultural traditionalism, but that also would maintain a viable relationship with the modern surroundings, and the local community has been identified as the best placed to take on such a task. The developmental policy of Asmara site in Eritrea can give another example of this, which is conditioned by a dynamic involvement of its inhabitants. This is owing to the diversity of the site's sociocultural history, which has experienced three different epochs of culture belonging sequentially to Italian, then English colonisers, and then Ethiopians until the 1990s. These epochs robustly entail a dynamic and efficient local participation of residents owing to the probability that they are the most, if not the only, elite who have witnessed the progression of their culture and values, which may possibly be mirrored within their daily life traditions. Jokilehto assigns this necessity to the collective and accumulative awareness of the local community regarding the site culture, which appeared to be a crossroads of three cultural stages (Jokilehto, 2017; Chitty, 2017).

The historic town of Icheri Sheher, Baku-Azerbaijan (inscribed on the WHL in 2000), might give another example regarding the negative impact of mono top-down conservation policy without participation of locals. In fact, the site has experienced a top-down conflicting policy that controversially detaches its centre from its periphery. On the one side, it calls for maintaining the authentic traditional settings of the centre. On the other side, its futuristic vision of the site's periphery contradicts this call as it seeks to open up the site towards some contemporary architectural aspirations that leave its history aside, invoking instead Dubai as an inspiration. This has led the aboriginal people to leave the site gradually, and they are replaced by those who arrived from the surrounding rural areas who are less enthusiastic regarding the site's culture and authentic traditions. As a result, the site's central area suffered a state of solitude as its surroundings have left their traditional assets and become high-rise buildings of a clearly globalised style (Chitty, 2017; Jokilehto, 2017).

2.3 Cultural Values, Tourist Objectives and Tradition as Key Aspects in Conservation, and the Role of Local Community

2.3.1 Cultural Values and Tourist Objectives

Linking the cultural values to the heritage significance, Dicks (2000), (2003) states that the present heritage significance represents the "in-betweenness" case between the past and the present. Therefore, the notion of the "living history" as a present heritage is usually attributed to narrating stories with *unflagging gusto* of the local communities that increase the significance of the built heritage. This can indicate a clear engagement between the individuals and their heritage that both share mutual memories of the site that are rooted in the heritage structure as deep cultural values. In this way, their diverse views towards the heritage values can hold manifold facts that contribute to broadening its significance, and this is because heritage is a means of demonstrating the past, memories, and locality of the site's local community. Consequently, the locals' narratives formulate a concrete base of fostering its meanings that can assist in evaluating heritage, which is far from being a tool that trivialises these values, as some believe. Chapman (2008), and Casey (2007) demonstrate the reason beyond that that the local communities of a specific heritage site are interlinked as a part of a heritage network, as a power inherently entrenched in the site throughout its history. This would justify the adoption of some of the audience's cultural knowledge and with respect to these cultural values to be used while re-manufacturing heritage. Consequently, they can participate in reducing some passive impacts that result from the confusion in investigating heritage structure as a history for the site, and instead, understanding heritage as a social and cultural process to grasp and interact with the present. This perhaps is clear in the case of Erbil Citadel, and through one of its intrinsic local themes of "neighbourhood", which substantiates an obvious interrelated relationship between its architecture and urban fabric from one side, and its social structure from another side (Al-Yaqoobi et al., 2012; SOITM, 2013), which highlights the genuine ties between the locals and the built context of the site as a cultural practice (see: Section: 3.2.3, Chapter 3).

Feilden (1998), Dicks (2000), and Nicholas et al. (2009) state that the idea of heritage cultural values started to formulate a substantial role in promoting the sustainable development of the heritage site. Consequently, engaging the inhabitants in demonstrating a plethora of these

values, particularly those forgotten cultural values of the site that should be prioritised above all, assists in drawing up clear-cut policies. In addition, involving the locals in such a process would assist in avoiding any possible deterioration or misuse of these values (UNESCO, 2005a). Owing to the significant role for the inhabitants in comprehending the site's outstanding values, a sort of collective agreement among them on the priority of these values should be established whilst making decisions for the site (Blandford, 2007). This consequently allows for scaling, comprehending and prioritising the site's requirements. Nevertheless, the local recognition of the importance of some cultural expressions of heritage should reflect an appropriate 'traditional historical-cultural context, and its relevance to the present state' of the site, which is seen as a pre-condition to the local participation by many decision-makers (Chitty, 2017, p. 22).

With regard to heritage tourist objectives, according to Taylor (2004), and McKercher et al. (2005), there is current affirmation of the attraction of cultural heritage sites for fuelling tourist industries in our present-day built environment. Therefore, cultural heritage is evoked at diverse levels to motivate the economic purposes and at the forefront of that is the tourism sector. Besides expediting the continuous detection of heritage values, numerous factors stand behind activating such tourist policies, and most of these factors can be supported by the role of the local communities, which often originates from, and is inherent to the built heritage. MacDonald and Jolliffe (2003) state that the local community's role is 'very effective' in boosting such purposes and can be demonstrated as 'community-based partnerships' (p. 307). They assist in establishing 'long-term growth for cultural…tourism strategies' as 'key informants play varied and often overlapped roles' to manifest the tourist destinations of their patrimony (Ibid, p. 309).

In conjunction with that, those local communities who are ignored in participating in heritage manufacturing are less supportive for the site development, as 'they have no "heritage stake" in it', which would reduce its values' revelation (Uriely et al., 2003, p. 73). Therefore, understanding diverse and historical heritage values and events and being strongly coexistent with the local communities enables the revelation of more of the site's characteristics. Evidence for this comes from Poria et al. (2003) who elucidate that global visitors 'who viewed the [site] as bound up with their own heritage are likely to behave significantly differently from others' (p. 238), referring to the mutual cultural dialogue that can be drawn from both the site and its residents due to the shared cultural language between them.

Besides, the local communities' views can be redirected towards a deep investigation regarding the passive impact of inscribing these sites upon the World Heritage List 'WHL' (Huang et al., 2012), such as the possible deterioration that may impact heritage authenticity and structural integrity resulting from unscheduled visits. Therefore, the 'WHL' should incorporate the local community views as a traditional local mechanism, considering them as 'the custodians of many World Heritage sites' (UNESCO, 2013), where their incorporation is supportive in appropriately placing the site's tourist potentials within the global tourism market. Moreover, it helps with tying the site to its local setting, which prevents any possible concern regarding globalising its culture and tradition in the long-run.

Based on Byrd (2007), some heritage tourism studies set a direct positive correlation between the locals' participation and formulating productive policies for the site for multiple reasons. Firstly, it reduces potential conflicts to a minimum. Secondly, active local participation proposes new applicable ideas for well-management of the economic development, social justice, future protection of the site's integrity and cultural importance, and refining some local inspirations and suggestions during heritage manufacture (Joppe, 1996, Timothy, 1999, Mitchell and Reid, 2001, Timothy and Boyd, 2003). As a consequence, local participation is essential in the process of heritage policy-making whereby setting heritage tourism goals 'would be integrated in the social fabric of the destination' (Nicholas et al., 2009, p. 397). Moreover, Aas et al. (2005) argue that involving the local community in the conservation's decision-making process builds a 'more satisfactory and harmonious relationship between heritage conservation and tourism' (p. 37). Indeed, these vital turns have shifted the current studies to place equal emphasis on the role of local participation in the industry of heritage tourism.

2.3.2 Traditions and the Local Role

On the other hand, traditions, particularly those sociocultural, often occupy a notable position in planning for heritage future owing to their inherent roots in its cultural manifestation, and thus their possible potential in supporting its tourist aims as a core of many conservation policies, which is the case of Erbil Citadel's current revitalisation process. Whereas the historical dimension is regarded as one of the essential features for the significance of many heritage sites, live and authentic sociocultural traditions are considered one of the main components that sustain this dimension over time, consequently highlighting the site's

significance. Being inherent and integral to the site's deep social assets, their expected role is to enrich these aims with more cultural values. Their role, in Hobsbawm and Ranger's words (1983) as an "institution of meaning" on a local scale of the site is usually considered as a perpetual potential for such futuristic aims, which may justify the increasing calls for their "reinvention" in planning for our traditional built environments. Erbil Citadel, for instance, displays a unique unified structure of social traditions and cultural norms that have been repeatedly assigned as one of the key reasons behind the unique design of its urban traditional character (HCECR, 2012c). This, besides other cultural-environmental aspects, is due to some local social and cultural rules accumulated over time, which mainly govern the urban growth of the site, and thus add to its overall cultural value that contributes to consolidating its "authenticity of design" and "urban visual integrity" (Brammah, 2009c).

Accordingly, traditions should be given a real role in the revitalisation policies of heritage for their potential in enriching future aims, particularly those that are principally touristic. However, some policies still face some challenges in how to realistically employ them within their future plans. In many cases, instead of being inherent in the site as a real "institution of meaning", they have merely considered 'reinvented' by the site's policy-makers to be working as a complementary tool to meet its envisaged aim. More specifically, Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) point out that, despite their "invented" nature, through tradition, heritage 'seek[s] to inculcate certain values and norms..., which automatically implies continuity with the past, [and thus] to establish continuity with a suitable historic past' of a particular settlement (p. 1). However, some current mechanisms towards reinventing tradition have led to a state of derision and suspicion, being seen as 'factitious, which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition', which cannot really show a factual continuity with the rich sociocultural past of their heritage (Ibid, p. 2). Indeed, this highly corresponds to some insightful steps within Erbil Citadel's current revitalisation, such as the repercussions of the evacuation step of the site from its inhabitants on some live traditions, which have been taken recently and left some real concerns in this regard. It disassociates the invented from the inventor, or more precisely the inhabitants from their traditions (see: Section: 3.7 & 3.8, Chapter 3). One of the featured characteristics that distinguish the Citadel is their continuity as a social habitation, where its current urban manifestation includes different Islamic and non-Islamic periods, which are a result of constant accumulations of social traditions and cultural norms involved in four historical epochs. This unique social characteristic should

have been given real consideration within any effort made to conserve the site, while the reality may show what is different.

In such cases, ‘invented traditions [usually] use history’ as a crutch to reach their aims, thus, 'as a legitimator of action’ whereby they legalise their existence, consequently proving their significance at the site (Ibid, p. 12). This, in fact, leads to unfavourably characterising the policy-makers as a "singular initiator" in reviving the site’s culture, which often faces a local level of discomfort with its future policies. Instead of reinforcing some unique residential traditions, for instance, their adaptive fabrication subverts the authentic social patterns and norms through which a particular site has gained its global fame. It takes them from their local simplicity and popular uses, as real institutions of some sociocultural meanings, towards new settings, and new language that simply abstracts their old symbolic vocabularies from their established limits just to be corresponded with new tourist purposes.

Redirecting this discourse towards contemporary approaches of Islamic heritage conservation, they should ‘derive general principles [from] Islamic tradition’ of its locals, which is basically perceived as a key for the structuring of some ingrained historical material features (Kazimee and McQuillan, 2002, p. 23). For instance, the principle of "diurnal rotation" as expansion of social norms is considered key for the emergence of "courtyard", and then in the layout of the “mosque” and the "aiwan" in the Islamic traditional architecture. In particular, the progression of the concept of courtyard from a traditional towards an “open-air courtyard” should be understood as purely growth of social, religious and physical conditions that respond to some requirements of the social structure of both genders of the site, male and female. A response to the tendency of family expansion, which, for instance, enabled dissolving a wider range of lineage to be more interactive with each other, providing females more legitimate space to practise some domestic activities throughout most of the year, which before were restricted to a daily or weekly pursuit. This feature is clearly manifested within the traditional cultural-urban heritage of Erbil Citadel (SOITEM, 2013), which is considered one of the realistic factors that have materially contributed to the growth and evolution of its alleyways, particularly its neighbouring clusters that form one big family of several households, such as the family of *Agha* (see: Section: 3.2.2.2, Chapter 3).

It is thus a pertinent pattern associated to a traditional lifestyle. Kazimee and McQuillan (2002) note that ‘such deeply embedded principles are a possible source for the enduring

strength of [Islamic] heritage tradition' (p. 23). Accordingly, contemporary conservation practices of Islamic heritage should move towards a deeper level of analysis in the implications of tradition within its tangible and intangible manifestation, including the relationship between its social and physical structures, where the social structure should be regarded requisite for the understanding of the physical structure.

> By moving beyond "archaeological" or "aesthetic" levels, works of [Islamic heritage conservation] may be better understood within their social settings and/or according to a more profound philosophical and religious framework (Kazimee and McQuillan, 2002, p. 23).

A continuum of material construction and sociocultural dynamism; of a living tradition of continuity of social and architectural heritage lifestyle; of an ancient, but enduring, accumulating culture of a social and architectural existence founded together over history, may enable a process of far-reaching policies' formulation of heritage conservation. Policies should put the site's tradition and culture as an essential element in reading its architectural growth, where the locals' efforts are integral to this reading since they are an integral part of these traditions and cultures. Yet, for many decision-makers, the acceptance of these efforts is still contingent and entrusted to their ability in gearing the ancient settings of the traditional historical-cultural context to serve the relevance of the present state of the site (Chitty, 2017).

Hence, it can be stated that the aspect of traditions can strongly stand behind the physical reality of a substantial part of the Islamic ancient architecture. Therefore, this aspect should be understood and efficiently activated as an influential factor in many of the conservation discourses of Islamic heritage presently. In relation to this, Dalebor Vesely (1982) argues that the value and contribution of tradition to the architectural heritage, and its ramifications for the present-day architecture, has often been misguided by some modern philosophical trends that draw upon the 'imposed standard of scientific truth' (P. 8). This is a trend that endeavours to re-produce the value of tradition based on a singular track of theoretical "hermeneutics" of history and/or past, which in fact, led to deforming this value within Islamic built heritage, particularly when sought out through Orientalists' lenses.

Whereas the endeavour is to assign understanding of "traditions" to reason, protecting them from being misjudged or prejudiced, this trend in itself is seen as 'a form of prejudice' by many heritage scholars. This is simply due to religious and ontological basics that were pushed aside by such a contemporary reading, whereas the reality is that they deeply settle in

the social structure of the site. Genuine understanding, and contributions to tradition may potentially underlie living discussions on ‘proportions, rules and other explicit principles, and how far the order of architecture is always part of the given order of culture’ (Ibid, P. 9), which form part of the local cultural component of the site. Westerns and Orientalists ‘insist on finding sources for the Islamic [heritage]...while...searching in the treatises of theology’ (Nasr, 1989, p. 70), whereas a shorter track to this can be tracked in the oral narratives of the local users and inhabitants of built heritage.

Janet Abu-Lughod (1987) deconstructs and then theoretically re-constructs Islamic heritage, attempting to build up an analytic and dynamic model to understand the general lines of this multi-cultural layered structure. Janet writes that setting a conservation plan demands avoiding the “domination” of some globalised treatises that trace unified approaches, which often put ICOMOS and UNESCO charters as a backbone to start with and end by the process. Instead, the role of this global trend might be better to be chained to a local “construction” based on norms that mainly emanate from the sociocultural dimensions of heritage. Islam as an “urban religion” is a fact that should always be evoked while constructing such a model. However, a concise and ‘eccentric sample’ of theological research was subject to a persistent update (or at least an initial stage to start-up) by most of the Orientalists and western studies of Islamic traditional environments. Yet, ‘Islam is a religion of cities’, which attempts to create material environment responding to a ‘system of social organisation' of the locals, as a basis behind the emergence of the site (Ab-Lughod, 1982, p. 156, 162).

From a perspective of social history, since Islam maintained many social orders and customs of the previous societies that inhabited the site in the pre-Islamic period, this makes this social system reflective of broader social customs ‘that had much in common with [the] societies’ that inhabited the site subsequently and followed Islamic norms, thus to be part of its traditions (ibid, p. 162). Traditions help the locals to meet their social, cultural, religious, economic and even military objectives, rather than what some western theorists note ‘as a deus ex machina determining them’ (ibid, p. 164). Example on this is the turf and juridical classes, the neighbourhood in civil society and gender segregation principle, which were adopted together by the community and State of the same site. Debating the roots of these traditions may reveal mutual ethos between them and the place including its local communities, on one side, but also may show that these traditions are not superficially

supporting the sociocultural tenures of the place, on the other side, which is a point that has often been confusing for some Western theses.

Segregation principle among the local community's genders of the same site, for instance, has employed concepts of social distance and/or spatial distance, as two principles that have often been misread, or more precisely, have become intermingled by many western studies.[12] Whilst in fact they follow precise juridical rating in order to organise the social life on both individual and congregational levels based on specific social criteria for the long-run, what is interesting is that the segregation principle has socially contributed to developing the neighbourhood concept, which reflects the clear nature of social-urban privacy, as the most notable feature of Islamic built heritage. Subsequently, however, the neighbourhood concept has been developed to simply act as a protector, reflecting a defensive nature for the urban fabric, where its core basically started from a leading family-household surrounded by sub-relational families. This simply has led to solidifying the principle of unity within the traditional Islamic city, which of course, is one of the implications of the notion of privacy. More interestingly, some scattered western urban studies have contributed somehow to 'the separation of population on the basis of class', which was regarded as one of the negative incentives behind the increasing scenes of urban theatre crimes during that epoch. This gives strong evidence to the superficial investigation of most of the Orientalist studies on the Islamic urban heritage, which perhaps could not exceed debating some ostensible hypotheses "effects" within its urban scene towards their intrinsic reasons or "causes" submerged within its simple organic urban fabric (Ab-Lughod, 1982, 1987, Nasr, 1989).

In particular, some western treatises, such as the Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design for Oscar Newman, have sought findings urban solutions to some rising criminal disorders within their local modern cities: 'defensible space is a model for residential environments which inhibit crime by creating the physical expression of a social fabric that defends itself' (Newman, 1972, p. 2-3). The traditional assets of the alleyway that Erbil Citadel developed through its Islamic sociocultural norms can be seen inspirational in this regard, particularly some of its design criteria that govern its width, height, meanders,

[12] By social distance we mean the degree to which open egalitarian interaction is blocked, or rather the amount of work which must be done by two parties to overcome social barriers to intimacy.
By physical distance we mean the degree to which physical contact is blocked by space or rather the amount of work which must be done to overcome spatial barriers to face-to-face contact. See Janet Abu-Lughod (1987) in this regard.

hierarchy, and visual and circulation settings (see: Section: 3.2.2.2, Chapter 3). Whilst the study does not seek to assess those western theses, but rather to explore the role of local participation, it still begs the question within a general framework: to what extent could such studies really serve in formulating veritable future policies for Islamic heritage conservation? If this has implications for ICOMOS and UNESCO, then within a more specific framework, the question becomes how possible it is to judge and plan for Islamic built heritage through purely global conventions and charters developed by ICOMOS and UNESCO, which have been principally written apart from this heritage. The question arises as to whether it would not be more rational to keep the issue more correlated with Islamic heritage local communities than other global efforts.

Thus, the Orientalists' literature and even some western studies on Islamic urban heritage is different from a model of efficient processes, and may not exceed the fact that it is merely a model of results, since its results may be based on fewer cases or fewer investigations than is required. Perhaps, it is crucial to emphasise this point here to make it clear that attempting to apply these imported approaches to our Islamic traditional environments would seriously lead to deviating from the overall policies of meeting their goals. This is simply owing to the aforementioned fact that such approaches are focusing on explicit outcomes rather than efficient processes. Likewise, a similar threat might emerge when we attempt to apply those ICOMOS charters, as an edict or ordinance, to conserve our Islamic heritage, which of course should be clear enough by now why such attempts are likely to stumble. No one has the capacity to reinvent Islamic urban heritage by ordinance. Thus, the need is for a process that emerges from the core of the issues, which should be aware enough of their roots. The focus therefore should come from inside the issues of the site rather than modelling the issues to fit the results. Islamic heritage is a process, not a product. Whilst its inner characteristics, principles and current traditions are Islamic per se, and thus deeply localised and private, this may give solutions to its present and future issues through going back into its history, and more importantly its local communities, rather than imposing modelled international regulations on its diverse urban uses of diverse types and in diverse places. Instead, enough space should be left to its local communities in order to adjudicate its current issues and for drawing up its future policies (Ab-Lughod, 1982, 1987, Nasr, 1989).

Clearly, the reference by some studies that the Islamic approach has maintained some ancient traditions from the previous generations is sound reference par excellence (Feener, 2017).

However, it is uncritical to say that the spatial segregation based on residential apartheid in some ancient built environments has been endorsed for juridical distinction between residents by Islamic norms, which is a point that has often been advocated by some Orientalists' studies. To reach evidence in this respect, those studies should have been working to break the outside cortex of the issue, digging down towards its roots instead. This may invert such findings showing how the Islamic approach has worked on purifying its heritage communities from such residues, on the one hand, while attempting to boost those rational social norms inherited in the site, on the other. More importantly, residential segregation is not, however, a fixed asset referring to social segregation. Rather, it sometimes comes according to the local circumstances of the place, religiously or economically and even militarily, rather than as a pre-determined juridical situation, such as in some Egyptian, Iraqi, Lebanese and Moroccan cities, which comprise varied racial and religious progenies.

In other cases it comes as a self-choice by the inhabitants themselves due to some cultural-religious considerations of some "*dhimmis*" or minorities. Such traditional terms accompanying Islamic heritage environments are deep-seated in the place including its community to be subsequently defined through them as the real ethos of the place. Indeed, direct debates on such findings with the site's local communities might be the shortest, if not the sole way to confirm or refute such findings.

These traditions have strongly become overlapped and embedded in the majority of the criteria of urban planning and design, and therefore reflected upon the urban fabric of many sites of Islamic heritage. For instance, they potentially contribute more to understanding the urban tradition of urban design in some Islamic heritage sites in terms of their meandering urban alleyways, convoluted paths, courtyards, open-air courtyards, aiwan, residential units' oblique entrance and so forth, where Erbil Citadel may have an opportunity to contribute to deepening the definition of these traditional themes (see: Section: 3.2.2.2, Chapter 3). Based on Ab-Lughod (1982), it might be noteworthy that these traditional urban features make ancient Islamic heritage more 'imageable in a way that gridiron planned Chicago was not' (p. 164).

Culture arguably could be tracked regressively and progressively through a particular Islamic heritage community where traditions take shape through local 'activities and rituals whose whole aim is to perpetuate [that] community from one generation to the next' at a particular

site (Kazimee, 2010, p. 142). Traditions are ‘strengthened through the social bonds and mutual responsibilities within the community [making Islamic heritage as] as...a living entity with its fluid and organic fabric that facilitate needs of soci[o]cultural requirements’ (Ibid, p. 142). Traditions ‘are [firm] in their spontaneity and fluidity that drive the [site to] create a sense of place, which breeds community solidarity and cultivate a rich...cultural fabric’ within the site (Ibid, p. 142).

However, the misconception of these traditions by some has led to hasty judgements being made and consequent urban implications within ancient Islamic environments, where traditions have been ostensibly read and become nothing but to subdivide the urban fabric into relatively perpetual quarters. Yet, an acknowledgement of such leads to the question of who can legitimately generate the conservation rules and criteria that can really preserve the Islamic built heritage. Also, the question arises as to whether ICOMOS Charters and UNESCO Conventions, which are both global in nature, are able to respond to the deep and sensitive privacy that this heritage possesses.

There is, therefore, a need to find a common denominator in streamlining and understanding origins of these traditions and their impacts on the site. In fact, Islamic legislation is often seen as an adaptive mechanism through which many of these traditions were maintained from pre-Islamic eras to the Islamic covenant. However, some of these traditions are believed to be inherited from the previous generations and are inherent in the site (Feener, 2017), which therefore may require involvement in a living social component of the site. These components bared witness to actions and outcomes of this adaptive mechanism, to become subsequently part of its modality, both socially and culturally. This is simply the site's local community. Thus, such features may give priority to local communities as an essential building block in understanding how these traditions have evolved in a continuing urban expansion and an accumulation of cultural layers that surface on the site over time. In particular, this should really be given priority when it comes to the expected role of the local community of Erbil Citadel in the current efforts to revitalise the site, especially those aboriginal inhabitants, for whom their continuous inhabitation of the site, as successive dynasties, has entrenched their social and cultural nexus within its built heritage (HCECR, 2012c).

2.4 Positioning Heritage Tourism within the Contemporary Approaches to Heritage Conservation, and the Role of Locals

Heritage tourism has become an increasingly important constituent within the industry of the global tourism. The growing popular acceptance of a “recreated and reinterpreted past” has had extreme impacts on the “presentation and representation” of heritage in its both tangible and intangible setting within the tourism context. Despite the rapid changing socio-cultural surroundings, heritage tourism continues to evolve in contributing to “community economic development” (Chhabra et al., 2003; Paris ICOMOS, 2011). Accordingly, the future trends to heritage tourism within the general map of heritage conservation are increasingly seen as an influential incentive through which a new rapport between heritage and power can be reshaped and re-founded in the local-global nexus. Nonetheless, some "ICOMOS" members declare that, recently, heritage has been increasingly viewed by many local authorities as a “local commodity” that can be "sold" to the global tourism market just for economic returns. This is an issue that heritage specialists should constantly pay attention to, otherwise our legacy may undergo a serious deterioration, degrading its cultural values. This, in fact, is considered a serious issue that may threaten Erbil Citadel’s cultural heritage, particularly if its current revitalisation process endeavours to put excessive emphasis on its cultural potential to attract the global market of heritage tourism (Brammah, 2009a). A negative consequence of this often impacts the site’s historical authenticity as well as its physical and structural integrity due to different prompt unscheduled procedures at the site, which ultimately takes away its cultural value for the sake of its economic returns (see: Section: 2.3.1, p. 54-55).

As such, contemporary approaches to heritage conservation, particularly in some Asian heritage sites, have started to look at heritage tourism as a dynamic linking nexus not just between cultural legacy and global visitor, but also between economy and politics of a certain cultural environment. Quoting Park (2014), in the long-run, ‘heritage tourism [perhaps] serves as both economic incentives and political principles’ within the domestic and supranational scopes (p. 3). Therefore, integrating heritage with tourist cultural aspects on both of these two scopes would have positive economic impacts besides increasing pride with the site’s culture and history among its locals and visitors in local and global spheres. Salazar (2010) writes:

> On the domestic level, cultural heritage is commonly used to stimulate pride in the (imagined) national history or to highlight the virtues of particular ideologies. In the supranational sphere, heritage sites are marketed and sold as iconic markers of a local area, country [or] region (Salazar, 2010, p. 130).

To maintain this tourist vision, firstly, heritage should sustain a state of flexibility in association with its cultural hegemony and the political power that directs it. Understanding heritage as a malleable notion makes it possible to relate it to wider future tourism contexts that are tied to authentic values and inner settings, such as its cultural and social makeup. Otherwise, heritage might be lost behind a continual building of non-fixed and fast-changing cultural entities, which may detach it from its traditional nature as a socially produced and negotiating process. In addition, cultural heritage agglomerate should thus be understood as a 'socially produced, negotiated entity', whose meanings vary over time depending on the cultural context in which they are produced (Williams, 2009, p. 237).

Conversely, to serve future global trends of tourism, heritage becomes a raw material that sometimes fabricates the past for a global touristic consumption, and this corresponds to what ICOMOS members warned of earlier. The recent years have shown that the economic environment is predominant around the globe, which may then place the future of built heritage in a critical situation (Chitty, 2017). Samuel (1994) earlier described this tendency as a tourist drift of heritage in order to fit contemporary economic marketing, making heritage 'a nomadic term, which travels easily...a term capricious enough to accommodate widely discrepant meanings' (p. 205). At present, however, this is increasingly seen as an advantage that enables heritage to become more open-ending to accommodate tourists' tales and visitors' interpretations and through a "synchronic" nature of narration, replacing the old "chronologic" or "diachronic" one.[13] Naef and Ploner (2016) state that cultural heritage-based tourism can be defined through many cultural forms based on the site's potential, as historical events and cultural values, which, despite their variation in the chronology of the site, unite together to express the site as one panoramic scene at each particular moment to its visitors, calling for rejecting chronological "historical" orders in tracing touristic interpretations within heritage subjects.

[13] Synchronic: concerned with something that exists at one point in time "for instance, an individual historical event within the site surrounded by diverse interpretation of visitors at the same time". Diachronic: concerned with the way in which something has developed and evolved through time "for instance, a developing and changeable narration of visitors on the same historical event over time".

These orders still ‘continue to challenge one-dimensional heritage...interpretations, and try to make sense of [it]; [yet]...tourism is [not merely an] element in these complex processes of meaning-making, it is also a...conceptual and empirical frame...to gain insight into the multifaceted practices’ of interpreting heritage’s meanings and significance (Naef and Ploner, 2016, p. 187). The need is therefore for contributions that emerge from the current multifaceted impacts of the site’s current multi-layered cultural reality that are really aware of its meanings, events and values as current issues rather than “residues” from the past to be visited. One of the substantial means to achieve this is perhaps through genuine activation of a very important component of the site. The latter is repeatedly argued to be the most appropriate step to start with for diverse potential sociocultural contributions in this respect, whereas it may form one of the sensitive concerns that the current efforts to revitalise Erbil Citadel aims to achieve (see: Section, 3.6, Chapter 3). In this regard, Park (2014) notes, in reference to the unwise discourse of presenting heritage, that many ‘issues of heritage as dissonant and conflicting uses and purposes of the past are clearly implicated in the way heritage is created, marketed and consumed in tourism contexts’ (p. 3). This has led the representations of some heritage sites currently to 'remain largely unrecognised or under-represented’ (Ibid, p. 3).

One of the incentives to protect heritage from such repercussions is its openness towards involving more views of heritage’s explorers, as visitors and tourists, who may perceive its culture and history differently. There often exist ‘multiple constructions of the past’ that are ‘endlessly revised from our present positions’ (Crang, 1994, p. 341). Accordingly, Park (2014) notes that some studies indicate that it is crucial to shift the focus in heritage tourism towards ‘creating, recreating and promoting [expressive] stories and images of the past rather than just attempting to deliver the real stories of the past’ (p. 1). This may facilitate receiving new visions, and thus, re-readings of the cultural potentials of the site besides obtaining new understanding regarding the current technique of their presentation. This entails balancing the progressive outcomes reflected by the reciprocal interaction between the site and its inhabitants and the visitors' interpretation, which, according to Conran (2006), is conditioned to an “intimate encounter” between tourists and inhabitants.

In this respect, some heritage studies have adopted the saying that, the concept of story-telling is vital in presenting and re-presenting heritage, and thus is essential in resuscitating its appeal. For such treatises, the physical manifestations of heritage resources should not be

more essential than “images”, “meanings” and “symbols” related to them, which are often argued to be of ‘greater significance in making heritage resources more attractive and appealing’ (Park, 2014, p. 1). Ashworth et al. (2007) also advocate this, stating that ‘heritage often depends entirely on the stories being created, recreated, told and retold’ (P. 36). Yet, this does not imply that narratives of those “outsiders”, as visitors and explorers, are able to present and represent heritage’s intangible assets attached to its tangibles in a valid way. Furthermore, it is important that the creation and recreation, telling and re-telling of story-telling of heritage through tourism is to be conditioned by a ‘complex and often discordant array of identifications and potential conflicts’ (Ibid, p. 36). However, this should support the story-telling at the end, whereas the “outsiders” role may weaken this point imputed to a high subjectivity, which is unable to show or draw upon any advantage of cultural attachment with the site.

Furthermore, Staiff, et al. (2013), write that some heritage conservation processes sought to incorporate “invented” narratives of fresh views and ideas from those new arrivals and explorers who may see heritage differently, hoping to assist in building heritage culture-based futuristic policies. Although this move could result in a higher level of appreciation, it also leaves a real gap within the revelation of heritage's authentic culture and values, resulting from privileging their narrative of any contribution that can be made by its local communities in this concern. Consequently, it may lead to the creation of a state of variance and contradiction between the implications of this invented narrative regarding culture, history and values of the site and their authentic representation on the ground. Bushell and Powis (2009) and Staiff, et al. (2013) assign this to some economic challenges, such as income generation, which are often set as central concerns. However, this may be better resolved if the same opportunity were given to heritage’s indigenous people.

Thus, a twofold point can be inferred here. Firstly, contemporary approaches shift the focus of heritage tourism from the physical setting to the non-physical, drawing upon intangibles of cultural heritage more than tangibles. Moreover, the task of storytelling of heritage's events and values has been shifted from the site's inner social constituent to those new arrivals, as visitors and explorers, seeking to re-present them differently. These approaches aim at exposing heritage's life-story to those who have not experienced the site, which may add to the eligibility of its values in order to encourage sustainability of the site's cultural definition. Yet, this may jeopardise heritage’s cultural resources by decoupling the site’s cultural assets

from its indigenous social roots. The easiest way to return to these roots is through the indigenous people. In (Section 2.2.2.) some evidence for this notion is presented.

Accordingly, to support heritage tourism, contemporary approaches of heritage conservation should consider the site's cultural story as a structure that evolves constantly. Whilst it should be open to narratives that sensitively embrace interpretations that lay beyond the tangibles of heritage, disparities in narratives between aboriginals and visitors should be seen as something supportive and part of the cultural story of the site's future. Park (2010a) demonstrates in this respect that participation of visitors and heritage explorers can serve:

> ...as a conspicuous change and challenge to the dominant stories of heritage, increasing focus...on articulating the different perceptions and multiple interpretations of heritage...Narratives and subjective experiences of heritage play a substantial role in broadening the scope and range of story-telling of heritage within tourism contexts...[yet] heritage tourism is a phenomenon related to tourists' motivations and perceptions of the site itself rather than simply site attributes and specific artefacts presented.

Consequently, it is a dialectic relationship between tourists and heritage, which is an issue that should be well-thought-out within contemporary approaches of heritage tourism-based conservation. Park (2014) believes that it should acknowledge socio-psychological needs of tourists whilst at the same time, local communities of heritage are important in acting as local foundations or facilitators in this regard. Their direct relationship with heritage, history and culture, necessitates their presence in such future actions as part of their cultural rights, which also protects heritage's cultural assets that are often unwisely exploited to manage tourist destinations (Johnston, 2003). Conversely, in sites where aboriginals have lower-voices to heritage market-driven tourism, their capacity to retain their legacy will of course be fragile, thus losing access to heritage genuine resources could potentiality occur. Staiff (2013) calls this the 'erasure of the indigenous people as a living culture' of the site, which 'makes reflexive understanding very difficult for visitors' (p. 198), consequently founding any supposed dialectic relationship between heritage and its explorers almost intractable.

Based on this, there should be a crossroads where different visions and aspirations of heritage's visitors and aboriginals may meet to enlarge the cultural base of the site, which perhaps serves as a new tourist incentive for heritage. Incentive which instead of being creates a state of cultural dispute around the site, it may integrate a local and global vision that boosts sociocultural dimensions of heritage, touristically setting the power of site

authorities as no more than a tool to meet that (Staiff, 2013). Not acknowledging this approach within heritage-based tourism, and leaving it to the interpretation and imagination of heritage's enthusiasts and explorers simply leads to mislaying one of the pillars of interpretation represented by the locals. It 'exemplifies the loss' of association between the aboriginals and the cultural potential of their heritage, and consequently could lead to their indifference towards any cultural decline of the site in the far-future (Ibid, p. 206). Thus, contemporary approaches to heritage tourism should always combine 'the global and the local' in narrating heritage cultural stories (Park, 2014, p. 3); "the descriptive" of the visitors and "the experiential" of the locals, thus merging the realistic reading of the locals with the imaginative reading of the visitors.

Poria et al., (2003), and Kim and Jamal (2007) suggested earlier that henceforth there should be, within the futuristic methodologies of heritage tourism, a gradual shift in maintaining cultural potential of heritage as a mixture of "descriptive approaches" and "experiential approaches".[14] Heritage and tourism, based on Bushell and Staiff (2012), is important in being viewed as a practice and performance, where both involve the new formulae of reading that are significantly based on contributions resulted from local communities and global societies, which, despite struggling to sustain their own particular positions, have become more incorporated with each other. Park (2014) therefore submits that a contemporary approach should incorporate them together not only in heritage interpretation and its related cultural narrative, but 'in theorising and managing heritage tourism' as well (p. 4).

Revealing such shifts in heritage tourism's current approaches seems part of and important for the current revitalisation process of Erbil, which also may urge reviews of some approaches to Islamic heritage conservation in order to trace any significant shift they may call for in this regard. Some Islamic heritage, which is characterised by private cultural assets and particular social tradition, is probably hard to engage in such contemporary prospects of heritage tourism. Stated simply, this is owing to the fact that it has its own norms and criteria that are deeply rooted in its local communities. However, the fact that Erbil Citadel is an Islamic heritage site may mean more focus is needed on this issue in order to be able to come closer to its current revitalisation process and gain more understanding of its issues.

[14] This also serves as a base for the recent notion of "progressive conservation" of heritage, which will be discussed subsequently.

2.5 Positioning Islamic Heritage within the Contemporary Approaches to the Local Role in Heritage Conservation

2.5.1 Contemporary Approaches to Heritage Conservation

On a grander urban level, some studies, such as Herzfeld (2015), contend that overstated top-down planning for 'heritage' led the latter to start contesting 'right to the city' (p. 3). On the other side, many contemporary environments witnessed an urban boom displaying different modern architectural approaches, which compete with their traditional quarters creating a heritage dissonant with them, both culturally and economically (Ibrahim, et. al., 2014, 2015). Such urban drifts often lead heritage to suffer "cultural solitude" from its surroundings, where contemporary heritage approaches should challenge presently and afterwards. The controversial urban relationship between Erbil Citadel's urban heritage and its contemporary surroundings, such as *Neshtimani* linear malls, may give an example of this. Instead, they should look at heritage as a "unique historical link" that correlates these authentic quarters with their contemporary surroundings through an integrated approach that considers the place as one correlated synthesis, which although it celebrates its traditionalism, should give a priority to its ambient contemporaneity. Chitty (2017), and Jokilehto (2017), write that all of this should proceed through sequential stages, or a "*progressive process*" of conservation, which besides tackling the site's issues and objectives as a whole, maintains itself as part of a wider "*national policy*" that involves the entire place, which ultimately adds cultural character and meaning to the modern city.

Within the site level, previous conservation trends have put double emphasis on sustaining the notion of "continuity" against "change" within built heritage, which was deemed less-important, owing to the argument that it confiscated the genuine cultural image of heritage. Material reflections of everyday cultural life of the built heritage context considered impurities to be lessening the site's historical cultural value (Steinberg, 1996). The core of some of these changes considered merely a response to the increasing tendencies to colouring heritage with features that either aimed to bestow an adjusted historical image upon our current heritage, or padding it out with some modern additions, which have left negative impacts on it. Steinberg (1996) attributes this to an incomplete reading of the causes and effects of the change, thus to a non-integral vision of the site's actual problems and issues.

Whereas this may justify their removal the cultural setup of our heritage has started to indicate a cultural gap within its setting owing to this trend of conservation. As a living site teaming up with social life, heritage's architectural and physical structure should be flexible enough to involve its new cultural settings and assets that refer to this particular cultural period as part of its overall cultural identity. As part of its constantly evolving character, according to Mahmud, and Al-naim, (2006) and Assari, et al., (2012), this identity should indicate a sense of continuity within its chronology as a sequence of values and events. Within this context, one of the controversies that Erbil Citadel's current revitalisation raises is the dialectical process to the reinstatement of its Grand Gate, which the research tackles (see: Chapters 4, 5 & 6). An intact reinstatement may require associating continuity of the authentic past and change of the unavoidable present that both are arguably considered an integral part of defining its genuine architectural and cultural assets and thus, its authenticity and cultural importance. Whereas some literature on the site, such as Brammah (2009b), HCECR, (2012a, 2012c) and ICOMOS (2014) refers to the necessity of maintaining the Gate's authentic past, which is conditional to preserving its authenticity and cultural significance, some other literature, such as ICOMOS (1982), strongly recommends involving these changes in the future manifestation of the Gate, where their disregard for the architectural and cultural definition of the Gate leaves its authenticity and cultural significance incomplete. This may call for a genuine activation of the notion of progressive conservation in dealing with such an important issue.

Accordingly, contemporary conservation trends started looking at 'planning for continuity and change' as a reciprocal value when setting heritage future policies and how to activate all possible tools to meet that in a *progressive* way (Sapu, 2009, p. 1). This entails a flexible and buildable nature of some heritage components that should accept some unavoidable additions or even changes that, on the one hand, do not cancel out the previous setting of the component, but also respond to those changes within its current setting, on the other hand (ICOMOS, 2004; Stovel, 2004; Von and Bertilsson, 1995). Perhaps, the initial calls for this were started firstly by ICOMOS (1982), which emphasised maintaining some imperative changes, such as those that were considered as aftermaths of wars, which include an essential part of the site's tangible and intangible history and its cultural story. Both tangibles and intangibles of cultural heritage are undoubtedly essential components of its cultural identity. Thus, the contemporary approaches refute the previous trends that perceived change as

confiscating the genuine cultural image of heritage, indicating the opposite: removal of impacts of change would confiscate and lessen the genuine image of cultural heritage resulting in a fabricated character of identity. An initial impact of this progressive nature, according to Mitchell (2008), may firstly come from the overlapped relationship between built heritage and culture, which contributes to the accumulation of diverse values of the site ultimately. Therefore, it should be considered as a potential for conservation of the new synthesis of the heritage component as tangible and intangible assets, and thus built-in within its identity.

According to Sapu (2009), condoning the concept of "change" and focusing on sustaining rigid "continuity" within heritage conservation only 'may have adverse consequences [even on its] traditions and values' (p. 1), reducing "cultural interactions" among heritage societies. Recommendations of Florence Declaration consider these interactions as a human value to materialise more sociable visions in future planning of heritage (ICOMOS, 2014). Heritage conservation is for humankind and their prospects ultimately, thus privileging "continuity" of some tangible components over some inevitable changes that they witness simply would reduce heritage's human values. These changes have become, and/or will become part of the site ultimately, including its history, culture and traditions. Their current and future influences that have come together to create –and continue to create- a unique culture, therefore, should not be accepted as part of the reality and the genuine image of our heritage henceforth (Sapu, 2009).

However, the initial steps of these trends have come against some misconception of the notion of change, which had adverse consequences on heritage. For instance, the "new" and "modern" have been considered worthwhile for heritage *continuity* to be substituted to "the traditional" and "the old" in many sites and particularly in developing countries. "The traditional" is considered invalid to cope with contemporaneity, consequently of less value to embrace, for instance, modern institutional buildings of social services. Instead of treasuring it, it has often been ignored, if not torn down, from the urban image of built heritage and then removed (Sapu, 2009; Steinberg, 1996). Perhaps, the historic town of Icheri Sheher in Baku-Azerbaijan and The Suleymaniye and Zeyrek quarters in Turkey can be set as examples of this (Chitty, 2017; Jokilehto, 2017) (see: Section: 2.2.3).

The need is therefore for modern approaches for progressive conservation that according to Chitty (2017) may contribute to maintaining continuity of heritage current settings through how to flexibly assimilate new inescapable changes into these settings rather than how to manage change. Changes should be seen henceforth as part of a wider scale of heritage continuity. More specifically, heritage continuity is an amalgam of changes that at most is based on intangible variables more so than the physical architecture of built heritage, while the latter should be well-sustained as an amasser of these variables. Perhaps, Erbil Citadel can be set as a good example of this. For instance, its historical chronology involves many cultural epochs, thus many cultural generations that started 6000 years ago and continued evolving to show different cultures or time and another starting from the Neo-Assyrian era passing through pre-Islamic periods (which involves Christianity and Judaism) and then the Islamic period until the present day (where the culture is also different between those indigenous and non-indigenous) (HCECR, 2012c; MacGinnis, 2009). All of this is no more than being a state of continuity of change, sociocultural change, or non-physical change. The physical assets of the site are mostly the same, regardless of those modifications that occur between 200 to 300 years, which also confirm the argument that together changes shape heritage continuity. Hence, it can be stated that whereas heritage's built context is mostly consistent physically, what constantly evolves is what it includes from non-physical vocabularies as part of its culture, which gives the site its persistently evolving nature.

Thus, change is a postulate, and imperative in the continuity of the overall structure of heritage. It is not a negative disorder of heritage in all of its conditions. Therefore, future approaches to heritage conservation should seek 'management of creative continuity' through 'the management of change' as the latter is embedded in the former (Chitty, 2017, p. 3). Sociocultural life is changing, and therefore heritage is expected to present new potentials corresponding with its new intricacies and requirements, contributing to and simultaneously benefiting from the ingrained relationship between heritage's architecture (which is seen as unchanging, but progressive) and culture (which is seen as changing and progressive). Social and economic demands are considered an essential aspect of this change, which makes the creation of these new approaches whereby cultural heritage can respond to these demands requisite.

Whereas the management of heritage does not mean deterring change but rather recognising how to understand the nature and implications of change on heritage presently and in the

future, Jukka Jokilehto (2017) still argues that there is ‘less emphasis on managing change, [and] more on managing continuity through change’ (Cited in Chitty, 2017, p. 31). What Smith (2012) discussed earlier in this regard can be set as a clarification, and perhaps a solution for this, pointing out that futuristic conservation practices should have been mainly shaped as a ‘social practice’ in principal:

> The consequences of heritage activities are the emotions, experiences and memories of them that they create... what is also created, and indeed continually recreated, are social networks and the historical and cultural narratives that underpin these building relations. (Smith, 2012, p. 3)

Thus, heritage activities are no doubt continuing, whilst what is needed to remain growing is their diverse cultural impacts upon heritage. Yet, what should be in charge of that are those “social networks” of the site, which, in fact, are mainly connected to the site’s local communities. They are the actual initiators of them, and consequently the best to sustain and maintain them. Whereas the UK Heritage Lottery Fund warns of underrating the worth of these networks (HLF, 2016), Erica Avrami stresses the necessity of new conservation principles that show the proper way of engaging locals in strengthening them (2011). These local networks should work as a “toolkit”, which, according to the Florence Declaration (2014), facilitates ‘building knowledge and changing perceptions through experience’ of the locals, thus more ‘cultural interactions and communication’ (para. 1.2). Through this, heritage conservation policies may challenge how to maintain some historical sociocultural assets but meanwhile respond to other contemporary economic circumstances and how to protect authentic heritage roots whilst recognising some inevitable changes.

2.5.2 A Link with Islamic Heritage

For Islamic heritage, Mahmud, and Al-naim, (2006) and Assari, et al., (2012) develop a basic step for *progressive conservation*, which also draws upon *continuity* and *change* but with more flexible tools. It proposes a wider base in how to sustain Islamic heritage’s properties and authentic criteria, but also allows processing of transformations within its structure to be more responsive to present-day necessities. To achieve this, an Islamic heritage property should be scrutinised morphologically and structurally, seeking to reveal more opportunities and flexibilities among its physical and cultural layers that may allow for more additions -or what they call “add-In type”- and/or modifications –or, “add-On type”. More specifically, it seeks “deconstructing and then reconstructing” the site’s sociocultural assets and norms in a

way that enables a more flexible re-reading of them and contemporarily aiming at developing the current potential of heritage towards creating new spaces and functions of its traditional architecture. This is necessary, of course, owing to their efficiency and relevance to the current and future map of the site, both socially and culturally.

According to Mahmud and Al-naim (2006), whilst the add-In type allows an investigation of changes conducted within the same Islamic architectural type of a particular structure on the site, the latter type allows for tracking of those changes that are believed to have been forcibly inserted into the existing Islamic type during the history of the site. Both ultimately lead to mapping the existing heritage with new features, topologically with "modifications within the existing type/add-In type" and typologically with "alterations on the existing type/add-On type". The new approach towards Islamic heritage conservation is to permit a kind of transformation, consequently assimilation, -with inner adjustment, addition and division- within its assets that sustains its survival and thus keeps it up-to-date with the requirements of the present-day life.

This, firstly, makes it able to retain its past, evoking a level of flexibility submerged within the physical form of a particular structure that is considered relevant to accommodate new functions or complementary activities with the current one, and meanwhile does not object to its particular architectural settings (Assari, et al., 2012). These setting are, for instance, its location within the urban fabric as well as its accessibility, its cultural quality, present situation structurally, and visual relationship with the urban scene of the site. As an essential issue that the research investigates, the current material and immaterial properties that Erbil Citadel's Grand Gate involves makes its future at the site controversial, which is due to a sequence of additions, modifications and demolitions that it has witnessed in the past (HCECR, 2012c). This, perhaps, entails dealing with the Gate using a similar vision of a progressive conservation, which should precisely consider these modifications before dismantling or confirming their roots with its original structure. To this end, Assari, et al. (2012) note that it is crucial to understand the spatial organisation of the structure firstly, revealing whether it has undergone some transformation during its lifespan. This requires analysing 'the basic spatial formation components and elements...by means of questionnaires and in-depth interviews' (Mahmud and Al-naim, 2006, p. 63), which evidently should be conducted with those who are more aware of the site, namely the aboriginals.

In addition, it urges reinvestigation of some imported opinions in this regard that often see some Islamic norms are rigid and impose inefficient traditions on the contemporary scene of some Islamic cities that seem difficult to be ignored or updated to what fits the present-day life. Since we know that most Islamic built heritage subjugates to international laws, represented by ICOMOS conventions and UNESCO charters, this Orientalist vision may have a real impact on this heritage as it subjects it to considerations, and perhaps real involvement, when setting conservation norms regarding many of the Islamic heritage sites. Thus, adopting such kinds of progressive conservation, on the one side, would maintain the survival of the site's local assets, culturally and socially, and also prevent Islamic heritage from losing out to globalised conservation norms, on the other side.

Assari, et al., (2012) go beyond the site, stating that modern strategies to planning for Islamic built heritage is to see it as part of the entire place, and therefore its futuristic policies should be integral and integrated with an overall plan of the place. However, the dilemma emerges when the urban policies of the place track a modern trend of planning, whilst the vision of conservation policies works on reviving heritage's ancient assets in a very traditional manner isolated from the surroundings and does not pledge to maintain their future relationship. Rather, it is perhaps necessary instead to work to increase and consolidate this trend. To this end, Assari et al., (2012) suggest looking at internal and external essential conservation aspects (embedded in the site and its urban relationship). Internally, it draws on identifying "strengths" and "weaknesses" that the proposed policy may provide the site with, whilst externally, it draws upon pooling and debating "opportunities" and "threats" brought by the new urban relationship to the site. Both "weaknesses" and "threats" are not enough to be identified only, but to be avoided and, if possible, converted into "strengths" and "opportunities" within the new suggested policies, which might be an appropriate strategy to deal with the issue of Erbil's Gate in the subsequent parts of the research.

In each of these aspects, Mahmud (2007) pitches the local community and its inseparable attachment to the site as an essential aspect in the assessment of this. 'When people have a shared culture...shared norms... values...memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes...meanings and conceptions...and experience which relate to the variety and complexity' of physical and non-physical settings of Islamic heritage, consequently affiliation to the site, enables them to attach 'social and cultural significance' to it (Ibid, p. 40). Based on the recommendations of UNESCO on Islamic heritage, their participation assists in well-understanding of these

issues, which on an urban scale, requires a more complex approach than an archaeologically-oriented restoration. The social component here therefore should be considered as 'vehicles of social life and part of a living environment and [it] therefore need[s] to be treated within the context of the whole urban agglomerate' (UNESCO, 1980, para. III.I, p. 12).

Whilst the call here is for a progressive conservation, the concept seems to suffer a kind of misapplication when it comes to some sites of Islamic heritage. The latter lacks profound and comprehensive measures to avert the "progressive disarticulation" among the urban components of these sites. Instead of tracking a consistent process that harmoniously covers the entire site, the core of most of these measures focuses mainly on the main physical structures within the site, such as monuments and other symbolic buildings (often due to financial issues). Consequently, it has led to jeopardising the urban context, particularly its cultural and social makeup, thus marginalising any expected contribution produced by the site's inhabitants. This is a serious issue that needs to be taken into consideration in many heritage sites, particularly with decisions of revitalising some Asian sites, including Erbil Citadel, as according to Doha ICOMOS (2014), the role of its social structure seems to be at stake in the recent efforts to conserve the site. The site should be realised as an interrelated and overlapped structure of urban and architectural growth, of parts rooted in one whole. To avoid this misapplication, 'conservation [should] be fully integrated into local structures and backed up by an ongoing planning process', while 'the final success' of its policies is ultimately conditioned to 'the local follow-up' where the residents are part of it (Ibid, para. III.3.a, p. 18-19). Thus, this makes it necessary to revisit the traditional mechanism of formulating heritage conservation policies, searching for any opportunity to empower the inhabitants to gain a similar position with the site's authorities.

2.6 Decentralising Power as an Optimal Strategy in Policy-making Processes of Contemporary Heritage Conservation

Despite the persistent emphasis on the importance of the local role in formulating heritage conservation policies, the monopoly of this role by some decision-makers continues, making this top-down approach subject to debate. Controlling conservation policies by those decision-makers is seen by many as leading to creating some delicate policies on the one hand, but being unable to continue until the end in achieving its goals on the other hand (Hidaka, 2008). This, on the one hand, makes the need for actual engagement of the local

community in constructing conservation policies crucial. On the other hand, it requires further discussion regarding the exact reasons that prevent these policies from achieving their goals.

Based on Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier (1993), following the top-down approach in policy-making, the conservation policy formulation mostly suffers from fragilities for multiple reasons, such as deficiency of flexibility in its self-evaluation, the imprecision of describing its objectives, and the impractical technique of resolving the site issues. It is therefore considered as a one-direction-decision-making process or the policy of authority. Practically, it stumbles on accomplishing its objectives for one prime reason: it is incapable of accounting for the feedback loop being a one-direction process. Additionally, there are rigorous controls accompanying drawing up the conservation policies, as well as for the self-evaluation of the conservation process by the site's decision-makers and the weak role of local participation in structuring these policies. These indicators may compose the key points beyond some contradictions between the power and the local community towards drawing up the conservation policies of the site, which ultimately influence the optimal planning for the future of the site's cultural values.

A study by Hidaka (2008) on the "Contemporary Theory of Conservation" has revealed an intrinsic point in this respect to this, demonstrating that tying the mission of conservation only to an array of specialists obscures some subtle issues within the entire site. In many cases, the detection of these issues does not require some contemporary techniques, but only a kind of know-how and traditional knowledge related to the fact and nature of these issues. The lack of such a know-how and traditional knowledge was assigned in more than one place to the control of the top-down approach on the policy-formulation of heritage conservation processes, which in turn ascribes the task to those specialists, condoning the 'policy community' (Jordan, 1990, p. 327), who is the local community.

Thus, controlling the conservation process by the top-down approach only confronts the challenge of how to preserve the heritage site integrity, and simultaneously effectively boost the site's intangible dimensions without compromising its values. It is a task that heritage policies always have to grapple with. Correspondingly, the (Contemporary Theory of Conservation) has come to dually emphasise the weakness of controlling the conservation policy-formulation by the top-down approach, which leads to different points. One of its

drawbacks is the noticeable absence of the local community role, which was found to be supportive of the conservation policies in many cases. The potential of the local participation affords a balance in the mechanism of tackling these issues equally with the site's decision-makers. One of the fundamental points, which Blandford (2007) recommends against the one-direction-decision-making process, is the involvement of the inhabitants in the neutral drafting of the policy and its aims that entails an actual identification of their views and interests, considering them as a *key-site issue*. Accordingly, a new approach to a resilient strategy that ensures the rightful participation for all parties is suggested. It is a strategy to decentralise power in the conservation decision-making processes.

Based on the recommendations of 'the World Conservation Union' in (2004), sharing authority should receive a genuine priority from the different parties of the site in order to 'share information, advice and conservation benefits with the concerned communities. Empower [them] to participate in, [and] engage the[m] in negotiation process' (p. iv). Therefore, the most appropriate mechanism of planning for compatible cultural heritage policies is perhaps to submit to what has been termed a decentralised power strategy, which is based on co-decision methodology between the site's authority and inhabitants. This approach offers 'a continuous problem-solving process, rather than a fixed state, involving…negotiation within problem-solving networks', which guarantees 'power sharing between the State and a community of [the site]' (Carlsson and Berkes, 2005, p.65). It therefore decentralises the whole process of the policy's decision-making, which consequently encapsulates the priorities of the site as a kind of shared rights and duties between the authority and the local community (see: Figure 2.2).

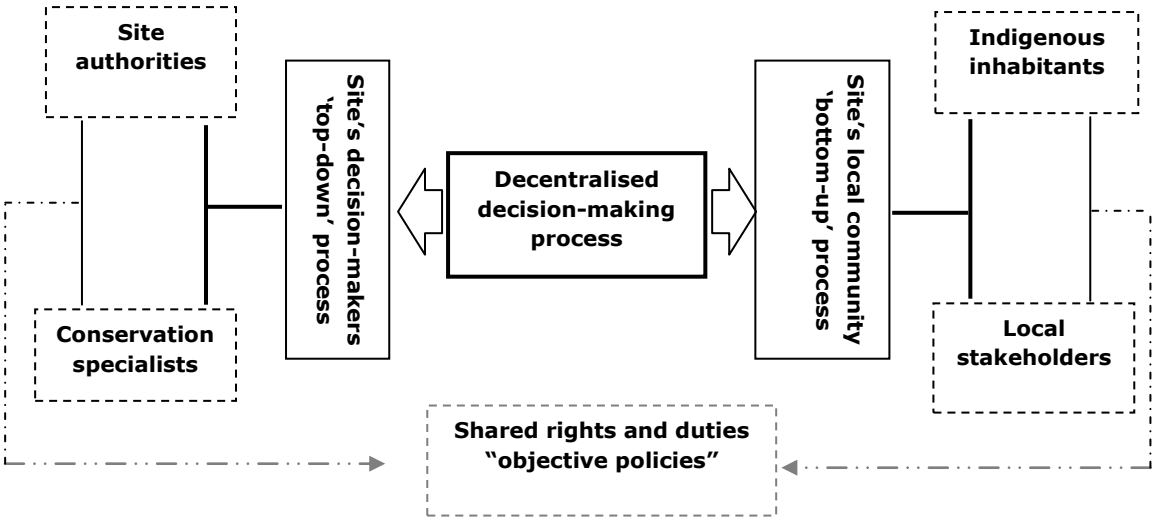


Figure 2.2: How decentralised power strategy serves the co-decision methodology; source: the researcher

A condition of this shared power strategy is the rich knowledge of the inhabitants about their "home" (the site), which should be verified through tangible contributions about the main issues that the site suffers from and therefore, requires their participation. Linking this to the current issue of Erbil Citadel, the core purpose of its revitalisation is mainly based on stimulating the site's diverse cultural potential in order to support its new tourist goal. In this regard, to investigate to what extent the Citadel's inhabitants can support its local potential that may enhance its touristic aim, the local community of the site has developed a plan to conserve the site, which is mainly based on its cultural potential, and have submitted this to the General Organisation of Antiquities and Heritage as a 'Development Plan' (Report II, p.1). The Plan suggests a model of some purposeful ideas that mainly concentrate on how to 'make the site as a…tourist centre' (Report I, Firstly; para. 1.2), which basically draws upon 'conserving the residential feature' as a unique identity, 'which discriminated the Citadel on an ongoing basis continuously and through long ages' (Report I, para. 1.1).

On an urban level, the main theme that the locals concentrate on to achieve this goal is firstly how to preserve 'the pattern of the Citadel planning', as being a substantial tool to perpetuate its identity, and in the foreground is its alleyways that reflect a kind of privacy and a feeling of belonging for the visitor when walking through them. Secondly, at the individual level of the site's units, it is important to sustain 'some distinct architectural elements', which are regarded as an integral part of the architectural and cultural properties of the Citadel's built context. In addition, they suggest any new residential units constructed should reinstate the same architectural design and features 'of those ruined...houses' (Report II, para. 1.3.1-1.3.6). In general, this approach firstly enhances the unique residential trait of the site, for which the site has gained its inscription in the World Heritage Sites' List 'WHL' (Jasim, et al., 2018) (see: Section: 3.7, Chapter 3). Secondly, it maintains the current cultural potential of the future goal of the site as a "tourist centre", which perhaps is a condition for its success. As such, the definition of the site's culture, architecture and traditions will be well-informed.

Thus, this may substantially suggest granting the local participatory role an equal position with the site's authorities in drawing up its current revitalisation policy, which generally suggests that decentralising the decision-making process of the conservation policies should entail various factors, such as:

2.6.1 The dynamic participation of purposeful concepts: which ultimately, according to Carlsson and Berkes (2005), enables the formulation of 'adaptable and flexible [policies] through the use of multiple perspectives and a broad range of…knowledge and understanding, including those of [the local] communities' (p. 67). Primarily, this approach can firstly be regarded as a complementary approach to the progressive conservation in terms of facilitating an exchange of ample cultural information that may open the site's future policies to more suggestions and opportunities. For instance, it enables a perpetuated exchange thus tackling reliable and valid views, somewhat about the site's local culture, including the series of features that associate the site's cultural properties as values and norms, and the inhabitants as feelings and memories, attitudes and ideas, and conceptions and meanings. This, based on Mahmud (2007), may combine local knowledge of the inhabitants regarding issues, complexities and potentials of the site, on the one hand, and the experience and skills of the specialists about how to tackle such issues and boost such potentials, on the other. In particular, within Islamic heritage, where the aforementioned local proposal regarding the "Development Plan" of the Citadel's built context might be an example of such a combination, this correlation ensures shaping decisions through a two-sided circle. Whereas the first side provides a diversity of local-based views, the second side is about an experience-based development of these views. However, the mutual role between these two main powers, the site's authority and inhabitants, is relative so that increasing, if required, the role of one of them will always be at the expense of the other (see: Figure 2.3). This, in fact, can serve a precise handling of some controversial issues that their initial investigation commences from the local community who is more aware of the nature of these issues, while their scientific processing is contingent upon the participation of experts of heritage, who can develop evidence-based decisions, and the issue of the Grand Gate is an example of this (see: Chapters 4, 5 & 6).

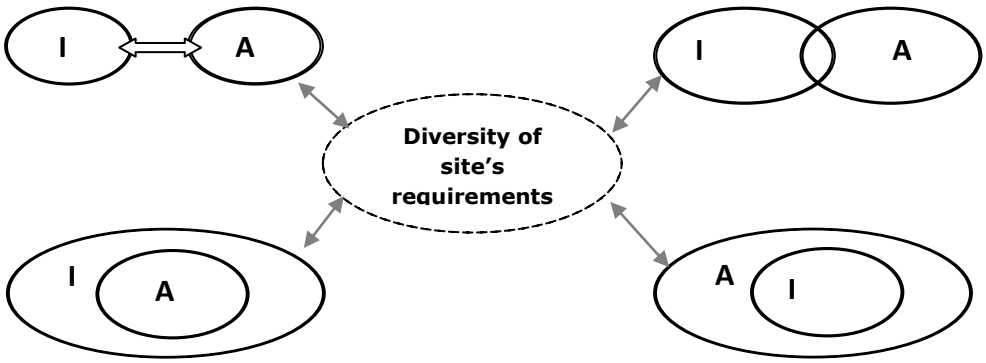


Figure 2.3: Changeable level of interaction between 'A' "authority" and 'I' "inhabitants" governed by the site's requirements and consequently the decision inputs of the conservation; source: the researcher

2.6.2 Conflicts control: granting the locals a kind of authority for planning for the site promotes heritage management towards wider comprehensiveness, embedding a spectrum of social, urban and cultural needs (McCay and Jentoft, 1998). In contrast, confining this task to the decision makers makes built heritage a "source of conflict" that may negatively influence the site. For instance, one of the serious issues in the current revitalisation process of Erbil Citadel is the unilateral planning of the site, which is said to ignore aboriginals in the process. Based on Monk and Herscher (2015), this may drive to a real potential for conflict between the site's authorities and aboriginals, particularly if the former is planning to replace the latter's role with the global experts of heritage conservation, setting their skills and rich experience as a substantial justification for doing so. Though both of them call for rooting history while using it to boost the future of the site, for the authorities, the potential of history should be part of the site's cultural potential; yet, for the aboriginals, the potential of history should draw upon the unique residential feature of the site, and therefore should be regarded as an integral part of this feature (see: Section: 3.8, Chapter 3). In fact, for some scholars, this underscores the role of the indigenous people of the site as a 'policy community [or] a stable network', and their above "Development Plan" has shown that they have the potential to demonstrate 'effective shared views…on the problem' (Jordan, 1990, p. 327). Accordingly, Carlsson and Berkes (2005) and Ostrom (1990) suggest that as long as they effectively participate in the formulation of the conservation polices, many of the conflicts around the site will be noticeably controlled due to the pre-codification of the responsibilities and priorities of the participating parties. Here, the residents' opinions should be activated at the stage of collective decisions of the policy and prioritised as a meaningful contribution as a 'future right to be exercised' upon the site (Carlsson and Berkes, 2005, p. 70). Thus, it is more 'society-centred…, manifested in different types of networks and partnerships' (Pierre and Peters, 2000, p. 3), which authorises the local community to boost its status against the authority's domination on decision formulation.

2.6.3 Establishing a level of equality: sharing power in this regard does not necessitate eliminating power relations among the different parties of the site authority, and simultaneously serves the site residents in gaining a level of equality through the new synthesis of political and social components. This enables expediting more objective data gathering and a more targeted plan (Castro and Nielsen, 2001). In this regard, it is warning that the current revitalisation policy of Erbil Citadel may be subject to strict top-down control

when drafting its decisions, which may prevent an obvious revelation of some realistic data regarding the historical growth of the site, architecturally and culturally (Doha ICOMOS, 2014). In fact, this control can lead to a lack of clear revelation of this growth which may affect an integral inclusion of some primary implications that have contributed to the creation of the historical and cultural identity of the site today. Consequently, a solution for this is perhaps through establishing a level of equality between the site's authorities and aboriginals in drafting its decisions, which may correspond to what ICOMOS suggests here regarding the necessity of an equal opportunity given to the inhabitants to participate in the revitalisation (see: Chapter 3, Section: 3.6). In many cases, particularly when the site becomes further complicated owing to some political and military circumstances, which is the case of Erbil Citadel (HCECR, 2012c), the indigenous people of the site are often seen as an appropriate elite to get rich data about the historical changes and modifications that the site has witnessed. Their involvement can abbreviate the time and scientific effort for the experts and specialists of the revitalisation to revive some data in this respect. Their continuous inhabitation of the site may enable them, through well-documentation of such data, to more quickly retrieve data to enhance the future of the site. This is also confirmed by the IUCN (2004) which states that sharing the responsibility of policy formulation assists in supporting the cultural identity as well as securing the rights and duties of its inhabitants towards the future of the site as well as guaranteeing a mutual interest shared between the site's power and its inhabitants (Beltran, 2000). Therefore, Castro and Nielsen (2001) state that 'strengthening of the state's control over [heritage] policy…instead of contributing to local empowerment [] may further marginalise communities' in supporting heritage performance' (p. 229). The community participation in the re-creation of built heritage is 'crucial…for the continuous creation of [heritage values] by society itself' (Ibid, p. 229), which in fact, is vital for the future touristic aim of the revitalisation of Erbil and perhaps seen as an integral part of its policies.

2.6.4 A more comprehensive process of decision-making: it allows for the diversity of various capacities and comparative merits premised on 'the different kinds of skills and knowledge' provided by exchanging the decision inputs and outputs through a two-way mechanism (Carlsson and Berkes, 2005, p. 71). It facilitates mapping and pursuing the decision through a bottom-up critique and top-down revision. Consequently, it suggests more rational protection for the material features of the architectural heritage from the

environmental deterioration as well as being well-clarified far-reaching planning for the site. The two main cultural controversies surrounding the current issue of the Grand Gate of the Erbil Citadel may bring the necessity of involvement of this aspect in the current approaches of heritage conservation processes to the fore. The current physical components of the Gate face possible disappearance due to the top-down vision of its cultural position within the built heritage of the site, whilst its opposition by another completely different bottom-up vision reveals new inputs regarding these controversies. The latter facilitates pursuing some fundamental themes raised by the top-down vision, and reinvestigating them through different criteria and according to what both of the locals and the revitalisation policy-makers of the Citadel contribute (see: Chapters 4, 5 & 6). Thus, while it maintains independence of contributions of each party between the site's authorities and aboriginals, the decentralising power strategy can serve to avoid non-negligence of any one of them for the expense of the other. Rather, it highlights the validity of each to serve the other, and thus empowers the site's potentials and policies (see: Figure 2.4).

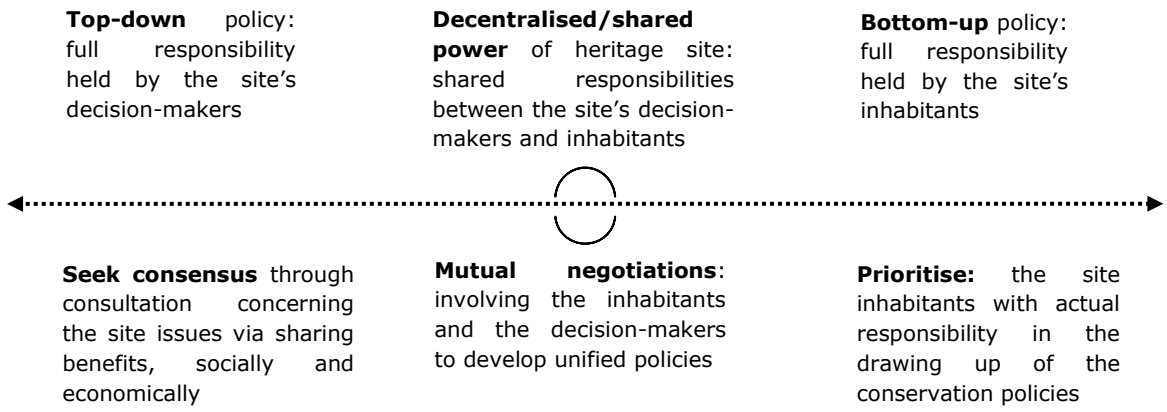


Figure 2.4: Heritage site's formal agencies and communities' participation in policy-making process; source: modified from (Carlsson and Berkes, 2005).

Central to the creation of such objective policies, the Australia ICOMOS (1998) necessitates the co-responsibility of local communities together with the site authority to ensure an objective assessment of the cultural significance of the built heritage. This is due to being the elite who have inherent and 'ancient possession, continuity of relationship, historical ties, cultural ties and direct dependency' of the site (IUCN, 2004), which echoes the case of Erbil Citadel which gained its fame for being the oldest site continuously inhabited throughout history (MacGinnis, 2009). They are thereby worthy "co-management partners" for making the heritage decisions and structuring its policies.

2.7 Conclusion

The local community of the heritage site should be equitably engaged with the site authority, the local and global experts and the international charters as an interrelated network when drafting any decision related to the site conservation. The significance of locals' participation, based on the treatises of heritage specialists, can be attributed to:

I. *The complementary relationship between the site inhabitants and their legacy, which grants thorough narrative stories regarding the site's diverse cultural values and events.*
II. *Sharing a wide range of mutual social meanings and historical memories of some particular experiences of the site.*
III. *The site inhabitants are interlinked as a part of a heritage network with power inherently entrenched in the site throughout its history.*
IV. *The collective image of the local community towards the dilemmas surrounding the built heritage efficiently assists in dismantling and analysing their causes and effects in more detail as well as presenting a comprehensive site description with regard to its vague issues.*
V. *The ancient coexistence between the inhabitants and the site assists in drawing up functional and inexpensive policies.*
VI. *Culturally, the collective agreement among the audience with respect to the priority among these values enables valorising and consequently tailoring some of the site's outstanding values within the formulation of the heritage policies.*
VII. *Touristically, the public is a viable tool for bringing into being a stock of cultural events of the patrimony, converting the site into a panoramic screen of cultural meanings for the visitor, reflecting the dynamics of heritage in presenting history.*
VIII. *The local residents sift the authentic image of the built heritage regarding its pristine social traditions and original cultural identity that increases the site transparency thereby enhancing the assessment of the site's touristic profile.*
IX. *They are the elite who have inherent possession and a consistent cultural relationship with the site.*

This may justify the recommendations of ICOMOS and UNESCO, which have repeatedly emphasised the significance of local participation that the research concludes as:

A. *Involving the locals in demonstrating the historical chronology of the site and its archaic values and cultural traditions.*
B. *Granting them an opportunity to formulate an informative base with regard to the heritage physical features and their diverse meanings.*
C. *Prioritising the deep-rooted cohabitation between the residents and their homes being more facilitative and enriching for the policies analysis of the site.*

D. *Granting factual participation for the local community in distilling the heritage significance, culturally and historically due to being pertinent and integral to the site as a realistic component from the site.*
E. *Aligning the local community role with the role of the local authorities in drawing up the conservation processes to be considered as one of two powers that would construct specific basics for the heritage policies.*

The above might have contributed to fulfilling the first aim of this research, which is: *how and why the gap between the bottom-up views and the top-down objectives should be bridged when making built heritage conservation decisions.*

To consider this in more detail, though they are unauthorised to make a specific decision individually, the inhabitants are eligible to participate in the conservation's decision-making process as it is their "home". The conservator's work has, of course, expert-only aspects, but it also has many aspects in which no technical knowledge is involved. For instance, feelings, sentiments, memories, preferences and interests are the key factors to be considered. Taking into account the opinions of non-experts implies that the "experts-only zone" becomes an "affected-people zone", and the process of conservation, (which is supposed to be an "experts-only zone" and depends on increasing the role of the authority of the experts' realm), will be with "open ends". This open-ended process will allow for any potential participation by the inhabitants. Their equitable participation perhaps assists in consolidating new decisions or delaying the unavoidable decay of certain heritage, as a part or a whole, which is the core of the conservation process.

As such, more emphasis should be placed upon the importance of pluralism in drawing up heritage policies, which, based on Castro and Nielsen (2001), should become "the starting point" or the "ground" for heritage futuristic policies. This would enable the balancing of traditional with modern techniques while drawing up these policies, as it incorporates local practices and skills into the experts' zone of heritage for a fundamental reason: the site inhabitants contribute valid and genuine knowledge that assists in detecting 'collective-action problems' concerning different issues, interests and concerns about the site (Ibid, p. 237). Their broad-based knowledge allows the locals to 'empower these institutions instead of subverting them' (Holm et al., 2000, p. 353), as real equal partners of rightful priorities that qualify them for efficient participation.

Nonetheless, different studies have indicated manifold reasons behind the fact that heritage communities have received little attention as a potential that can assist in planning for its future policies. Principally, less attention has been paid to their ingrained and reciprocal relationship with the site's cultural structure, as particularly the latter is often considered the main potential for built heritage towards tourism and other economic dimensions. Secondly, there are still some challenges that prevent their engagement and impede exploration of more information regarding some definitions that are regarded as problematic within built heritage of a particular site, which might be self-defined by them and potentially self-interesting for them. This means that sometimes, regardless of their value, the experience of conservation practitioners "as experts and site's decision-makers" should be negotiated 'as commodity rather than authority, as facilitator rather than fixer' (Chitty, 2014 cited in Chitty, 2017, p. 4). In fact, this issue lacks significant efforts on the ground while the origin of this may be justified by a similar gap at theoretical levels in heritage studies, literature and theories devoted to this.

One of the essential aspects for future conservation policies is heritage's culture and traditions, including their repercussions on economics and heritage tourism. In addition to being a product of development, traditional culture of heritage communities has also started to be seen recently as a generator of development within the developing framework of the economy of a place. This, in fact, makes conservation of heritage a tangible and intangible asset, with two sides of its culture, creating a "bond of spirits" between the site's material and immaterial assets towards actual development that can be economically sustained. It is a development that guarantees benefits for both the site and its inhabitants, for its culture and tradition. It also leads to associating the future of the site carefully with different dimensions of cultural, social and economic qualities that all drive towards more economic well-being. Nevertheless, some recent studies privilege the site's visitors and enthusiasts on the role of local communities, and as Jokilehto (2012) argues, this may threaten traditionalism of heritage as a state of discontinuity or even from being gradually eroded.

For such conservation trends, the reference to the involvement of local communities is merely a notion of being 'shoehorned to embellish professional works' (Wijesuriya, et al., cited in Chitty 2017, p. 36). This indeed could lead to, as Jokilehto (2017) has come to emphasise, a state of "debasement" towards the site's authentic traditionalism and culture due to a loose

interpretation narrated through a modern global frame of conservation. One impact of this, which is widespread in many developing countries and Asian heritage sites, is to produce modern buildings with contemporary forms of steel and concrete, which wrap, and may obliterate, history, culture and tradition of heritage. One solution for this is perhaps through supporting local communities with more education, training and building capacity as being three key aspects towards developing local participation, or even through a kind of guidance by a qualified people (Kyoto Vision of 2012). This top-down role, as a "singular initiator", may lead to dismantling the true image of history and culture of a certain site, 'which belong not to only the world of [policy-makers] but to the public sphere of heritage's inhabitants and enthusiasts' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983, p. 13). This outcome urges the reduction of such a role when incorporating traditions in planning for heritage future, substituting its singularity with plurality of contributions. Planning for heritage future 'cannot be pursued without such collaboration' owing to the fact that it is interdisciplinary (Ibid, p. 13).

As a result, it is crucial that contemporary frameworks for cultural heritage futuristic developments should incorporate all of these variables (culture, tradition and tourism) as a base to draw up their policies, whilst locals' contributions and visitors' narratives are dissolved together. The research, to achieve this, proposes more flexible top-down hegemony on heritage policies that allows a two-way communication between communities and visitors, which firstly stimulates curiosity, and thus allows multiple interpretations. Hence, more focus should be put on community-based tourism development, which in turn should serve towards more 'collaborative local tourism networks...where cultural interactions are central to active visitor participation' (Florence ICOMOS, 2014, Para. 1.2. Article D). Therefore, it is crucial that planning for built heritage at tourist destinations should be initiated through a multi-layered approach that firstly allows transparent access to cultural heritage. Secondly, strengthening any nexus that combines the site's dynamic cultural attractions with its urban surroundings may support cultural tourism based on coherent community-led strategies, and thus the top-down roles should be activated towards achieving holistic and integrated policies in this regard.

Given the fact that the research investigates the potential contribution that the participatory role of Erbil Citadel's local community may provide to its current process of revitalisation, the next step is to focus on two main points. Firstly, the revitalisation process should be investigated to discover to what extent it has engaged with local participation in an efficient

negotiation process to achieve its goals. Secondly, the actual role to be entrusted to the public should be discussed with regard to the revitalisation decisions' formulation and implementation. The extent to which priority will be given to the inhabitants will also be clarified so they may participate efficiently as the decision-makers in building a broad knowledge base about the diverse issues of the site. This step perhaps determines the subsequent steps of this participation and the appropriate manner in which this participation can be discussed.

CHAPTER THREE:

Overview of Erbil Citadel, and the Problematic of Local Participation in the Current Revitalisation Process

3.1 Introduction

Based on the contribution of Chapter Two regarding the necessity of local participation, involving the local inhabitants in the inclusive process of Erbil Citadel's current revitalisation procedures is essential. It assists in the transparent transmission of the Fortress's diverse cultural values to construct their position in the site, taking into consideration the other sources of information, such as the archival data that can enable distinctions to be made between superficial views and critically informed decisions. However, some obstacles have impeded this participatory role and prevented it achieving its goals during the formulation stage of the revitalisation policy. This goal was to encourage the involvement of local views as a subsequent step during the assessment stage of a series of decisions that the revitalisation had set, before forwarding them to the implementation stage. In fact, UNESCO Guidelines about the Citadel conservation (2014) recommend the necessity of such a step, stating that the views on the site inhabitants can fuel the "assessment" of these decisions, which consequently enables the local participation to be activated retrospectively.

However, to be able to understand and assess these views clearly, we need to investigate the reasons behind these obstacles first. Hence, this chapter will be dedicated to demonstrating the problematic of local participation in Erbil Citadel's current revitalisation process and the global views towards that. Specific literature will be employed here to cover this issue, which is the cornerstone for starting the actual investigation and analysis of the site's problems associated with local participation. To fulfil this, the chronological journey of the site's revitalisation policy will be investigated and diverse factors will also be covered, relying on different sources of literature and live data gathered from the local community, the revitalisation global experts and the local decision-makers. A precise investigation will be carried out regarding the main issues of the revitalisation process, particularly its formulation stage where its policies were formulated. This can create a level of transparency concerning the role of local participation at this stage, and meanwhile can help prepare the next stages of the research study. However, it might be useful to have a brief overview of the urban context of this site as architecture and sociocultural history, which surely enables qualitative understanding of the cultural practice of this built heritage.

This chapter attempts to answer the following question: *Does exclusivity in formulating heritage conservation decisions by the site authority lead to prejudiced outcomes?*

3.2 Overview of Erbil Citadel: Urban Context and Cultural Heritage as a Potential of Revitalisation

Firstly, according to Novacek et al. (2008b), HCECR (2008), and MacGinnis (2013), Erbil Citadel is a fortress of deep-history, tailored from diverse cultural values and historical events composing its rich built heritage at the heart of Erbil city. It 'is an ancient city built on top of an artificial mound raised up by the successive rebuilding of houses and other structures on top of each other over thousands of years' (Brammah, 2009a, p. 67), regarded as one of the oldest continuously inhabited citadels throughout the world so far (see: Figure 3.1). To revitalise the Citadel's built heritage, what is prerequisite is simply an understanding, and deciphering, of the growing map of the site as a cultural practice where different historical and cultural aspects have combined to form its current cultural image. Enabling qualitative understanding of the latter demands understanding the built context of the Citadel and to what extent it emanates from the context of the site's cultural heritage. The latter involves some historical-cultural attributes submerged in the mound-slope that the site rests upon, in addition to some other cultural characteristics embedded in its architectural and urban context (HCECR, 2012c; Progetti, 2012).



Figure 3.1: Erbil Citadel as a cultural built heritage, an aerial image for the site in 1951; source: source: Pitt-Rivers Museum, Bradford Collection, 1998.296

As such, it is important to review the Citadel as a cultural heritage, in order to reveal how the site's Islamic cultural norms and traditions have shaped this built context and how it has perpetuated some of pre-Islamic cultural heritage to its structure, such as some Jewish ornaments, a pre-Islamic Ziggurat and some ancient graves. Such tangibles are argued that are still possible to trace their influence as a valid cultural heritage within this context (HCECR, 2008, 2012c). Here, David Harvey (2001) claims that the investigation of "Heritage Pasts and [] Presents" has 'always been produced [as] a surprisingly linear history of heritage- or "heritage of heritage"' (p. 6), which often results in a cultural product of restricted temporal data with an uncontested origin. However, the current settings of the Citadel's heritage, as a culture and built context, predominantly indicates a purely Islamic heritage, while the remnants of the previous generations are either tailored within the roots of some architectural and urban vocabularies of this urban context, or almost submerged within its *Tell*. With this problematic in mind, the investigation of the current character of the site is not necessarily following a linear historical growth except in some historical aspects where the endeavour is to reveal some long-gone information that may be essential for the future planning of the site.

However, investigation of its current built context will mainly focus on narrating the sociocultural characteristics surrounding the manifestation of its current key architectural and urban elements and to what extent the site's pre-Islamic pasts have participated in solidification of the roots of these elements. While the research probes the role of Erbil Citadel's local community within its current revitalisation, this also enables gaining more from this role through demonstrating how the accumulation of some sociocultural and religious traditions of the site are nascent in the cultural practice of this community. The locals are basically part of this interaction; consequently, they should supposedly be deemed a key "toolkit" to comprehend this cultural practice (SOITM, 2013). Achieving this is perhaps through looking at the site from two perspectives, as a built physical structure including its mound-slope and as an immaterial historical-cultural heritage dissolved within this structure.

3.2.1 From a Perspective of Historical-Cultural Evolution

The site has been inhabited since the Neolithic era. Archaeologically, some evidence indicates that the Citadel as a fortified settlement has existed since 1356 BC. However, some archaeologists state that it belongs to the Mid Bronze Age which is about 6000 BC. As a historical record, Erbil Citadel appeared in the UR III era as Erbilium. During the 18th century BC, the fortress was under the Shamshi-Adad governance, considering it as a plastron, calling it URbil as a part of "UR". Subsequently, it was used as a base to conquer the whole of Mesopotamia and towards the east.

Politically, the site has been controlled by the most significant kings at that time such as Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, and then by the King Sennacherib. Due to cultural political circumstances surrounding the site, its name has been modified as Arabales, Arbira, Arbailu and Urbi-lum (Villard, 2001, Neveling, 2004, HCECR, 2008). After the Assyrian Empire, the site was included in the great empire of Alexander the Great by the "Battle of Gaugamela" in 331 BC. After Islam, the settlement witnessed prosperity and growth before being involved in the metropolitan Nineveh in 9th century AD (Sourdel, 2010). During the 12th century the Citadel became the capital of the Kurdish leader Begtegin, and then the famous ruler Muzaffar al-Din Kokbari who is a brother of Saladin (who fought against Richard the Lion Heart). During this period, the Citadel grew remarkably and developed beyond its boundaries to have some infrastructure including public functions, such as, Madrassas "schools", Suqs "markets", Khans "hotels", hospitals and Masjids "mosques". After the 12th century, the Turkmen expanded the existing zone of settlement around the Citadel further with some further infrastructure (Novacek et al., 2008b, Sourdel, 1990, 2010, Cahen, 2010).

After the Mongolian invasion at the Abbasid Caliphate in 1258 AD, by Hulagu, the site witnessed some social sufferance, which was based on racism. This led to continuous changes and resettling of some new generations and particularly of Kurdish tribes. Subsequently, during the Ottoman Empire, Erbil city including the Citadel, became Baghdad territory, and was inhabited by about 3,200 people of various nationalities (Division, 1994, Wheatley, 2001, Novacek et al., 2008b, Sourdel, 1990, 2010). Rich (1836) stated that the Citadel was completely dominated in the surrounding landscape, referring to the empty areas around the Citadel except for some close southern zones, and the Minaret of al-Muzaffariya was standing alone in the west of the habitation (see: Figure 3.2).

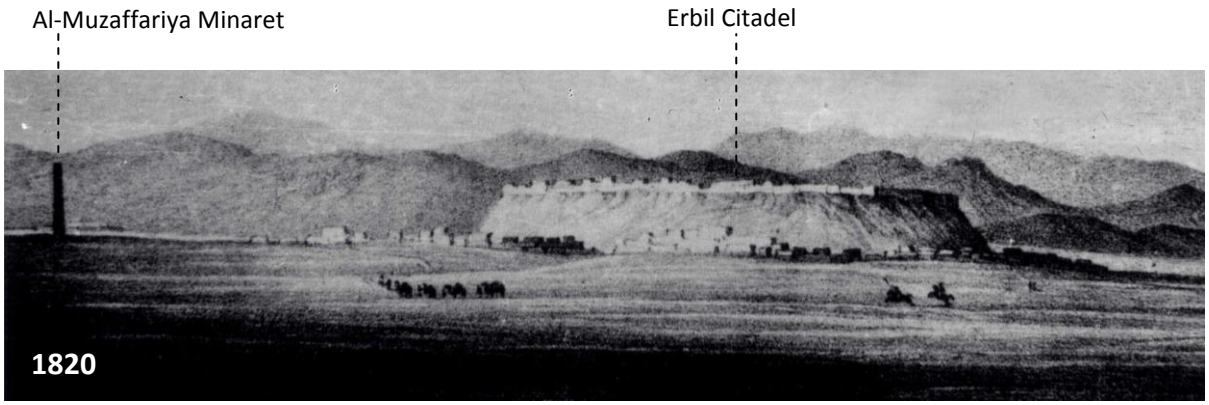


Figure 3.2: The Citadel dominates the surrounding vacated area; (HCECR, 2012a, p. 7).

Socially, the site mirrors a strong cohesion and coherence of social structure that was considered to be a consequence of manifold factors, such as the conformist tribal combination, the relatives' relationships, and strongly through the Islamic religious legitimacy which boosts the concept of the neighbourhood. Moreover, the general social values and traditions have also added a sense of the conservative community within the social criteria of the site. The simple traditional life and social networks established among the inhabitants have also motivated the social relationships between the inhabitants. These social networks gave them a primacy in knowing the site deeply, making them familiar with its aforementioned diverse historical events and sociocultural values (Southgate, 1840, Bornberg et al., 2006, SOITM, 2013).

However, a question arises regarding whether there are some impacts of the bygone civilisations that preceded the Ottoman period on the current built context of the site. If there are such impacts, to what extent can they be read now?

In fact, the cultural and urban characteristics of the site may contribute more to answering this question, where the interrelated social lineage of its local community are part of it, which subsequently have reflected upon the urban context of the site as a compact urban fabric, as a response to these norms and traditions. The next section (3.2.2.) of this Chapter may provide more information about this.

3.2.2 The Site as a Physical and Urban Context

3.2.2.1 The Citadel's Invisible Context "the *Tell*"

The Citadel dominates its surroundings visually and physically, which foremost is attributed to its 32 metre earthen base, which rises as a kind of mound-slope "*Tell*" (see: Figure 3.3).[15] The *Tell* involves different layers of foundations where many layers of built contexts have stood upon it before its Islamic period, thus representing the roots of the cultural heritage of the site today. The story of the *Tell* also stands as one of the robust pieces of evidence of the deep history of thousands of years of the site, which involves a plethora of historical traces that bear witness to its cultural heritage, and thus enriches the cultural character of the site. To reveal this story, it might be useful to narrate some arguments behind the emergence of the *Tell*, including whether it is natural or man-made, expressed through four hypotheses: natural mound, gradual accumulation, man-made mound and a multi-layered archaeological mound (Novacek et al., 2008b, Kehrer, 2009, 2010, HCECR, 2008):

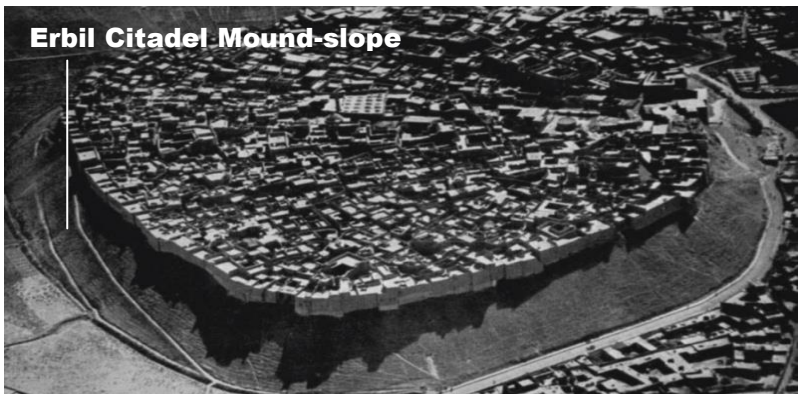


Figure 3.3: the Tell sustains the habitation and protects it from destruction over time; an aerial image for the site in 1920s; (HCECR, 2012a, p. 10)

- *Man-made Mound*: it is an artificial land and accomplished by a large effort to form extra fortification for the site.
- *Natural Mound*: it is a natural composition created by the natural denudation. However, what weakens these two hypotheses, based on Novacek et al., (2008) and Kehrer (2009), is its regular and geometric shape that some recent studies indicate, such as Progetti

[15] : ***Tell***, locally, means a high land

(2012), that it is a pile of ruined constructions over each other over years; this places it as either a gradual accumulation of continuous habitation or an archaeological mound of diverse civilisation.

- *Gradual Accumulation*: increasing layers resulting from the moderate habitation growth, which has risen over time to reach its current height of 30 metres. If the Citadel's age is about 6000 years, the slope has risen about one metre every 200 years. This is considered by some recent studies, such as Progetti (2012), as a significant historical cultural value that should add to the site's future aim, particularly if this aim is global tourism. The potential of being the *Tell* is composed due to gradual accumulations implying that there were more than one generation who have dwelled in the site during its earlier periods. Accordingly, there might be diversity of social, religious and cultural norms, which may have contributed to the current norms of the site's current cultural and built heritage. Though such built contexts have faded over the millennia, appearing now as a piled-up mound of ruins, the total evanescence of the traces of their cultural heritage on the current built context of Erbil as intangible heritage, is still difficult to be fully adopted, particularly the current Islamic cultural heritage. Thus the built heritage of the Citadel strongly advocates any rational norms and reasoning traditions inherited from the past generations.

- *As a Multi-layered Archaeological Mound*: the *Tell* is discerned as a built context belonging to a specific Assyrian epoch during the history of the site, which of course had some cultural and religious traditions that have governed it, which subsequently have reflected upon its urban fabric and architectural elements. This is evidenced by some residential and religious landmarks before the fabric became completely ruinous during the ensuing centuries. For instance, the built context, in general, is argued to have been an Assyrian residential property supported by a central ziggurat surrounded by several temples, which suffered from deterioration, eventually becoming a pile of ruins, while the later generations have compiled it in such a way to make it look more defensible and fortified for human habitation. The stratification of the *Tell*, it is claimed, firstly combined different ruined architectural landmarks and monuments submerged inside its cultural layers (Michelmore, 2009, ICOMOS, 2014, 2015). Secondly, it conceals different layers of remains and bygone settlements belonging to the Assyrian period,

> ‘which still keeps its role of landmark in the landscape of Erbil’, supporting the site’s integrity and ‘contributing to its historic authenticity’ (ICOMOS, 2014, p. 16).

In fact, an initial comparative reading on the urban pattern between this Assyrian urban context and the current Islamic urban heritage of the site may contribute to the qualitative understanding of whether the urban composition of the former has really contributed to the emergence of the urban fabric, or even the cultural heritage of the latter. The Assyrian urban formation, particularly its central ziggurat surrounded by some temples to some extent parallels the current urban formation of the Citadel’s Islamic urban fabric. The latter (see: Figure 3.3) clearly indicates a central Mosque surrounded by a public zone that is argued to have contained another two small mosques, seven graves, enclosed by the residential fabric of the Fortress (HCECR, 2008, 2012c). The graves are strongly believed to have belonged to the Assyrian period and evidence of this comes from some claims that Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, is buried in one of them (see: Figure 3.4). This symbolic similarity and/or the current combination of elements in the urban composition and zoning also confirms the potential of the effect of some bygone cultural assets of the previous generations and civilisations on the current urban setting of the site, which also suggests that the Citadel's long age of thousands of years qualify it as a cultural treasure. Evidence of this effect comes from the excavation conducted by the German Archaeological Institute ‘DAI’ after 2009, which firstly revealed a chamber tomb of the ‘Neo-Assyrian’ belonging to the 8^{th}-7^{th} century BC. Secondly and more importantly, the DAI reports that most of the current urban features of the Citadel belong to the Neo-Assyrian period, and Islam perpetuated them owing to their harmony and consistency with Islamic sociocultural legislation, which also confirms the progressive evolution and adaptable conservation of the Citadel’s current built context (Novacek et al., 2008a, Kehrer, 2009, 2010).

Though the continual socio-urban growth of the site led to modifications being carried out until recent times, sustaining the pre-Islamic urban setting of the settlement is urged by Islam itself, and this is in addition to their consistency with Islamic sociocultural legislation. They evoke contemplation of the ruins of the past generations in order to taking lessons for the current generations. In Michael Feener’s words (2017), Islam urges ‘appreciations of the pre-Islamic cultural legacies...to reflect on the visible traces of pasts connected with traditions of pre-Islamic’ generations, creating cultural ‘encounters between Muslims’ [architecture] and

the material remains of past civilisations' (p. 23, cited in Rico, 2017).[16] Hence, if well-excavated, the encounter between the Neo-Assyrian remnants and the subsequent Islamic architecture of the site can enrich our present interpretation and understanding of the cultural heritage, as diverse meanings and values, of the current built context of the site, which are arguably attributed to the Ottoman Islamic Period (Brammah, 2009a; HCECR, 2012c). Feener argues that such Islamic heritage sites that are erected on the ruins of the pre-Islamic heritage often show real cultural 'conversations about the meanings of the pasts' and how they effectuate "dynamic discourses" 'for contemporary life and visions' for the current built context 'incorporating an expensive body of ideas and experiences across diverse communities' who have sequentially inhabited the site (Ibid, p. 23). This also may add to the interpretation of the successful residential continuity of the site and its progressive architecture.

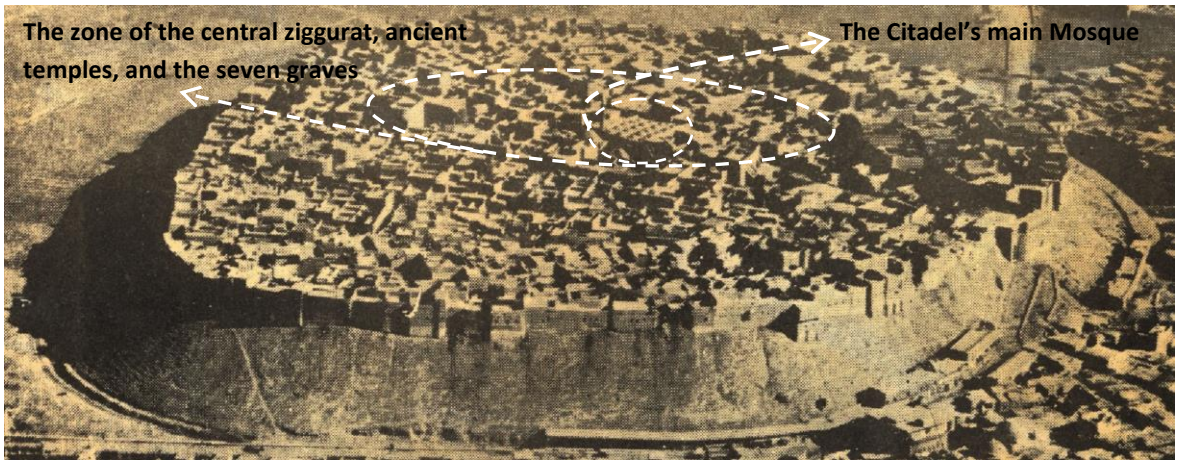


Figure 3.4: Erbil Citadel's Mound-slope including the current main Mosque and the zone of the central Ziggurat, ancient temples, and the seven graves, aerial perspective, source: site archival data

Thus, according to Feener (2017) and Rico (2017), the Islamic heritage of the Citadel not only allows and perpetuates what is Islamic within its structure, but also highlights what different non-Islamic cultural layers contribute to its built cultural heritage as a cultural practice. Nonetheless, such cultural legacies of the *Tell* are still under-researched and require more fact-finding, which may demand real efforts in order to reveal its actual impacts as a cultural heritage submerged in this mound on the current cultural heritage of the Citadel.

[16]: According to Professor Michael Feener from the University of Oxford, the emphasis on seeing, considering and reflecting on "the ruins of past civilisations" occurred "more than dozen times in Qur'an", which ultimately urges the preservation of the ancient built heritage within Islamic traditional built environments (see: Muslim Cultures and Pre-Islamic Pasts: Changing Perceptions of "Heritage" for Feener, for more details).

Inferred from Progetti (2012), accurate excavations on this slope may reveal some dilapidated urban contexts, which may stand therefore as a witness of this discourse, which ultimately may really contribute to qualitative understanding regarding the makeup of both the current cultural values of the site in addition to its built context. Excavation and investigation of what is awaiting exploration beneath its layers of the relics of the *Tell*, according to Irwin (2003) and Burnett et al. (1997), may reveal some distinct cultural themes that motivate researching whether there are some cultural roots linking that past with the current cultural heritage of the site. Artefacts, ancient architecture and antique zoological and vegetal ornamentation are often seen as a fascination of the remaining treasures of the pre-Islamic legacies. However, the existence of some architectural elements of the site's current Islamic cultural patrimony is often considered cultural knowledge accompanying such themes, which can be used as a factual tool to approach from these themes. Feener (2017) indicates that in addition to its contribution to the "aesthetic ornamentation" of the past, such cultural knowledge should be recognised as "material indexes" indexing a similar contribution of the pre-Islamic pasts within many Islamic heritage sites currently. On the other hand, such contributions have actually complicated the cultural reality of the Citadel. Thousands of years of its rich history are considered to be submerged in this "*Tell*", which indeed requires real excavation in this regard.

While the research investigates the role of the locals in the current revitalisation, it is still premature to exactly determine what kind of role they can play here, and this may be more clarified after the results of the excavation. However, what may lessen the expectation of an efficient role here is firstly the deep history underlying most of the relics of the "*Tell*", which may stretch back to more than six thousand years. Therefore, the diverse migrations of different ethnicities from and to the site due to regional wars and military sieges during its early history are also signs warning about non-continuity of habitation or a frequent change of community during those periods, which also may lessen such expected contributions here. In regard to this type of work, Progetti (2012) lessens the importance of the local role owing to the fact that the necessity here is for purely scientific information, and therefore predominantly skilled professionals to reveal how these vanished contexts and their cultural heritage would have been patronised in the existing built context of the Citadel including its current cultural heritage. The professional expertise may assist in a well-revelation of some blurred cultural traces submerged within the *Tell*, thus a well-management of them. This is

perhaps requisite for the overall revitalisation policy, and may particularly enrich the Citadel's *heritage industry* and utilisation of the site's heritage as a means of tourist attractions to make the site into a global tourist venue (see: Decision Four, Table 3.1).

3.2.2.2 The Citadel's Urban Context as a Cultural Reading

The built context of the Citadel is a deep intertwining of cultures, traditions, values and events over history, particularly as it has witnessed a sequence of civilisations, and this is evidenced by the story of the Tell, though its current settings predominantly reflect the Ottoman Islamic period. The diverse cultural reflections of this combination of cultural dialogues on the site, for some, however, indicate some vague concepts regarding the relationship between Islam, as a legislation, and the cultural heritage of the site. Accordingly, through reviewing "The Making of Islamic Heritage" by Wyndham (2017), the site may demand an unpacking of its current Islamic heritage discourse in order to reveal how Islam, as a cultural heritage, constitutes or adds to this built context. Achieving this may entail acquiescence to the notion that heritage is a mixture of values and meanings attributed to the past, whereas that past is definitely ruled by a thought, and this perhaps enables enough understanding of this context of the site. While Islam is the predominant thought over the Fortress over the recent centuries (Brammah, 2009a, 2009b), Bashir (2017, p. 17) affirms that Islam is a flexible holistic "thought" and therefore an interrelated "practice". Its cultural implications (of the Ottoman period and afterwards) therefore are always evolving through the mediation of new features, which sustains other cultures inherited from the previous generations. As such, its Islamic cultural heritage, and its built context, can potentially be regarded as an absorptive structure of diverse traditions, habits and norms, culturally and socially, that extend beyond its current material character to involve some immaterial ethos that together maintain the site as viable and growing in a progressive nature.

Currently, as an urban value for the place, the Citadel's distinctive urban paradigm is considered of value as its circular form has governed the outside urban layers of the city within the same circular form to form the heart of the city (see: Figure 3.5) (Brammah, 2009a, Progetti, 2012, UNESCO, 2013b). This traditional urban relationship between the site and the city is widespread in most of the ancient Islamic cities, and is mainly attributed to social, economic and religious dimensions imposed by the site upon the surroundings, such as the circular Baghdad and ancient Samarra. Whilst the circular form of the former has

governed the urban manifestation of the ensuing grander city, the latter's rectangular shape has assisted in organising the surrounding urban pattern of Samarra.



Figure 3.5: Erbil Citadel: the heart of Erbil city, aerial perspective; source: site archival data

On an urban level, the Fortress is comprised of three main residential sections or 'Mahallas', which are Topkhana, Takya and Saray. Subsequently, its main four alleyways also commenced from the southern portal towards the periphery of the site within a gradual organic growth. As an internal urban structure, some literature, such as (HCECR, 2008; Rich, 1836; UNESCO, 2015), refers to the traditional urban fabric of this settlement manifested as a response to diverse cultural norms embedded in the Ottoman Islamic period evidenced by the 'alleys and cul-de-sacs radiating from the main grand gate' (UNESCO, 2015, p. 16). Since that period and throughout the 18th century both Erbil's urban context and cultural heritage never experienced any dramatic changes, but rather slight modifications according to some environmental circumstances. The sub-norms, socially, culturally and religiously, associated to 'Ottoman Law of Villayets' that was prevailing over the area are seen as the main references that governed the cultural practice of the site during that period, as cultural traditions, and consequently, as an urban context (see: Figure 3.6).

The locations of the Affandi's Mosque surrounded by the urban forum with some public uses, such as the traditional baths, "Hammam", are designated due to such norms. In particular, religiously, the location of the Mosque at the heart of the site is prerequisite in order to ensure an equal distance from all-directions of the site, which, as much as possible, guarantees a consistent time of arrival for the inhabitants to attend the Friday Prayer. After prayer, people share some views, ideas and attitudes regarding their daily life as well as shopping for their

daily needs before going back home. These sociocultural and economic habits have materially added to the formation and positioning of the urban forum including the traditional Hammams within the built context of the site. In Islamic culture this architecture, such as the water of the Hammams, points towards to purity, which is a condition for many rituals in Islamic doctrine.[17] Therefore, fountains, which can also be seen in many courtyards of the site, Hammams and other similar urban features almost come supplementary to religious functions. This simply interprets the location of the former around the Mosque. Thus, the Islamic built context, as urban elements, responds to Islamic cultural heritage, as norms and traditions. According to their design, however, the origins of Hammams are also believed to have been widespread in Turkey during the early periods of Islam, while Islam was confined to the Arabian Peninsula during those periods. Taking this into account, it can be said that the roots of these urban elements extend to the pre-Islamic cultures of the area during those periods, but have been maintained by Islamic traditions thereafter with some modifications to fit the Islamic rules, making it part of the cultural heritage, and consequently the cultural practice of the site (Al-Yaqoobi et al.; Ivan, 2011, 2012; Qassim, 2010; SOITM, 2013). Perhaps this also refers to a level of flexibility within these traditions, which resulted from maintaining the built context progressively.

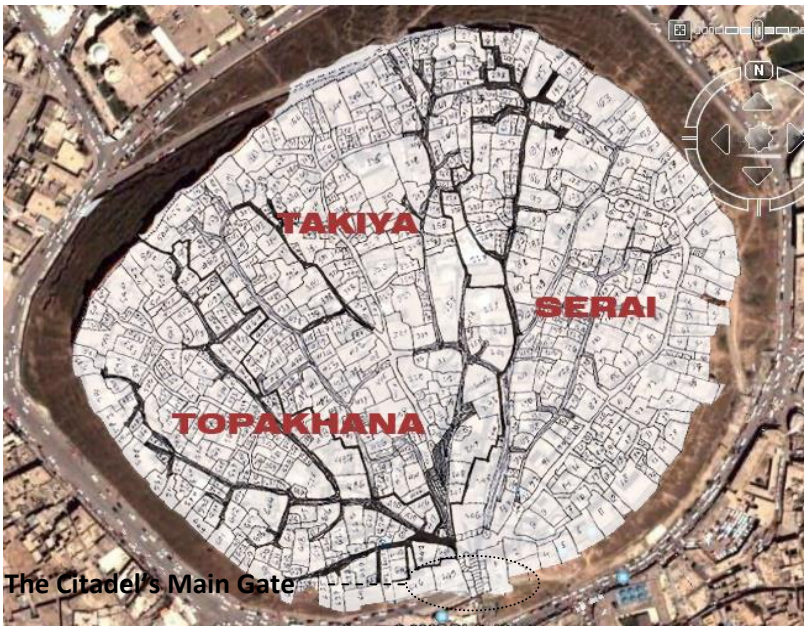


Figure 3.6: the three Mahallas of the site within a labyrinth of traditional alleyways/cul-de-sacs; source: site archival data

[17] : The Prophet Muhammad demonstrates that 'purity is a half of faith' (See: Saheeh Muslim)

In return, meandering alleyways and cul-de-sacs of the site, the inner courtyards, the oblique entrance of the houses, the positioning of outside windows on the first floors of houses, and the lack of outside windows on the ground floors, or at least located above eye level, are material responses to direct sociocultural dimensions of the locals. At the forefront is the principle of social privacy of the Citadel's houses. The inner courtyards of the site's residential units, for instance, are an environmental-social response to the cultural traditions of the site, creating an authentic relationship between the built context and the cultural heritage of its inhabitants. Environmentally, the Citadel's conventional fabric presents its local cooling system depending on some urban and architectural details. Therefore, they contribute to presenting comfortable weather for its inhabitants particularly through their big trees, water fountains, semi-basement with conventional cooling techniques and the thick brick walls to prevent the hot sun penetrating into the interior environment (see: Figure 3.7). The courtyard also softens the atmosphere of the house climate in terms of the air motion from the courtyard into the interior space of the house. Furthermore, it enables the individuals of each family or house to hide from exposure to the sunshine, which is important for the interior space during winter (Al-Yaqoobi et al., 2012; HCECR, 2012c; SOITM, 2013).



Figure 3.7: The role of the courtyards in mitigating the microclimate temperature of the house, source: site archival data

Socially, the courtyards respond to a crucial demand, which is the principle of social intimacy which strengthens the affiliation among the individuals of each family. It therefore creates a kind of privacy for each family through isolating the interior environment of the family from the exterior scene of the public and thus boosts the intimacy among the individuals of each

family. This principle supersedes a previous invalid habit banned by Islamic legislation,[18] represented by sitting and chatting in these alleyways and cul-de-sacs and sub-pathways of the pre-Islamic city, where the courtyard grants more privacy instead for the individuals of the family to enjoy such habits, thus evoking more serious issues for debate within the scope of the family. Whilst the compact built fabric of the site besides the narrow meandering alleyways may also indicate another response to such environmental and social circumstances as the scorching summer sun can be avoided (by the compact urban fabric) and they can receive some fresh air (through these narrow meandering alleyways) instead (Al-Yaqoobi et al., 2012; HCECR, 2008, 2012c; SOITM, 2013).

In more detail, the dense urban fabric of the site lessens the exposed outdoor spaces to the sunshine, consequently reducing its influence on the pedestrians from the residents, whilst the narrow meandering alleyways along with their variable directions have provided some shaded areas, which therefore enabled a breeze inside them. Morphologically, the alleyways extend like a labyrinth or a tree of meanders as pedestrian walkways, reflecting a distinctive level of authenticity and cultural values that always boost the quality of the built context at the visual-physical level (see: Figure 3.6) (HCECR, 2008, SOITM, 2013, Progetti, 2012) However, this morphological urban setting also emerges as a material echo to a sociocultural necessity predominantly imputed to the social traditions of the dwellers inherited from the pre-Islamic generations of the site and the whole Arabian Peninsula. Here, religious legislation has come to consolidate this urban form gradually. On the one hand, the social lineage unit among the inhabitants and sustaining the offspring and social relationship of the main families of the site both mean the urban agglomeration of the residential units should be overlapped and linked to each other. On the other hand, besides providing some environmental solutions, this led the alleyways meander according to the assemblage of houses of each big family to one another, which simply maintains some apropos social relationships among each family, including its sub-families.

Moreover, it allows for a kind of social segregation between the groups of houses belonging to families that are different in lineage, which ultimately maintains the principle of social

[18] : The Prophet said: “Beware! Avoid sitting on the roads (ways)”. The people said: “There is no way out of it as these are our sitting places where we have talks”. The Prophet said: “If you must sit there, then observe the rights of the way”. They asked: “What are the rights of the way?” He said: “They are the lowering of your gazes (on seeing what is illegible to look at), refraining from harming people, returning greetings, advocating good and forbidding evil.” (See: Saheeh Muslim)

privacy among them. More importantly, the alleyways mostly narrow gradually from 2.5m to about 60cm of width near the periphery of the site. This is due to some traditional norms determined by the mode of transport used at that time and thereafter, as these were based on the dimensions of the animals, which were mainly donkeys, mules and sometimes horses. In addition, it highlighted security factors through obviating robbery through its narrow meanders and cul-de-sacs (Abu-Lughod, 1987). Their high walls as a comparison to their tight width may reach 6:1, therefore supporting this aspect (see: Figure 3.8). Secondly, it increases the shaded area for pedestrians, thus alleviating the heat through a convenient and a cool passage in the summer (HCECR, 2008, 2012c).



Figure 3.8: the organic growth of the alleyways showing their different features, such as the meanders and the proportion between their height and width, source: Brammah, 2009a, 2009b; (the right image): Rider on a mule entering the branch passageway c. 1925. HCECR, 2012a, p. 1

All of these aspects together may explain why the growth of these urban elements is always following an organic system at the site, and specifically in Islamic built heritage.[19] This, according to Abu-Lughod (1987), can also prevent the superficial readings of some Orientalists who often consider this system has no purposeful background but stands on the ruins of the past and responds to randomness and non-planning of the spontaneous growth of the built context. In addition, it interprets how the Islamic norms have progressively developed the socio-urban language of the site from its pre-Islamic period to appropriate the new requirements of its Ottoman epoch, adapting the old norms (whereby residential units

[19]: As part of the researcher's profession, teaching Islamic architecture as history, origins and principles, and working on the Citadel revitalisation with HCECR/UNESCO may invoke more revelation in this regard, but the research is committed to answering its predetermined questions and thus reaching its aims.

originated based on ethnic clusters) into new Islamic norms (whereby residential units originate based on social privacy).

According to Rico (2017), many Islamic heritage sites refuted such claims, as some narratives consider Islamic culture subversive, meaning Islamic cultural heritage is destructive to the pre-Islamic heritage. Following Bashir (2017), Islamic norms can embed many features of past cultural heritage in its wider cultural context, showing how the former is treasured by the latter to become compatible with each other. Islamic cultural heritage, and its built context, can be seen as a formula of constructed knowledge that 'should be imagined as an ever-expanding web of overlapping [] discourse about the past' (Bashir, 2017, p. 13), enabling better understanding of the fluidity of the past, as a cultural and material heritage. Therefore, any process of conservation on an Islamic heritage site is erected upon the cultural ruins of previous generations, which is simply the case of Erbil Citadel, and this should be evoked as a pre-condition.

The oblique entrance of most of the Citadel's houses also denotes a direct reference to the principle of social privacy of each family within the site, as it corresponds to some religious criteria that rule the site culturally. Islamic canon forbids foreigners from looking inside the private or semi-private spaces of the house. Therefore, the oblique entrance reinforces this rule, maintaining the family's social privacy and the inner life of its individuals, through its location on a side of the main façade and tilted from the courtyard's axis. The oblique entrance also disconnects the straight visual axis between the inside and the outside, which consequently prevents the walkers from seeing the courtyard, where the social life of the individuals, particularly females, is mostly practised during the winter (see: Figure 3.9). This characteristic in the architectural zoning of the traditional house, to guarantee a complete social privacy and a complete visual isolation, entails positioning a complementary function next to the entrance and in the same direction of the guest room, which is the water closet for the guests (HCECR, 2008; Sherzad, 1979). This, on the one hand, provides a comfortable use of this element by the guest before and after having food, for instance, and therefore, facilitates an isolated use of the private and semi-private remaining spaces of the house, particularly the kitchen and its attached store, on the other.

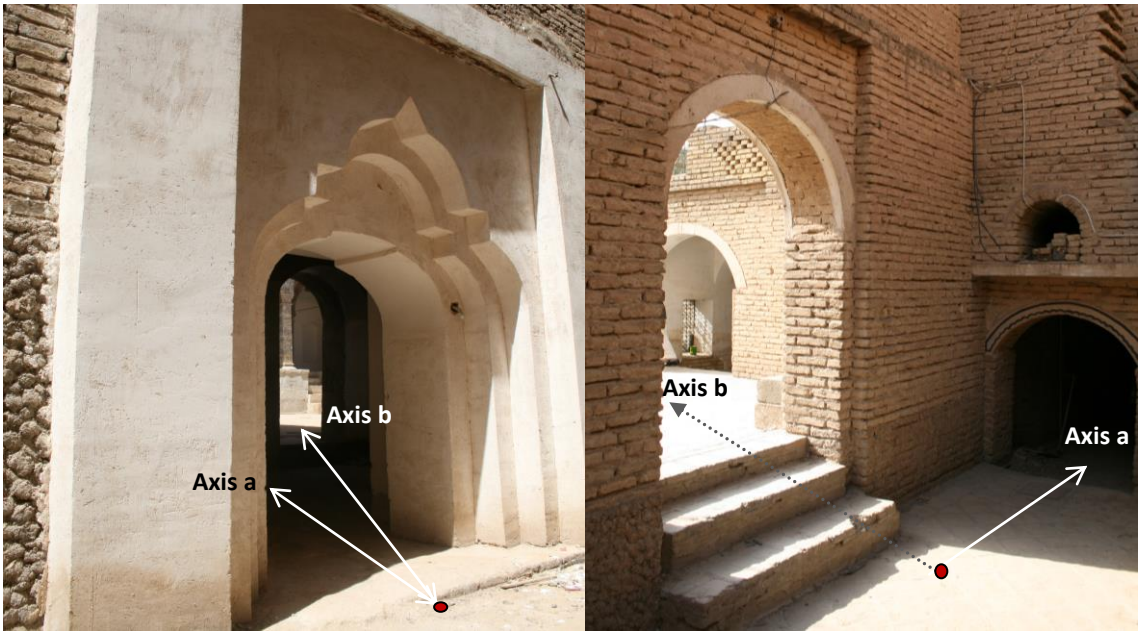


Figure 3.9: Breaking the visual axis between the visual axis of the main door (**axis a**) and the courtyard (**axis b**), source: site archival data

The other feature that the oblique entrance provides for the house, particularly during the summer season, is sufficient visual privacy for the main door and openings of the semi-basement of the house, which is considered the main space for the family to enjoy a nap during this hot season, which is mostly more than six months. However, treating the guests' space in this sensitive manner does not imply that the Islamic culture of the site undervalues visitors. Conversely, Islam has sustained some valid cultural habits from the pre-Islamic generations that correspond to reasoning, and one of them is the necessity of celebrating with visitors. The implications of this can be seen in the interior design of the guests' room in most of the houses of the Citadel.[20] Its ceiling, for instance, seems completely different from the remaining spaces of the house as there are painted ornaments or wooden decorations with some niches scattered around the four walls of the room (HCECR, 2008, 2012c). This does not contradict the Islamic legislation regarding painting and sculpting, as Islam prohibits

[20]: The guests' space received a great deal of consideration in the Islamic built environment according to the utterance of the Prophet Muhammad: "who believes in Allah and the last Day should honour his guest". Since this habit (honouring guests) mostly existed and was inherited from the pre-Islamic generations, when Islam reigned it maintained and supported it to be deep-rooted in Islamic culture. One of its images has been reflected by the traditional Islamic architecture through giving this space more consideration, such as colouring and decorating it with some vegetal ornamentation, as a kind of show of comfort in welcoming guests.

zoological ornamentation but permits vegetal ornamentation. Secondly, it gives joyfulness as a kind of welcoming the visitor (see: Figure 3.10).



Figure 3.10: Colourful vegetal decorations adorn the roof of the guest room, source: site archival data

This social feature inherited in the site may have originated from the pre-Islamic generations who inhabited the site since the Neo-Assyrian period, bearing witness to their influence on the current sociocultural settings of the Citadel's built context. According to Feener (2017), it may 'clearly demonstrate that there is no single, normative "Islamic" approach to the cultural heritage of pre-Islamic civilisations' (p. 23), but rather there are different forms of engagement and appreciation, namely cultural "conversations" and exchange of valid "meanings" and "ideas" of elements of pre-Islamic pasts with the subsequent Islamic norms and in a progressive manner. This affirms the approval of the pre-Islamic cultural remnants as abiding ruins of the past, indicating a more tolerant vision of their involvement within the Islamic built context of the site today (Haarmann, 1996; Rico, 2017). What contextualises this engagement is simply "cultural encounters" that synthesise the pre-Islamic to the Islamic, which contribute to the enrichment of these meanings to be seen at the end as one synthesis of cultural practice, augmenting their cultural position in this practice.

Some literature shows that the vegetal ornament of this space has been clearly patronised during the Abbasid Islamic period, which acts as a medium between the Neo-Assyrian period and the current setting of this element. In fact, Islamic architecture witnessed a great deal of progress during the Abbasid period, particularly in the areas surrounding Baghdad (the Capital of Islam at that period), such as Erbil Citadel. Robert Irwin (2003) states that various encounters with diverse cultural contributions of pre-Islamic periods, which bear different architectural artefacts, have been made during that period where the vegetal ornament was part of them to reflect some Islamic cultural heritage of what is called today the "Arabic World". Stalactites "*Muqarnas*" are also another example of such cultural encounters during the Abbasid period, but with the pre-Islamic Persian architecture, which is repeatedly reported to be the origin of this feature. Accordingly, the Citadel's Islamic norms sustain what is termed a "valuable past", which is simply what gives it worth for its built context from the implications of the previous cultures that coexist with it currently to form what we term today its Islamic cultural heritage (Bashir, 2017). What gives it worth for Rico (2017), is what can be perceived as having "continuous significance" in Islamic norms and culture, which in the cultural and built context of the Fortress often entails its progressive perpetuation within the cultural practice of the site.

Not just from Persian architecture, the early periods of the Islamic cultural history of the site have also sustained some non-Muslim "traditions", which were deployed as architectural ornamental elements from Jewish and Christian cults who settled in the Citadel before the Ottoman period also. Many of them are still disseminated in the built context of the site currently as a kind of vegetal ornament within the interior designs of some houses, particularly above their main doors and some other inner niches (HCECR, 2008). Calder (1993) attributes this to the flexible trend of Islamic culture and thought during those periods, as both seek openness towards more exploration and "coexistence" with such traditions in order to learn from the previous nations and thus receive more knowledge in this respect. Feener (2017) explains that 'the sense of cultural confidence [of Islamic heritage] enabled such engagements with pre-Islamic pasts' (p. 31), which entailed the rapid growth of Islamic civilisation at that time, empowering many Islamic cultural sites, and consequently their built contexts, from rapid and diverse cultural intermixing with those cultures. All of that may show how Islam, as socio-urban norms, has increasingly embedded many Islamic traditions that proved their viability within its urban norms through a progressive process of urbanism.

Consequently, the Citadel's Islamic traditional architecture has dealt with them from a position of appreciation, and in Feener (2017) words, 'allowing Muslims the privilege of not only "tolerating", but actively preserving, transmitting, interpreting, and even incorporating elements of those traditions within a more [realistic] frame' (p. 31). The aim ultimately is to learn from "foreign civilisations" to reinforce the local traditions and culture with more reasoning, and this firstly may interpret why most of the Islamic turnout to the pre-Islamic and/or non-Islamic cultural heritage has often been discussed as an outlet or source of "science". In return, it may justify the widespread pre-Islamic architectural elements within the Islamic built context of the Citadel during the Ottoman period, proving "dynamic interactions" with those ancient non-Muslims' cultures which have materially contributed to the evolution of the local "traditions" of the site. Furthermore, it substantiates how the latter context has "coexisted" with those elements inherited from the diverse pre-Islamic pasts, which evidently entails their preservation and perpetuation within the current revitalisation policies on the site as an integral part of its current cultural character. A similar conclusion was inferred by Aksoy (2017) when conducting a similar study on a similar Ottoman Islamic heritage site in Saudi Arabia, whose roots were also interrelated with pre-Islamic civilisations. He stated that "Islamic heritage" is a term that is deeply embedded in the pre-Islamic cultures and social traditions and particularly in those sites that share a similar cultural background (depicting Ottoman features, but their roots extend to pre-Islamic cultures).

The Citadel's perimeter wall may also give a clear example of how its built context is a direct response to the cultural practice of its social structure to be an intrinsic reference to qualitative understanding of its cultural heritage. Some literature states that the Wall is intentionally constructed as a fortified wall with high façades and few windows to give a defensive characteristic to the site. Therefore, similar to the other citadels in the region, it surrounds the settlement from all sides. Based on the social lineage, each assemblage of houses, which belongs to a certain notable family, ends with a house on the periphery of the site that has some specific features so that the social privacy of the family can be maintained (HCECR, 2008; Progetti, 2012). For instance, the outer wall of the house that faces the surrounding commercial area "Suq" is higher than the rest of the house, and also includes a specific kind of window. These windows are either mostly coloured to prevent visual insight from outside, or small to appropriate the diverse daily uses of the housewife, such as

monitoring and spotting what is occurring in that lower area "Suq" (see: Figure 3.11). These windows are often positioned higher than the location of the rest of the windows for security considerations due to their sensitive position on the periphery of the Fortress.



Figure 3.11: the colourful windows as part of the architectural language of the perimeter wall of the Citadel, increasing the social-visual privacy of the site; source: site archival data

In addition, the Wall is defined, for instance, as an impressive perimeter wall, which is made of bricks conveying 'the visual impression of an *impregnable* fortress dominating the city of Erbil' (Novacek et al., 2008, p. 16). However, it is merely a composition consisting of a hundred houses around the Citadel, and the site mainly depends on the "*Tell*" to reflect this defensive characteristic (see: Figure 3.12).



Figure 3.12: The perimeter wall surrounding the Citadel, constructed from series of houses: site archival data

Furthermore, structurally, these hundred houses are believed to be the weakest part of the site, as they were built on the edge of the Mound, where the latter suffered some destruction during its early manifestations in the Ottoman period, and recent leakages in the sewerage system of the site have exacerbated the situation. Significantly, the Wall does not have separated fortified towers like many Middle-eastern citadels. Perhaps, the robust correlation between these hundred houses in addition to some semi-circular buttresses within its lower

part gives this defensive impression (see: Figure 3.13). Whilst these buttresses are merely a structural solution reinforcing the weak joints between the facades of these houses and the *Tell*, the earthen composition of the latter is particularly fragile, and it is argued that it is merely a pile of ruins (Brammah, 2009a; HCECR, 2008; Novacek et al., 2008). In fact, the only defensive means for the site during the Ottoman period, according to Laurence Olivier (1975) cited in SOITM (2013), is a ditch of water surrounding the *Tell* from all sides, which was used as a tool to impede enemies from reaching the Mound.



Figure 3.13: semi-circular buttresses of the supporting the perimeter wall of the Citadel, source: site archival data

In addition, despite their rareness, the use of Mashrabiya on the two sides of the alleyways also boosts this aspect of privacy, which enables the family's individuals to look outside comfortably, while preventing the walker from a similar opportunity.[21] This, in fact, is mainly attributed to the traditional criteria of the urban and architectural design of the site that necessitate that such kinds of windows should firstly be located above the height of the walkers and provided with colourful glass. Secondly, they should be placed at an angle that is not on the same line visual line of the meanders of the alleyway in order to prevent the walkers from looking inside, as a response to the sociocultural privacy of the inhabitants

[21] : **U** or **L** shape of the window of the first floor protruding from the rest of the space and almost freestanding, thus demands some structural solutions

(which is integral to the religious instructions). Despite this feature being widespread in most traditional Islamic environments, the use of this element in the Citadel's residential fabric is quite rare (Al-Yaqoobi et al., 2012; HCECR, 2008, 2012c). Firstly, this refers to the simple structural solutions that the construction of this element required, which demanded such solutions. Secondly, it confirms, to some extent, that the current urban context of the site is no more than a material response to the cultural practice of the residents of the site. However, some of the *Muqarnas* or "Stalactites" of the Citadel's houses may evidence the spatial influence of the adjacent Islamic Persian architecture on the site, particularly the capitals of the wooden columns of these houses, which became part of the economic-cultural life of the locals (see: Figure 3.14).[22] Hence, despite their scant material embodiments currently, this potentially confirms the effects of the previous civilisations on the site as being temporal and spatial impacts.



Figure 3.14: Ornamented capital of a wooden column "Stalactites or –*Muqarnas*-"; source: site archival data

Based on this sociocultural narration and in order to revitalise the cultural heritage of the Citadel, it should be considered how to materially involve some cultural elements, particularly those that evoke the rich and deep cultural history of thousands of years of the site. Pursuing such a policy, based on Ahmed (2016), may lead to a continual creation of past culture-based new meanings, thus a state of continuous hermeneutics regarding the evolution of their cultural values throughout the history of the site.

[22]: As a craftsmanship, "Muqarnas" were and still are the sole way of income for few local craftsmen due to what they require from quality and precision.

3.2.3 Who should be Involved in an Intact Reading of the Site's Cultural Practice?

Apparently, the nature of the current built context of the Citadel, as architectural and urban specifics, is an evident reflection of continuous sociocultural accumulations of its local community since the Neo-Assyrian until its current Ottoman period, which have been combined over time to establish its cultural heritage. This, based on Abu-Lughod (1987), may prevent the superficial reading of these sociocultural accumulations by some Orientalist studies, and instead consider the social structure of the site as an essential part of this built context. Thus, it should be well-thought-out in reference to understanding its cultural heritage (SOITM, 2013). The basis for the construction of the perimeter wall, which surrounds most of the Middle-east citadels, for instance, is repeatedly reported by many Orientalists' interpretations as a purely defensive fortification against any outside threat, such as those in Aleppo and Damascus (HCECR, 2008; SOITM, 2013). However, the research demonstrates that the erection of Erbil's Wall is an explicit embodiment of some purely sociocultural issues, as part of the social privacy of the site, particularly during its Ottoman period (see: Section: 3.2.2.2). Accordingly, it is important not to submit to such hypotheses without critical investigation of their arguments. More importantly, the inhabitants, particularly those aboriginals of such sites, and particularly those who continuously inhabited sites such as Erbil, should be engaged in any process of revitalisation on these sites. This, indeed, may prevent the site from being dragged behind uncritical theses that ultimately may separate its built context from its sociocultural origins.

In fact, the dominance of some global research centres and some international heritage agencies on Islamic heritage studies has led to the widespread adoption of the Orientalists' treatises concerning some issues that emanate from the sociocultural assets of the site. For instance, some local heritage scholars have adopted the same superficial reading when assigning the organic formation of the built context to an absence of urban master plan that may guide its growth (HCECR, 2008). However, what requires lessening the acquiescence to these treatises is firstly the cultural gap between the background of their authors and the very local origins that represent the roots of the built context of the Islamic heritage, both socially and culturally. Secondly, some of these origins are deep-seated in some pre-Islamic cultures that existed before Islamic culture, and were perpetuated by some Islamic norms. Aksoy (2017) demonstrates here that the disciplines of Islamic architecture are dominated by a

secular viewpoint, which often struggles when it comes to understanding the link between its religious origins and the authentic local cultures that have combined to create it (p. 67), showing some subjectivity in this regard. An exotic deduction that ‘Islam regards itself as the primordial faith’ (Ibid, p. 67), has been advocated by some of these interpretations, to start narrating and framing some Islamic heritage within this argument. Thus, the ideological implications and repercussions concerning ‘the [] scope of Islam’ and how it influences Islamic built heritage are themes that have ‘largely been avoided’ or misunderstood by these interpretations (Ibid, p. 68). Mosques, for example, which are the ark of Islamic-based environments, have been re-visited through some "key points" set by this “viewpoint” in order to re-examine their material significance to Islam as religion and culture and hence to Islamic architecture (Petersen, 2014). Therefore, through generalising a finding from a specific case over the entire Islamic heritage, it is claimed that this “viewpoint” endeavours to define the latter as a kind of 'vulgarization and fetishization of the Islamic adjective by attesting a certain material culture and timeframe to it’ (Ibid, p. 83).

Another motivation that may encourage dynamic engagement of the Citadel’s local community is the notion of "neighbourhood", which is plainly distinctive in the site's urban design as an Islamic cultural practice. The notion reveals sociocultural overlaid relationships between the site and its inhabitants, which besides other environmental grounds, can be seen as a key reason behind the compact and dense urban context of the settlement. The rules of the traditional neighbourhood are to link the relatives of the site to each other so that social rapports, including feelings, ideas and communication among them can be easily maintained and supported (Al-Yaqoobi et al., 2012; SOITM, 2013). According to Sapu (2009), such relationships are not virtually ‘formed by considerations of geography or abstract design, but were also sometimes woven into space and form’ (p. 1) of the site’s urban fabric. Consequently, as a cultural practice, it helps to share diverse traditions and beliefs among its inhabitants to be mirrored in the architectural and urban vocabularies of the Fortress. Therefore, the locals should be targeted in some objectives. For instance, ‘collecting stories of community’ regarding “causes and effects” of the cultural story of the site besides its current issues and future decisions, and ‘start with what is present’; then, ‘concentrat[ing] on...problem-solving capacity of the residents’ (Ibid, p. 4). This can be geared towards generating new potential for the future aims of the revitalisation policy in addition to

leveraging investments-based potential, and re-employing them within an image that can really fit the site's new futuristic frame.

More importantly, some heritage academics and specialists have problematised Islamic heritage as “heritage values” and “Islamic values” in a loose way, uncritically framing diverse narratives of the past by diverse Islamic norms to be arguably interpreted through Islamic culture and traditions. However, this is one of the illusions behind some erroneous reading of Islamic built heritage as random and unsystematic. What is essential is to recognise the associations and roles involved in construction of the material Islamic culture, which its pre-Islamic intangibles are part of, to act as the Citadel’s built heritage. Islamic heritage, and particularly 'the materialist construction of its built context is often subject to different misconceptions' (Rico, 2017, p. 5) by many specialists, which may have uncritical influence on its future tourism industry for instance. Obviously, what we consider as Islamic heritage, in Bashir’s (2017) words, ‘depends fundamentally on the frame within which it was produced’, and this in Erbil incorporates many pre-Islamic cultural layers that contributed to the constitution of its current setting (cited in Rico, p. 13). Therefore, validating a monolithic imagination of orientalist narratives here may drive to a misguided reading regarding the cohesion of this built context, which besides its direct representation of its Islamic culture, also perpetuates some bygone social cultures and ancient historicity context. Instead, the site’s cultural 'narratives must be understood from an [inclusive]-centred perspective' (Rico, 2017, p. 5), which must be centred on its aboriginals foremost. Their material cultural ties with the site, make their participatory role extremely valuable, which may depict a qualitative understanding of the context.

Hence, the research adopts what Rico (2017) suggests that, despite their professionalism, sometimes the ways in which disciplinary involvements meet can disrupt some cultural codes and data of a multi-layered cultural heritage, particularly when these layers indicate a rich sequence of submerged cultures and habits, which is the case of Erbil. As a consequence, engaging live views from the social structure of the site can be more efficient in offering some traditional “local tools” and/or presenting “untested data” that can help towards a better detection regarding these cultural layers. While they aim at simplifying these layers, such professional involvements may lead to the removal of the cultural strata of the heritage site, and therefore more diversity of contributions is important to achieve viable revelation, which these live views are part of. This enables a broad understanding of the “encounter” between

the Islamic and the non-Islamic culture, and how the new "syncretic" setting is dissolved within the current Islamic character of the Citadel. If well-managed, the new syncretic setting, according to Mozafferi and Westbrook (2017), can be transformed into an authentic form of heritage that combines different overlapped layers of cultures, coherent in a linear chronological growth. Instead, they may show a linear continuation of many cultural contexts that coexisted well together, and where no one culture cancelled out another. As a result, this gives an indication that planning for the Citadel's current overlapped cultural layers of various civilisations is negotiable, and thus any views coming from its inner social structure simply direct this planning towards more realistic outcomes.

3.3 Motives for the Revitalisation of the Site

In 1979, a renovation process conducted on this site, which is a paradigm of a purely top-down approach of the decision-making process, mirrored a state of controversy regarding its novelty and to what extent it touched or emanated from the site privacy. Some findings indicated by the Final Report on the site (2009) revealed that a series of urban and architectural changes undertaken by the renovation decision-makers was made as if it was 'deliberate demolitions' on the site, such as the decision of 'the demolition of the historical south gate' (p. 68) including its central area (see: Figure 3.15). The renovation has jeopardised the Citadel in its role of historical symbol for the place when it stormed the site in a destructive process of rehabilitation, which was completely detached from the site privacy and both the urban and the architectural levels. As a result, some serious outcomes have affected the physical integrity, cultural values and historical authenticity of the Fortress, as explicit evidence shows the renovation negates if not cancels out the traditional architectural values of the site (HCECR, 2012b).

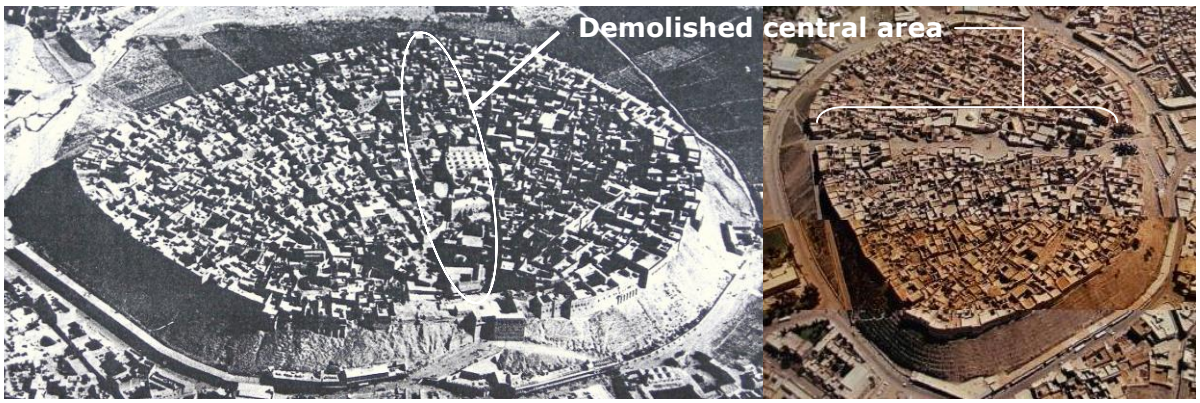


Figure 3.15: "left": the Citadel in 1951, before the renovation; "right": the Citadel after 1979, after renovation; source: (Huszar, 2009a, p. 91 & 119).

If, arguably, these modern structural modifications carried out on the site are set to support its integrity and to improve its residential use, this cannot mean eradicating the site's authentic roots or compromising its historical cultural values. Hence, dealing with the conservation as a one way decision-making process is not the solution, and thus empowering the decision-makers to be acting as the knowers of everything means sometimes its impacts can be reflected negatively on the site, particularly if this site is an amalgamation of diverse historical events and different ancient sociocultural values. In such a case, an optimal solution might be through celebrating the local experience of its inhabitants. The inhabitants represent 'a stable network which has advantages in encouraging bargaining in policy resolution' who sets 'effective shared views…on the problem' (Jordan, 1990, p. 327). Therefore, their active participation may support the conservation decisions to be strongly attached to the site.

However, a piece of evidence can be referred to here, which discloses the absence of the role of the local community of this site. According to the Report on "Reinstatement of the Grand Gate" of the Citadel by the HCECR (2012a), the local community's 'overwhelming feeling' regarding this process is that it 'was inappropriate' and completely detached from the site privacy (p. 1).

A series of interviews conducted with the inhabitants, as local professionals and stakeholders, and the site's authorities in 2014 show *whether the renovation has maintained any level of co-mechanism with the locals of the site in making its decisions,* and these interviews also confirm that the level of local participation in the renovation was almost non-existent. Whilst the inhabitants comprised of 400 families/4000 individuals (HCECR, 2008), the professionals' proportion was about 11 per cent in the 1970s, reflecting a notable proportion that could be reliable in delivering trustworthy contributions to support the renovation.[23] A selective sample of only 9 professionals aged between 62 and 82 years old, who should reflect different cultural backgrounds, has been carefully chosen for interview so that the gathered input could maintain transparent information (see: *Table 3.1: Participants' Sheet: Data of Interviews on Renovation Process, Appendices*).

[23] The participants are coded in the participants' sheet as **P**1 to 9, where **P** is from **P**articipant.

One of the local stakeholders says that the task of the renovation of the site was confined to several characters who worked on a decision that seems that it had been made principally and brought to be implemented on the site with no need for more investigation about its validity and viability for the site. Simply, it aimed at replacing the old gate with the current gate, as the latter had been said to have suffered structural weakness, without consideration to its historical standing and value on the site. In addition, their decisions meant the central area of the site was removed in order to incorporate a new paved road:

> I think the renovation was completely confined to a specific group of people who worked on a pre-set decision or plan and came to implement it on the site directly. About myself, I did not meet them to discuss this aspect, and also, I cannot remember that they have met any one of the inhabitants to discuss this aspect; otherwise I would have heard about it during our daily chats. Honestly, what makes you feel sad about this step is that I did not notice any consideration about the authentic history of the site... All that was done was to remove an old gate and replace it with a new gate, and to demolish the central area of the site for creating the current paved road...This actually [] makes you question whether there is any relationship between the renovation decision-makers and the site for which they may appreciate the site's history (see: Participant's Code: P8, Table 3.1).

Another indigenous political-managerial character from the site argues that the whole plan of the renovation was prepared in Baghdad and then imported to the site to be implemented without any reference to the inhabitants, and where the plan underestimated the originality of the site's architectural features, such as the symbolic spaces of its grand gate, and urban context, as well as its central area after the creation of the modern road that split the organic urban Islamic fabric of the site into two halves. The work seemed as if it was against the desire of the residents of the Citadel:

> The level of participation of the local community, as residents and stakeholders, in the decision-making process of this renovation was totally absent…The renovation decision has been executed on the site without any veritable consideration for any actual relationship with the privacy and local settings of the Citadel or any participatory role with the inhabitants…As residents of this rich historical place, we were surprised by the modern paved road that cut the site into two haves separating the organic body of the Citadel into two pieces. Honestly, it was really sorrowful. The traditional [urban] fabric of the Citadel gives a good example about the Islamic rules that govern the site, and actually I do not know how they dared to demolish its heart and replace it with the current modern road, which totally contradicts what we hope to see for the site (see: Participant's Code: P1, Table 3.1).

The Owner of the Citadel's Traditional *Qalat* Museum says that the renovation process did not pay actual attention to the residents in terms of involving them in a formal co-mechanism of making its policies of the site:

> As an indigenous resident of the site, I can confirm to you that I have not received any consent form or invitation, calling me to participate in the future plan of my home "the Citadel". There should be a kind of consent form between us and them in order to discuss the project plan and its futuristic aims before initiating it on the ground;…for instance, if there are any changes, any modifications, any suggestions or additions to the site as buildings or services. None of this happened actually. The work was planned by the renovation team and implemented by the renovation team, nothing to do with the inhabitants (see: Participant's Code: P5, Table 3.1).

Another managerial character from the inhabitants confirms that the people of the site were 'ill-fated' to be involved in the renovation process, and this is due to its mechanism of a purely top-down system of decision-making and decision-implementation:

> I do not think that there was any level of co-operation between the renovation team and the inhabitants, and I think this is clear from the local vision of the inhabitants about the strange changes that the renovation made. What the renovation decisions have brought to the site, in terms of the unexpected changes that they implemented, such as the current gate and the central paved road, proves that the locals were ill-fated to be genuinely involved in it because of a completely top-down process of policy's formulation and implementation (see: Participant's Code: P9, Table 3.1).

This is evidenced through a testimony of another indigenous of the settlement who mentions that there were not any formal meetings between the residents and the renovation team before or during the renovation works:

> I think to manage the renovation effort together, I mean between the renovation and the people of the site, there had to be at least a kind of initial preparation that would enable some meetings between them in order to manage the work…I have not been invited in such a meeting, but I was surprised by the implementation task on the site directly. What happened at that time was a sample of most of the traditional works that were planned and implemented at that period: purely top-down instructions that should be implemented and that's all (see: Participant's Code: P7, Table 3.1).

Apparently, the renovation project did not ponder the fact that the Citadel was teeming with people who may have had data that could be helpful for better policies and more objective aims. A Senior Architect of the High Commission for Erbil Citadel Revitalisation 'HCECR' reveals in this regard that the renovation vision was completely assigned to the experience of

profession of some local experts, who may have thought that their professional expertise is enough to supersede any other grassroots efforts:

> I think the renovation was imported to the site from the Capital Baghdad, where its architectural schemes were prepared by a professional Bureau that is thought to be the most appropriate for this task. Also, the implementation of the renovation plan had been directly translated on the ground without further assessment by a higher and more professional team in terms of experience and skills I mean…I think at that time the strategy, the tools and the experience of such heritage tasks were simple, and therefore they did not pay actual attention to what would be said after three or four decades (see: Participant's Code: P3, Table 3.1).

Correspondingly, the former Office Manager of the HCECR mentions that the total designation of the renovation schemes to the profession left some agonising impacts on the site, including its inhabitants, which proves the unlimited authority granted to the renovation-makers and the fragile role of its local community:

> I believe that there was no connection between the renovation and the inhabitants at all and in terms of how to work together for a better solution for the site. I think the renovation decisions were subjugated for a kind of granted power for the chief designer of the renovation, and this was widespread locally at that time, if not the sole way pursued at that time…If you walked through the site and see the central area, you will grasp the obvious gap between these decisions and the site values, which can present proof that they were drawn completely separately from the local participation of the residents at that time and projected upon the urban fabric of the Citadel (see: Participant's Code: P2, Table 3.1).

Thus, what can be stated here is that instead of these policies being 'synthesised with…some local-based views through an overlapped integral loop of interactions between them', the monaural role of the renovation's centralised authority often grants privileges to some self-maintained top-down policies and condones any other contributions that are not subject to this role (Jasim et al., 2018, p. 89). Repercussions of singularity of site's authorities on the renovation, which according to Uriely et al. (2003) is the case of many Asian heritage sites, sometimes can really lead to such agonising impacts particularly when it is driven by a 'cryptic neglect resulting from the conservation criteria governing the site's future policies' (Jasim et al., 2018, p. 81), perceiving local views as if they were truly lower-voices. Yet, the renovation decision-makers themselves justified the deficiency of local participation that some of the families left the site owing to some 'damage to the Citadel [] which made it an unattractive place to live for its...inhabitants' (Brammah, 2009a, p. 68), which made it hard to

engage them effectively. In fact, this proof is specifically what matters for this debate in order to indicate how the top-down approach works during the absence of the locals' role.

Since the renovation process of 1979 and hitherto, the site suffered from either the persistent serious destruction due to the noticeable decay, or major distortions to its urban form and architectural features, which have reflected a painful image that degraded the historical value of its built heritage (Qassim, 2010, Ivan, 2011). Accordingly, after 2007, a real revitalisation process was initiated to restore the site to its genuine urban and architectural image. Based on Brammah (2009a), (2009b), (2009d), HCECR (2012c), and UNESCO (2013a), the revitalisation process should be driven by the general frame of the broad topological and traditional features of the site. To achieve this and to avoid the mistake of the renovation, the local community's role should be truly activated due to their expected contribution in supporting the complete revelation of most of the sociocultural values, historical events and urban and architectural features of the site. Therefore, to envisage the role entrusted to the locals in the revitalisation, it is useful to review what has been principally emphasised in this regard by some global parties that work on the site revitalisation process currently.

3.4 Emphasis on Local Participation in the Revitalisation Process

Crucial steps should be made by the site's decision-makers, stating how local participation can be accomplished and in line with the recommendations of the UNESCO and ICOMOS charters (see: Chapter 2) that consider the site's inhabitants essential for successful revitalisation policies. According to the World Heritage Committee (2015), in any attempt to preserve the Citadel the living element of the site, namely the site inhabitants, should be prioritised. In other words, 'links and sense of belonging of the local populations and former inhabitants represent important aspects for a long-term revitalisation of Erbil Citadel and its reintegration into the city as a vital and living element' (p. 16). The Citadel is regarded an efficient popular venue that socially and culturally gathers the inhabitants, particularly through some religious activities in the central public zone. Thus, given this deep link that the inhabitants possess with this site, any efforts to revitalise the Citadel should consider this relationship as a determining factor in restoring the site to its authentic condition, which it has possessed throughout all history. Huszar & Associates (2009) indicate that a successful revitalisation process here should involve a broad range of criteria, whilst the engagement of the local community is essential. It guarantees popular support for the site's future decisions

and policies, which should be a basic task for the site's local authorities, and which may even require enacting new by-laws and regulations for the site. Ensuring an efficient local popular involvement emanates and simultaneously serves 'the creation of a culture of care for the Citadel and its built heritage' (Ibid, p. 92).

The Implementation Action Plan of the site (2009) demonstrates that the first threshold in the revitalisation process is how to establish a continuing process of gathering data on both the built heritage and the archaeology of the site. This assists in setting a broad data-base of historical and cultural knowledge that facilitates the objective construction of the site policies. One of the essential tools here is to 'build and maintain strong partnerships between the [project] and the local community' as a living informative base of data 'in order to bring people together to deliver the vision of the revitalisation' (Ibid, p. 22). Their participation eases the process of exploring the unique history of the site including the chronology of its traditional architecture.

Regarding how to gather the maximum amount of data about the cultural and historical values of the Citadel aiming at understanding these values and inserting them into a planning procedure, the UNESCO Report on Erbil Citadel Conservation Guidelines (2014) suggests some "key principles". One of them is the need to gather 'Oral and physical documentation' from the site that can feed the 'input' and the 'assessment' of the revitalisation, which can be achieved through the inhabitants' engagement as an informative elite about the site (Ibid, p. 17-18). The substantial recommendation among this series of suggestions is the emphasis on the local participation role of the local community. The Report quotes the "Burra Charter" guidelines to the policy-makers (see: Figure 3.16), which entrusts the efficient local involvement within the whole process of revitalisation policy.

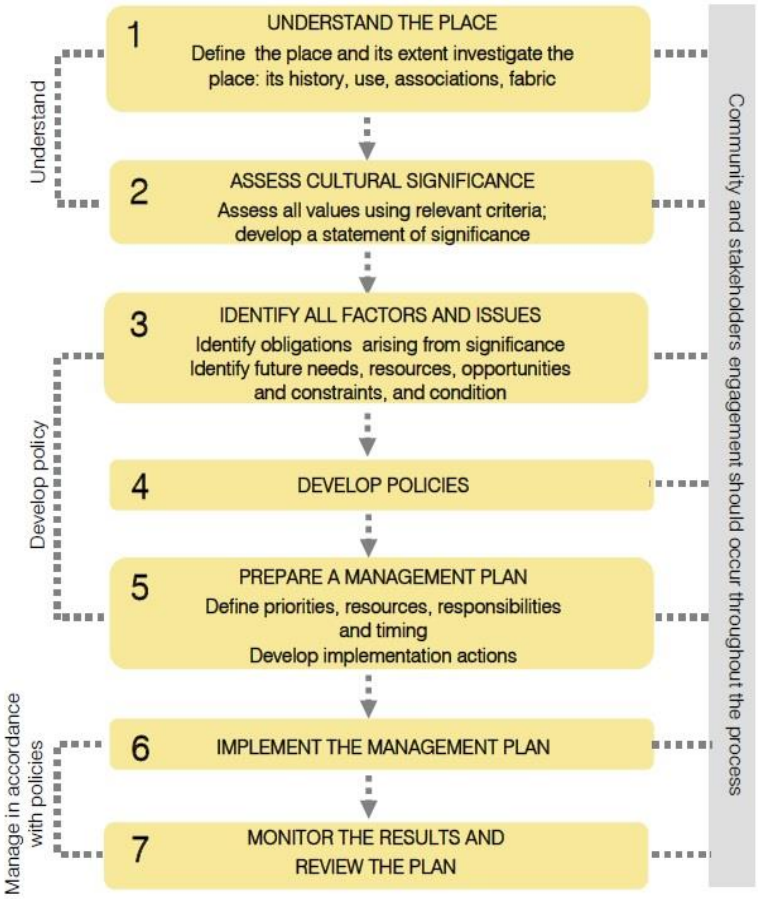


Figure 3.16: The local participation should be included throughout the whole revitalisation policy-making from the base to the top; recommended by the (Erbil Citadel Conservation Guidelines and Manual for Implementation, UNESCO, 2014, p. 12).

This has been endorsed by Huszar-&-Associates[24], assuring 'engag[ing] the…residents in helping to sustain [the site] significance' (p. 26). Therefore, gathering data about the site's diverse cultural values should be undertaken 'in conjunction with the outreach programme to the former inhabitants' of the site (Ibid, p. 23). They recommend 'promoting knowledge of the Citadel...significance to a local and global audience', and supports 'mak[ing] the Citadel an attractive place for people to live;...encouraging the revival of the Citadel's...identity', which is residential (Ibid, p. 26). Thus, after this clear emphasis on the necessity of local participation, the question remains as to whether the revitalisation policy follows these principles of being truly engaged with the audience until the end.

[24] Huszar & Associates are a group of international experts who work on the site revitalisation project.

In fact, different testimonies point out that some of these principles were left without activation, which, on the one hand, urges on investigation of the reasons behind that, starting from some live information obtained through some in-depth interviews ending with some evidence derived from UNESCO reports about this issue. On the other hand, it helps to understand the nature of the local criticisms against a series of decisions drawn up by the revitalisation subsequently to be well-prepared for the assessment stage afterwards.

3.5 Local Participation Step: Analysis of Interviews

This step is achieved through firstly interviewing the decision-makers as local authorities and HCECR's members in order to reveal the top-down vision towards the appreciation of local participation of the locals. Secondly, diverse evidence at the grassroots level was gathered that can show both the locals' ability to contribute to the revitalisation policies and the real extent of the participation that they have been granted. Therefore, a series of interviews were conducted in 2014 encompassing two groups. The first group was the site's decision-makers on different levels of the site's urban and architectural levels where both local and global experts were involved. The second group was the locals who were either indigenous inhabitants or local stakeholders.

The first group of interviews involved the revitalisation decision-makers on a broad scale, including the local sectors of tourism, culture and investment as well as the site's decision-makers represented by the HCECR's members. In fact, such sectors are incorporated owing to their apparent influence over the current policies of the revitalisation. This is based on the future aims envisaged for the site, which supposedly, besides its residential characteristic, are mainly nested inside some cultural and tourist destinations (the research will reveal more details about this subsequently). Therefore, interviewing people from these sectors facilitates revealing whether any particular role should truly be given to local participation, and will thus reveal '*to what extent the local participation is important for the current revitalisation*'.

Firstly, the General Directorate of Erbil Investment, which is directly linked with the HCECR to planning for the site's future in terms of how to increase its economic returns, indicates that to build up a realistic process of the site's local issues-based revitalisation, it is crucial that its first steps are initiated among its inhabitants. Despite their modest level of professional expertise in heritage conservation, the locals of the Citadel may reveal some raw

materials that facilitate establishing a truthful start towards the site's current problems through which the future of this built heritage can be carefully stimulated:

> The inhabitants are the live component of the site, who co-existed with the site for years. So, I see the local popular base is essential for the current revitalisation whereby the site will retrieve and sustain its dwelling nature and will not be abandoned for some trivial reasons that might be sanctioned by those who come from outside to planning for its inner issues. This is an important issue actually. Therefore, the locals' existence is a fundamental step from my own point of view, and even reveals some raw materials about the current issues of the site now that help to commence with a realistic start. Therefore, their participation should be supported by the revitalisation decision-makers, and I think this is what we should expect (see: Participant's Code: D2, Series A; Table 3.2).

In fact, in addition to this, it assists in making future investment derived from the original residential trait of the site and meanwhile does not reduce its authenticity in the future. In this respect, the Ministry of Culture and the former Head of the Citadel Conservation Commission point out that the initial regulations are to materially consider any bottom-up contributions and views at the grassroots level. Such a step helps to streamline and clarify the general lines of how to initiate a revitalisation that tackles the site's problems on the ground, which keeps the project more realistic and practical, stemming from the site's issues and potential, and simultaneously sustains the validity of its objectives:

> In fact, the process should be objective and aims to boost the site's diverse potential, which follows some initial regulations that facilitate this task. Therefore, the directives are to take into account the locals' views in the conservation process of the site which are mainly via periodical meetings with them to discuss the general lines of the revitalisation mechanism in order to nurture the formulation stage of its policies with what is practical and applicable. I think the participation of the inhabitants may come with contributions that are traditionally accepted locally and also may come with views that emanate from the local culture and history of the site (see: Participant's Code: D1, Series A; Table 3.2).

Accordingly, the importance of engagement of the locals within the formulation of the site's policies is assured culturally, which supposedly should be consolidated. Yet, the Ministry of Culture disclosed a controversial point here, announcing that the cultural aim envisaged for the site is hoped to boost global tourism. '*History, culture and traditions of the site will be carefully employed to define and introduce the site to the global tourism market*'. This simply implies that the very ancient residential characteristic of the site will also be subjected to serving this new turn of the Fortress, and particularly the Ministry of Culture indicates here

that most of the notable houses in the site, in terms of their design, location and spatial relationship with the urban context of the Citadel will be exploited to serve this purpose. This simply means that the residential feature of the site should also work at consolidating the new tourist shift of the site:

> Each prominent house in the site actually should occupy a new tourism function so that it feeds into the global tourism target envisaged for this settlement. Commonly, the Citadel is a residential zone of traditional houses with some public functions. That was in the past. Henceforth, the site should represent another turn for Erbil City: it is the turn of the new cultural, social and tourism vision (see: Participant's Code: D1, Series A; Table 3.2).

As such, in addition to their influence on the site, the tourist impacts of the Citadel's heritage are expected to have economic implications for the entire city of Erbil. Correspondingly, the formal spokesman for the tourism sector as represented by the Tourism Directorate in Erbil states that the Citadel henceforth has started to be seen as a robust cultural representative for the city and the region. Accordingly, views at the grassroots level of the site, which is the issue of the research here, should be carefully considered. The bottom-up views are merely raw views, which are not necessarily workable or purposeful if compared with those professional views of heritage's experts and scholars who are currently working on the site:

> The site has come to represent a brand for Kurdistan presently, and has started to be seen as a robust marketable tool for global tourism. It will become an international tourist site, consequently it will support the local tourism sector. In return, the HCECR should work on the definition of the site within an appropriate level of international tourist representation. For this reason, I think the locals' involvement in the decision-making process is probably considered quite sensitive and should be controlled, because eventually they are no more than some raw views. I do not think that they are really purposeful to the site, particularly if we compare them to the views of the experts who are currently working on the site. Their efforts should be concentrated on bringing the site into an eminent position among the surrounding cultural heritage sites, such as Babylon, Samarra and Aleppo Citadel (see: Participant's Code: D3, Series A; Table 3.2).

Undoubtedly, the tourist dimension of the Fortress is considered as a far-reaching goal for the future of the site and the city, even in cultural terms, which might necessitate affording the site's decision-makers a kind of granted power. Yet, steering the site towards such a global goal, "a brand for Kurdistan", should work on consolidating the role of local participation due to its diverse positive tourist impacts on the site revealed by many heritage studies. For

instance, Tarekegn (2016) determines heritage tourism as ‘a viable means of raising the economic activities’ that can have veritable returns upon the place (p. 249). The robust ties between built heritage and its inhabitants bring the priority of the latter to planning for the tourist potential of the former to the foreground (Mengistu, 2008). Such ties can be re-employed in order to remanufacture cultural-potential-based tourism of the site in a more convenient way, which is due to the ability of the locals in developing some local-based mechanisms towards better embodiment of cultural potential into heritage tourism besides assessment of their economic impacts (Sakkarin, 2009; Tarekegn, 2016) (see: Sections 2.3-2.5, Chapter 2).

Examples of this can be demonstrated through firstly sustaining the traditional crafts of the urban forum surrounding the main Mosque of the Citadel “Mulla Afandi”, which are embedded in the historical evolution of the daily commercial life of the inhabitants (see: Sections 3.2.1 & 3.2.2). This is similar in regard to the sociocultural values, and their economic impacts, that can be reflected through sustaining the symbolic activities/spaces of the grand gate of the site, such as the traditional guests’ rooms and the historical spaces of the horses’ stables which both are part of the daily life of their locals (HCECR, 2008, 2012a) (see: Chapter Four, Section 4.1.2.1). If the social traditions of the Citadel are also integral to this dimension, they are subject to these ties as well, particularly notions such as segregation principles among genders of the site, which robustly contributed to the emergence of the Citadel’s courtyards that are highly spread in the site (Abu-Lughod, 1987; Kazimee and McQuillan, 2002). Tacit to this feature, the dissolving of social lineage around the main alleyways of the site also directly partakes in the urban composition of the physical units of each alleyway (HCECR, 2008, 2012c) (see: Section: 2.5, Chapter 2).

However, the Head of the HCECR Commission reveals some difficulties that impede the actual involvement of the inhabitants to debate such issues in terms of how to meet them individually or in specific groups. Consequently, it is expected that the role given to them in this respect is less than supplementary. It is therefore very likely that the local role will be replaced by a similar professional role, which may depend mainly on the HCECR’s Commission or even what the global experts on the revitalisation dictate:

> The revitalisation policy rests with the Commission more than the popular base of the Citadel as a result of some difficulties with how to meet and discuss the aspirations of the revitalisation with the site’s inhabitants to highlight some

> critical urban and architectural issues that require their participation. Also, some of the global experts have put forward some good contributions in order to succeed with the project of the revitalisation, which are workable actually more than the simple local views. I think the need for the locals might be just to gain some supplementary data about some simple modifications on the houses and so forth (see: Participant's Code: D4, Series A; Table 3.2).[25]

Such a discouraging preface by the HCECR perhaps portends to less encouraging results. However, this should not weaken the opportunity of residents' involvement (for more information about this series of interviews see: Table 3.2: Participants' Sheet: Data of Interviews on Revitalisation Process: Series A, Appendices).

The second group of interviews, which were undertaken with the indigenous inhabitants of the site in (2014), focused in particular on some local professionals and stakeholders. The research concentrates on the educated elite here, which is necessary to ensure obtaining precise information so as to keep the crux of the data accurate, meaningful and purposive. This also helps to reduce the sentimental narrative of the inhabitants to its minimal. '*Whether they are capable of active engagement in the revitalisation decision-making process?*', they show their willingness to fuel the site's policies in various suggestions that can reveal the site's genuine historical and cultural potentials. This, according to their contributions here, is based on their genuine knowledge of the site (see: Table 3.2: Participants' Sheet: Data of Interviews on Revitalisation Process: Series B, Appendices).

For one of the inhabitants, the formation of the urban meandering pathways, the growth of the alleyways and the evolution of the urban fabric of the site are simply a response to the cultural evolution of the daily life of its locals since its Ottoman period until the present day. Therefore, the residents may help to give more data about the site, as a history, culture and urban evolution, as they are part of their daily religious and economic needs, which therefore may help to define and boost the site's cultural heritage:

> These aspects have entailed different social, cultural, religious and economic daily requirements, which facilitated the definition of some of its physical details (such as the meandering alleyways and the traditional courtyards that are widespread in the site) through some cultural and social aspects (such as the social privacy and unity of neighbourhood) of the Citadel's heritage, which in fact they are also quite common at the site (see: Participant's Code: R1, Series B; Table 3.2).

[25]: This information was received through a short interview with the Head of the HCECR where it was decided to schedule a full interview later but was cancelled by the HCECR due to some reasons.

Another believes that their involvement is necessary to provide more views about the growth of the urban fabric of the site, resulting from the social privacy and the robust traditional cultural links between them and the three traditional neighbourhoods of the site. Consequently, they are able to reveal more data regarding some cultural aspects that may boost the definition of its authentic history:

> Since the principle of social privacy existed in each part of the three main districts of the Citadel (*Takya, Topkhana and Saray*), this simply gives a signification that the local cultural aspects of the local community have robustly participated in the formation and growth of the urban context and such similar characteristics of this residential settlement. So, our participation may help to define the site as an authentic history and also its importance locally (see: Participant's Code: R2, Series B; Table 3.2).

As such, the locals' views are important and may assist in shaping a truthful base of realistic data, even if they were a raw material to start with in drawing up a feasible plan for the tourist goal of the site and based on its cultural potential. Perhaps, such views can assist in developing empirical knowledge regarding the sociocultural aspects of the site that can feed this goal particularly within its initial stages owing to the overlaid and complementary relationship between the urban fabric and social structure of the site. For instance, their daily shopping services and sharing some mutual rituals have led to strengthening their cultural relationship with the site:

> Visitations and shopping services among the inhabitants, particularly those who belong to the same family tree, and also defending a specific urban cluster that belongs to this family; sharing some religious activities among them; all of that has created a robust relationship between the urban fabric and the social components of the Citadel. Over time, this indeed became a material part of the local cultural traditions of the inhabitants, making some features of the site, such as alleyways and courtyards, inseparable parts of these traditions, consequently I can say, a direct reference to them (see: Participant's Code: R4, Series B; Table 3.2).

All of this should denote a genuine contribution that can be made by the inhabitants to the sound placement of the sociocultural settings within the envisaged tourist shift of the site.

Tacit to this end, historically, the local community of the Fortress is perhaps the appropriate elite who know more about its historical events in terms of their positions within the site's chronology and their ethos as cultural impacts and values of its traditional environment in

general. Their participation thereby may solidify the contribution of these events to the tourist cultural dimensions of the site in terms of opening them towards a more potential interaction and narrative of the visitors. This is what one of them mentions here:

> There is a historical correlation between the site and its residents actually, and this comes from the fact that the Citadel is a historical habitation. Therefore, this makes me able to say that the inhabitants are the group who knows more about the chronology of the historical events of this habitation. Consequently, their local knowledge can nourish the future policies of the site with original ideas that may serve the cultural destinations of the revitalisation (see: Participant's Code: R3, Series B; Table 3.2).

A professional stakeholder from the site believes that this may increase the opportunity of an open interaction between the visitor and the dweller of the site regarding the early stages and rise of these events, and how they have been tailored within the whole cultural story of the site.

> Therefore, I see the continuous dwelling of the site enabled the indigenous dwellers to record and document more historical data about the history of the site, and if the site will be used to serve some tourist aims I think this also will serve to enlarge the base of interaction between the visitor and the resident in terms of some direct debates on the origins of these events as well as their past and current influence on the cultural heritage of the site (See: Participant's Code: R5, Series B; Table 3.2).

From another perspective, the locals' call for participation here does not stand for serving some individual subjective aims rather the overall aim of the site including its urban relationship with the surroundings that may embed some economic dimensions in the long term. This is based on their local empirical knowledge of the commercial relationship that ties the site to its surroundings, particularly the traditional *Suq* that almost embraces the habitation from four sides:

> The residents' cooperation does not call for subjective purposes serving individual aims, but rather an objective vision for the site and its vicinity, and that would be supportive for the overall aim of the entire urban place. For instance, their knowledge about the traditional *Suq* should give them a priority in the revitalisation in terms of increasing the data about the historical commercial relationship between the Citadel and the *Suq*. After all, this cooperation increases the data about the historical economic relationship between the site and its surroundings, which serves the far-reaching objectives of the whole revitalisation policy (see: Participant's Code: R6, Series B; Table 3.2).

Hence, what can be inferred here, which concurrently corresponds to a survey conducted by the researcher as part of his position with the HCECR as a Senior Architect between 2007/8, is that the locals can nourish the tourist goals with a more realistic contribution stemming from the site's historical-cultural assets. For instance, 'revealing some social norms inherent in the site; detecting many of its obsolete architectural details; picturing some key historical events and stories submerged in the site's cultural layers; and thus, their performance as a "storytelling" for the recreational journey of the built heritage' (Jasim, et al 2018, p. 83). The urban and social vocabularies of the site, such as the principle of neighbourhood, the houses' courtyards, the meandering urban alleyways and the social lineages, are entrenched in the daily life of the local people, having been inherent in their life since their childhood and later life. Consequently, if a real opportunity is given for those inhabitants to participate, it might yield a genuine contribution to nourish the new tourist objective for the site.

The involvement of the locals to operate in this aim provides some local traditional tools that make heritage tourism of the Citadel really meaningful for maintaining a state of "continuity" with these values and traditions, otherwise they may suffer a state of change or "discontinuity". In return, such local cultural tools-based heritage tourism, according to Tarekegn (2016), can be an essential part of economic development that offers the locals concrete benefits and simultaneously agitates the futuristic growth of the Citadel and its surroundings with more funds. Evoking the role of the locals, Erbil Citadel's cultural heritage and tourism can be seen as two inseparable activities and integral to each other. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate to what extent the local community has been involved in the formulation stage of the revitalisation policy in order to scrutinise their specific role.

Therefore, the research approaches the question of the locals to know '*the extent that they have been involved in formulating the revitalisation policies and making decisions'*. Some undesirable answers have manifested to state that the locals have been absent from actual engagement in the formulation stage of the revitalisation policies (see: Table 3.2: Participants' Sheet: Data of Interviews on Revitalisation Process: Series C, Appendices). The group interviewed among the locals mention that they have not met the policy-makers before or during the first stages of the revitalisation project. In addition to disregarding their views from the initial preparations for the revitalisation, there were no considerations for their potential contributions to the futuristic tourist development of the site. Their potential contributions have been superseded by direct connections and actions of some global experts

of heritage conservation who have been invited to work on the Citadel's new global shift from the site directly. Evidence of this has been narrated by more than one individual among the professionals that the first step towards revitalising the site was the complete deposition of them from their home "the Citadel" so that the latter could be completely owned by the government. Therefore, evacuation of this residential settlement of its residents was a step that has been robustly adopted by the site's authorities towards attaining this aim, and this, for instance, is what was assured by a religious figure from the site:

> The inhabitants have never met the decision-makers for discussing or formulating the mechanism of the revitalisation policies. What I say here is something certain. The first decision that was made for the site was the decision of evacuation to clear the site of its inhabitants, and all the major decisions of the revitalisation process were made subsequently. The decision-makers released these decisions after 2009 when the master plan of the site was drawn up. Therefore, the majority of the inhabitants were unable to participate in formulating even the outlines of the revitalisation policies due to their early departure. After the decision of evacuation, the site, along with its houses, became owned by the government; and the inhabitants had to leave the site for the new goal of revitalisation, which you may know. It is the global tourist goal. As a consequence, there is no connection between the HCECR and the inhabitants regarding shaping such decisions. The conservation dialogue is only between the local and global experts (see: Participant's Code: L3, Series C; Table 3.2).[26]

Thus, the first stage of revitalisation, which is the policy formulation, was confined to, and set due to mutual efforts shared between some global experts from UNESCO and the local experts of the HCECR with a clear dearth of local participation. Whilst the engagement of the local stakeholders to discuss the future relationship between the site and its surroundings *Suq* '*is [also] completely missing and totally absent*', says another (see: Participant's Code: L4, Series C; Table 3.2). If there were '*some chatting*' about the site and its visitors generally, still '*that chat [does not] live up to the level it is contributing to revitalisation policies substantially'*, says the Owner of the *Qalat* Museum of the site (see: Participant's Code: L2, Series C; Table 3.2). Perhaps, for the site's authorities, bottom-up raw views are unfeasible to stimulate or achieve the tourist shift of the site, regardless of the anxiety that their existence may raise their objection against changing the residential trait of the site towards a touristic

[26]: 'I agree to go back to live in the site if they let me go…I will fund my house conservation from my own pocket', the religious figure added, referring to the semi-isolation of the inhabitants from participating in formulating the conservation policies.

one. For them, the site's new global shift demands more global views, and thus rests with experts and scholars more than traditional locals. Whereas this may reconcile a certain level of rationale, possibly, these traditional views are still more knowledgeable about the majority of the site's sociocultural assets in addition to how they can be displayed to the visitor in a mechanism that can really reflect the site's privacy, which ultimately might be the condition for the success of this new shift.

In this respect, a managerial figure from the site argues that:

> The first step to revitalise the Citadel was our evacuation from the site. A new version of authority from the previous renovation process was redirected towards Erbil Citadel to be re-applied within the current revitalisation process, but perhaps through different tools I can say. Firstly, the authority control was activated earlier when the local inhabitants were informed, through the decision of evacuation, to evacuate their home and move into a modern urban habitation in exchange for financial compensation, which should be reinvestigated. Though the decision to make the site globally recognised should be appreciated, still the decision to clear the Citadel of its inhabitants was premature, for me. This latter step for sure mirrors a purely top-down policy that stormed the site's socio-cultural dimensions which isolated its live collective memory (locals) from this built heritage (see: Participant's Code: L1, Series C; Table 3.2).

Obviously, the evacuation decision suggests a top-down step that has reflected a particular political stance, which is inferred from flagging the site as a national Kurdish symbol, and using it as a tool for tourism marketing, claiming that the site will be an international tourist site. To this end, the decision-making authority had to be transferred to a lower stage, which provides enough space for the site's decision-makers to manage this supreme aim, offering them lawful legitimacy in formulating decisions. In fact, this might echo what the World Conservation Union IUCN (2004) claims that many conservation processes around the globe lack actual consultation with 'the concerned communities…who are traditionally associated with the [site]…[as] the first and essential step…[or] the foundation' for more objective policies (p. 40).

Here some of the global experts of the site come to highlight an important aspect, which confirm and also indicate the misuse of this power, stating that the site's authority needs firstly to explicitly understand how the site will be an international tourist site without controlling its ongoing collapses currently, which are increasing noticeably. This definitely

indicates the power given to the site decision-makers as they have taken it upon themselves to enact the steps of the revitalisation process, and in so doing cancelled out huge efforts of true participation in the project including the bottom-up efforts.[27]

In fact, this top-down approach has often been found to weaken the local participation role, which has presumably been considered as the starting point for more transparent and far-reaching conservation policies. Quoting (Hampton, 2005), it subverts the notion of 'listen[ing] to the voices of the local people, "the lowers"' of this site to be inevitably subordinate to this top-down approach, which reverberates what Din (1993) cites about a local state Chief Minister in Malaysia regarding the level of valorisation of the bottom-up views: 'we do not have to consult with local people; we know what is good for them' (p. 329). Whilst the top-down approach held fast to what was remaining of these views, privileging the top-down views over them seemed strongly to trace what Timothy (1999) quotes from an Indonesian planner: 'if a neighbourhood is being improved [materially], it is unnecessary to involve the local people' (p. 384-5).

Thus, the gathered views give a confirmation that the local participation was minimal in the formulation stage of the revitalisation process. Nevertheless, as the study seeks to reach a level of transparency that allows for the local community's views to be realistically adopted within the assessment stage of the revitalisation policy, deriving judgement through some subjective views derived from a series of interviews seems to lack criticality. The participants' views are influenced by the surrounding changes, which make it hard to see 'how such [changes] influence the understanding and behaviour' of those participants (Davis, 2009, p. 204). Therefore, in such sensitive cases it is crucial to leave the final word to UNESCO and their attitude from this issue, particularly regarding the Dossier of nomination of the Citadel to the 'WHL'.

3.6 The ICOMOS Attitude from the Revitalisation Process Escalates the Situation

Through the evaluation of the site to the World Heritage List, the ICOMOS Report (2014) has identified some deficiencies within the nomination Dossier of this property, which were considered to be lacking and needed to be resolved in order to enable formal inscription in the

[27]: Personal emailed communication with an international key expert on the current revitalisation in March 2016

List. The absence of the local participatory role was among these deficiencies. It is referred to indirectly at first through the reference to the evacuation of the site, showing the importance of the social dimension of the property that currently the site has lost its vibrancy as it has been emptied of its residents. The Dossier repeatedly asserts the significance of the site, having been inhabited for millennia and continuously. For instance:

> The focus 'on Erbil's peculiarities of being a still living "citadel town"…; it is still a living town…; concluding that Erbil Citadel stands alone for its continuity of settlement…; its continuity of occupation and still surviving urban character…; the millennial continuity of occupation of the Erbil site is also attested to be the remarkable permanence of its name…,' (p. 80-81).

However, ICOMOS continues:

> The fact that Erbil Citadel is currently uninhabited detracts from its sense of place as a town…and in this regard the…revitalisation formulas appear excessively tourism-oriented and do not pay attention to the regeneration of the social fabric within the Citadel (p. 80-86).

Additionally, the Report has also disclosed that there is a scarcity of physical and cultural information and evidence that support the criteria of the site's integrity, authenticity and its Outstanding Universal Value 'OUV', which impede the site inscription's on the WHL. Also, the Dossier does not:

- present proof stressing 'the surviving physical evidence of the Citadel' (p. 84), as well as a lack of information on the chronological modification that most of the houses have witnessed; "why", "when" and "what" kind of modification need to be explained.

- The Dossier does not 'provide historical and archaeological evidence for this change. Neither a construction date, nor...on the building materials…in relation to the former walls' of the site's constructs (p. 83-87). It lacks evidence that can show the previous plans and foundations of those modified houses as well as the expected changes that are to be carried out in the courtyards and other open spaces within the residential zone of the site. All of this may more easily have been achieved if the inhabitants had been actively participating and seen as the first to be responsible for these changes and modifications of these traditional residential units, as their evacuation 'ha[d] not been justified' (p. 83).

Therefore, ICOMOS recommends that:

> The ‘involvement of the local communities’ is strongly needed ‘in the revitalisation process…as of utmost importance for the future and long-term conservation of Erbil Citadel’s significance. ICOMOS recommends that the HCECR take into account the role that the previous residents may play in the revitalisation process…and foresees the return of former inhabitants’ (p. 87).

In fact, the ICOMOS gives further confirmation of the feeble engagement of the local community in the revitalisation policy-formulation stage, which comes to consolidate the above confirmation of the local community, indicating somehow a level of transparency of their views. Accordingly, the ICOMOS recommendation is to re-activate the local participation, which might yield a genuine contribution to the future of the site and sustain its residential fame over history. The current fragility of local participation might have resulted from misusing the site’s traditional character and changing it from a residential site to a touristic one. This change led to an apparent lack of role for the local community in firstly identifying the chronological order of some alterations that affected the site, and secondly, in formulating the diverse criteria of the site’s authenticity, integrity and its OUV. For the ICOMOS, the evacuation step of the inhabitants was premature, and thus the global tourist aim envisaged for the site is currently:

> ‘Not a concern for the nominated site. ICOMOS believes that this approach is likely to affect the traditional character of the nominated property and the sense of the place’ (p. 84), which mostly affords an impression of vibrant traditional habitation.

In this sense, these recommendations from ICOMOS regarding maintaining the residential feature of the site in order to support its new plan should really be taken as “articles of faith” (Avrami et al., 2000) by the site authorities due to their potential role in motivating the whole policy of the revitalisation project.

3.7 The Demise of the Residential Feature of the Site in regard to the Recommendations of UNESCO

The Citadel is well-known for its long history as a residential site. Its unique character is that the site ‘has remained an inhabited [site] throughout its history and therefore provides a unique testimony to an ancient urban form that goes back to very first period when humankind first started to live in towns’ (Brammah, 2009a, p. 91). Multiple pieces of evidence can demonstrate and support this fact. The Report of “Erbil Citadel Conservation

Guidelines and Manual for Implementation" for UNESCO (2014), provides a number of vital suggestions for releasing successful revitalisation, and most of them explicitly or implicitly assure consolidating the traditional residential trait of the site.

Firstly, it suggests adhering to 'taking into consideration the particular situation and specificity of Erbil Citadel' currently, which is the merit of it being a continuous habitation site (p. 3). The Guidelines endorse this residential feature, granting it a 'unique feature [as a] substantial uninterrupted occupation, making it one of the oldest urban settlement[s] in the world…to make it the living, dynamic and self-sustaining historic centre' (Ibid, p. 5). "Note on Infill Buildings" of this Report bears another suggestion that if the revitalisation 'entails the construction of new buildings [it should follow] the same aim of restoring the continuity of the historic urban fabric…to regenerate the [residential] sense of place and urban character lost in some areas and empty spaces' (Ibid, p. 10).

However, all of these recommendations did not succeed in sustaining the Citadel's traditional character as a residential site. The revitalisation endeavour did not give up the quest of changing the site from residential to touristic, which is highly problematic. Conversely, the formulation stage of the revitalisation policy works to embed this quest within the roots of the policy from the beginning, which is evidenced through a number of characteristics that have been employed as a motive to support this aim.

Firstly, the UNESCO Guidelines (2014) reveal that one of the "objectives" of the Revitalisation Management Plan is the site's 'culture and cultural heritage will be used as vectors for development…making it available to community and guests and ensuring its transmission to the future generations' (p. 5), which in fact shifts the aim from residential to touristic. Despite the Management Plan stating that the revitalisation should 'concentrate on retrieving the Citadel's spirit', its policy explicitly declares that the future aim of the site is touristic, stating: 'Erbil Citadel will be conserved…to become central to the cultural…life of Erbil. Its character will be enhanced by means of…tourism and leisure activities that are compatible with the historical nature of the place and its aspirations to become a World Heritage Site' (Ibid, p. 125). The residential aim seems to be condoned or complementary for the new tourist purpose. Further evidence can be seen through the suggested urban land-use of the site by the revitalisation, which shows the site as a new urban context of diverse urban uses that all adds to the touristic targets (see: Figure 3.17). For instance, the Report identifies

some vital 'tourism-related accommodation, facilities and services' that may revive this new trajectory of the site, such as 'hotels…cafes; restaurants; souvenir shops [and] visitor/implementation centre' (Ibid, p. 126).

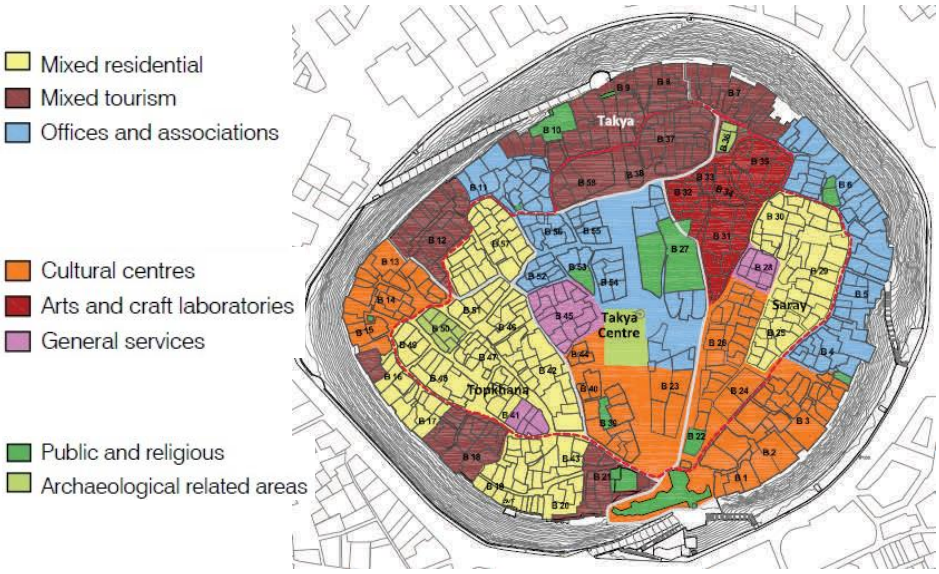
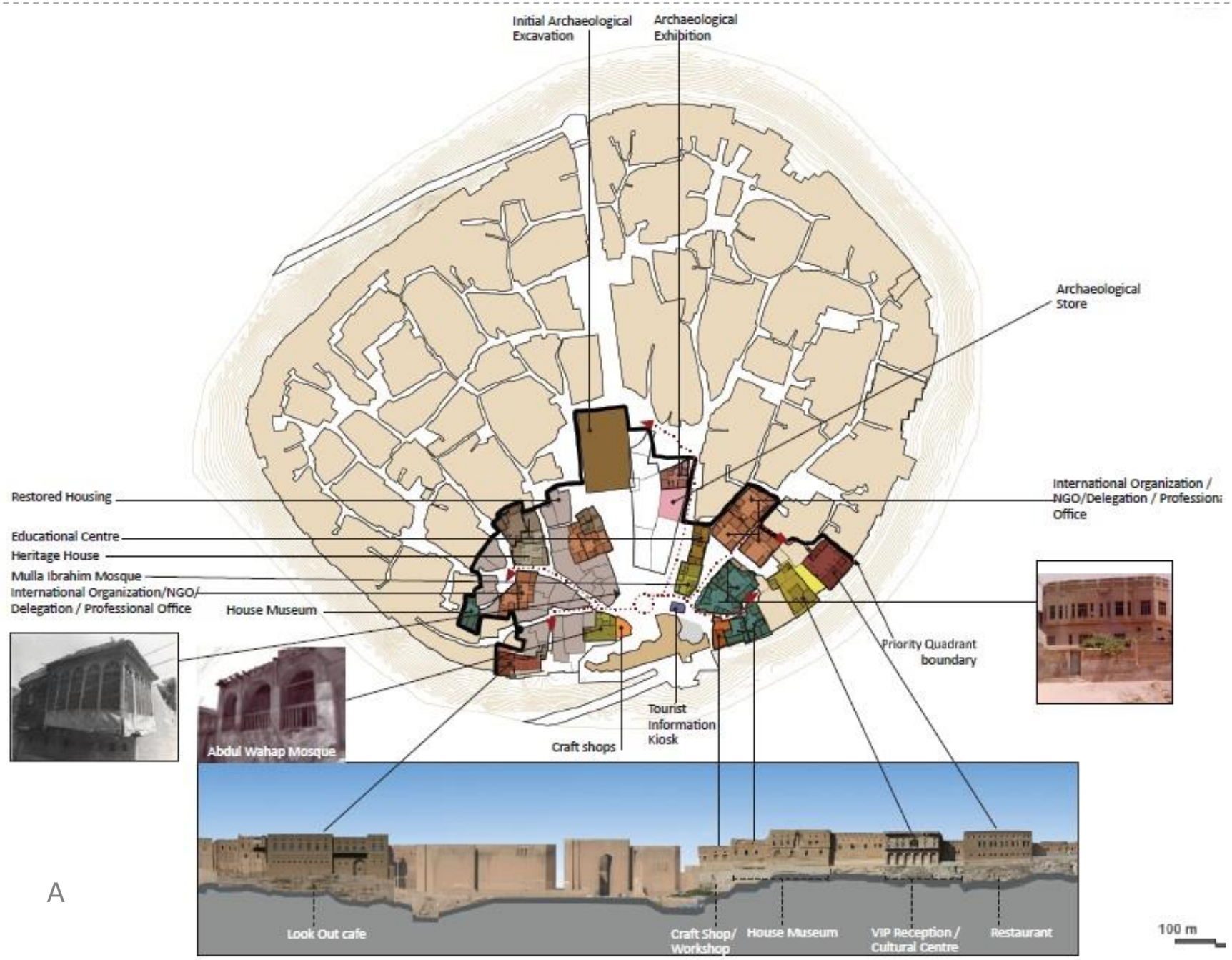


Figure 3.17: Suggested "land use plan" in the "Implementation Plan" identified by the "Erbil Citadel Conservation Guidelines and Manual for Implementation" (2014, p. 20); it shows the humble proportion of the residential zone as a comparison with the other cultural and touristic urban zones of the site.

The Implementation Action Plan (2009) shows that some of the site's vital urban zones and architectural constructs are planned to be occupied by purely touristic functions serving some recreational purposes (see: Figure 3.18a-b). To this end, it is important to know whether there is any intention that the inhabitants will inhabit the site again.

According to Brammah (2009c), some official social elites, particularly those who financially support restoring and maintaining some individual buildings of the site, are needed. Elites 'who can contribute to a mutually supportive society' (p. 7) should be given the priority to utilise the site, acting as guardians of it. They may be journalists, writers, historians, architects, cultural institutions, and foreign delegates. In fact, the question here is who can act as guardians of a home more than its residents?

This is all to support the new anticipated functions of the site, such as 'cultural, tourism...and institutional activities' (Ibid, p. 7) (see: Figure 3.19). 'Housing' has occupied the lower part of the future development in the revitalisation plan, which still refers to some elites who can feed the site financially, such as student accommodation rather than the residents.


Initial Archaeological Excavation
Archaeological Exhibition
Archaeological Store
Restored Housing
Educational Centre
Heritage House
Mulla Ibrahim Mosque
International Organization/NGO/ Delegation / Professional Office
House Museum
International Organization / NGO/Delegation / Professional Office
Priority Quadrant boundary
Abdul Wahap Mosque
Craft shops
Tourist Information Kiosk
Look Out cafe
Craft Shop/ Workshop
House Museum
VIP Reception / Cultural Centre
Restaurant
100 m

A

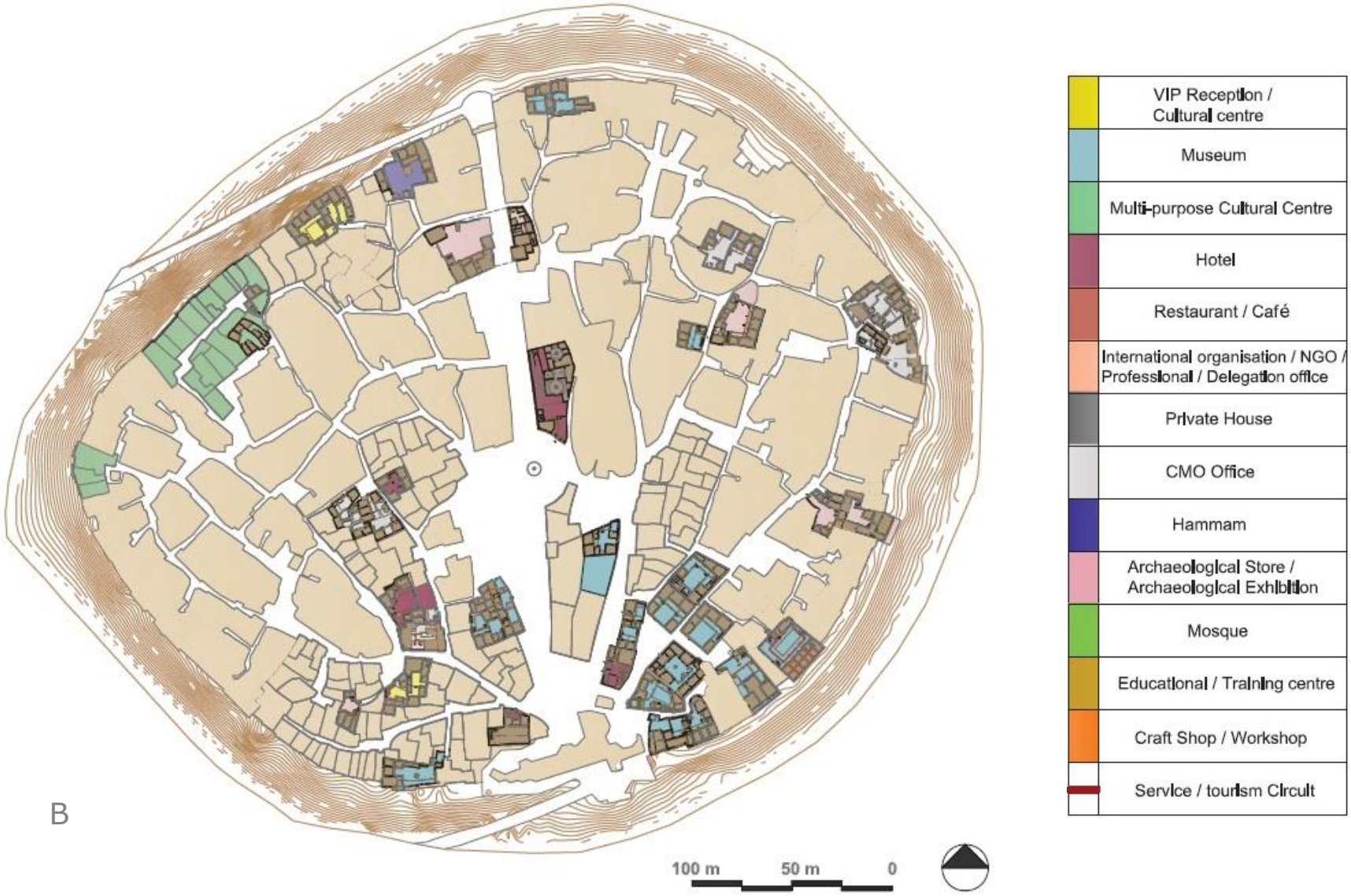


Figure 3.18: A): Priority quadrant land use proposal; B): Possible beneficial new uses, each one of A & B combines different cultural and recreational functions supporting the tourist goal of the site in the (Implementation Action Plan, 2009, p. 185-233); maintained architectural elements, but cancelled local social habits.

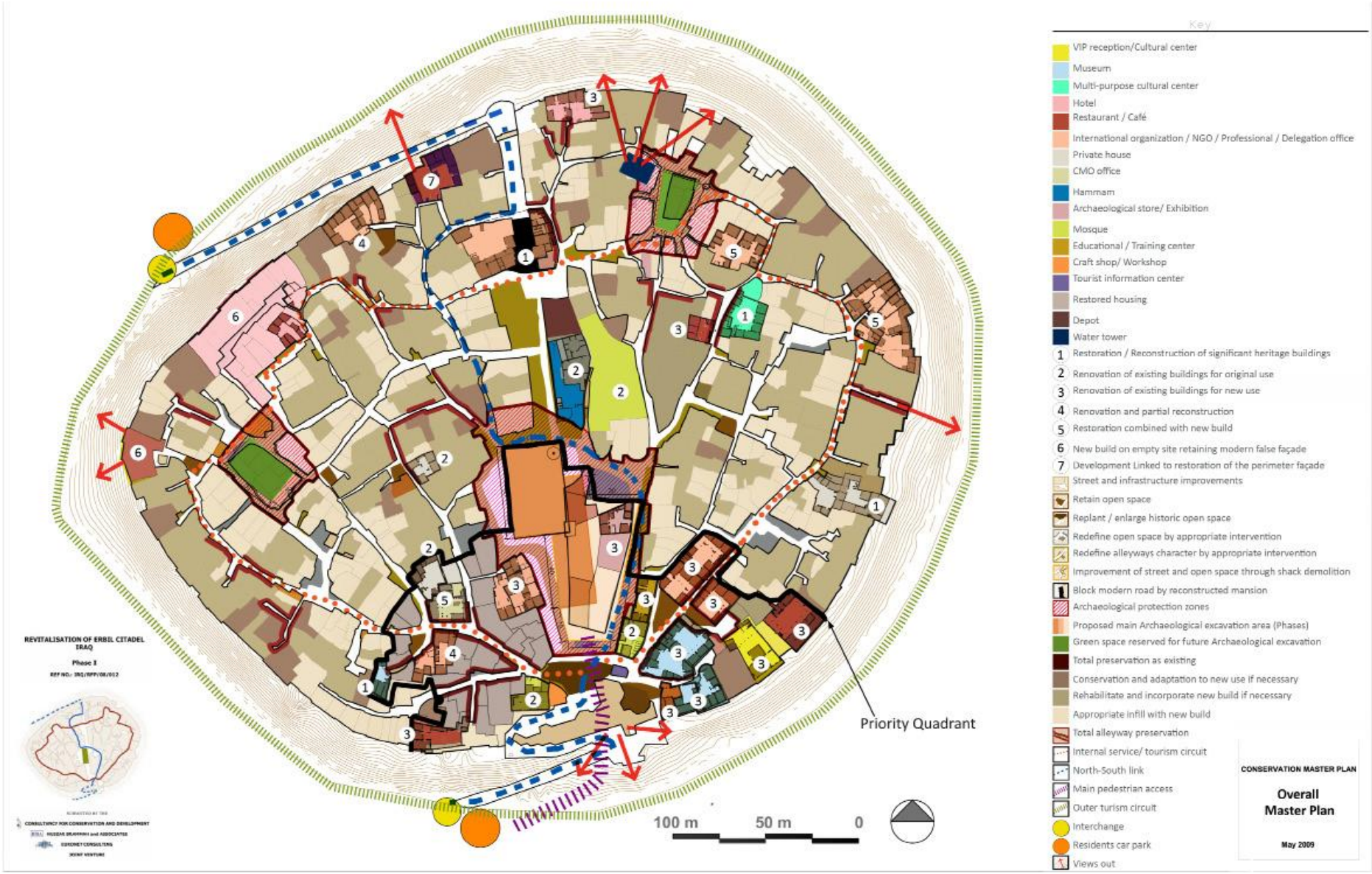


Figure 3.19: The final proposed functions and urban land use within the “overall master plan”, which show the high priority for the tourism and its recreational complementary functions that dominate the residential use of the proposal (Final Report on Revitalisation of Erbil Citadel: Summary of Outputs of the Project, 2009, p. 81)

In fact, only a sample from the 'daily social life [will be] brought back', but also to be 'integrated with the presence of cultural activities…and sustainable tourism development' (UNESCO, 2014, p. 127). Though the UNESCO Report insists on a significant criterion of demonstrating 'the spirit of the original use for which the [site] was designed', which is residential (p. 125), the previous Chair of the site conservation commission stated in (2014) that the designation of the new residential units will be following a selective process that can serve the overall tourist aim. Hence, the purpose behind the resettlement of some residential units is "just to keep the site alive, informing the visitor about its traditional residential trait". This ultimately led the Outputs of the Project of the Revitalisation (2009) to suggest establishing a 'Heritage House' unit as a separate managerial section of 'a Marketing Manager [and] a Tourism Officer [which] will serve as the base…for attracting investment for regeneration and for tourism development' (p. 75) enabling the management of the new tourist course of the site, which is a clear acknowledgement of its legitimacy. This gives a third confirmation, which could explain, and add more to the fact that the site has been completely shifted from habitation to a new global tourist venue.

3.8 Discussion

The early stages of the policy formulation of the revitalisation process have witnessed feeble local participation, blocked by the top-down approach, which aims to prioritise the global tourist features of the site. This led to a reflection on the causes and effects behind this weak participation and through the lenses of the local community as well as ICOMOS, which firstly allows for maintenance of transparency in the study. Secondly, it provides a flexible platform for the next stages, which are the policy's assessment and implementation, whereby the local participation can critique the fundamental decisions that the revitalisation process has drawn for the site in order to remedy and revise these next two stages.

Doubtless, the mechanism of the revitalisation policy is materially misstated, particularly regarding the lack of engagement of the local community in its formulation stage. Based on the site's diverse architectural, sociocultural and political makeup, numerous requisites necessitate the concrete engagement of its locals who can provide diverse information, proposals and recommendations in this regard. Their engagement will surely have a huge impact on how the site can be managed henceforth in order to avoid the repetition of the

destructive renovation experience, which is according to the dictates of the continuous coexistence with problems and merits of the site in the past and presently. Additionally, it helps to understand and simultaneously impact the decisions being made by authorities as well as the critique given by the inhabitants. Hence, if we considered that the new tourist shift is planned to ultimately serve the site, and thus able to maintain its traditional identity, what are the reasons that impede employing the local views in supporting this shift? Also, if we were sure that the future of the site is moving towards purely tourist dimensions, still the question that comes to mind is what prevents the site from celebrating its inhabitants?

The significance of these questions stems from the aforementioned recommendation of ICOMOS that the HCECR should consider the role that the inhabitants may play in the revitalisation process and foresee their return. This consequently helps to understand whether the local community is really unable to support the revitalisation policy, and thus helps to find justifications for the decision of evacuation. To obtain a kind of transparency, the discussion attempts to juxtapose, and answer the above questions through employing diverse theses from different heritage studies. It remains to be seen, however, if debating "why?" and "who?" underestimates the bottom-up views is no more than to reflect on the level of consideration of the locals in policy formulation, and whether the residential traits will be permanently obsolete or not.

Starting from the first question, based on some regional studies, perhaps one of the reasons that impede the local participation in the policy-formulation stage of heritage conservation processes is associated with the regional criteria that many Asian heritage sites suffer from, and this is where the Citadel lies. Regionally, based on different studies, such as Uriely et al. (2003), Huang (2006), and Su and Li (2012), the cultural awareness regarding activating the role of the local people, as real representatives in heritage conservation suffers from receiving slight considerations by the policy-makers in some Asian heritage sites, to be a reciprocal feature with the Citadel as an Asian site. For instance, a study conducted on Nazareth Heritage in (2003), which is an Asian site, shows that the residents' attitudes and their local participation in its conservation policies is 'an issue that received little attention' (p. 69). Linking that to the current revitalisation process, it might interpret the weak application of the decentralising power strategy (that suggests sharing power between the site's authorities and inhabitants) within this process, which perhaps resulted from the clear gap within the local conservation laws regarding such a strategy. As a consequence, this steered to cancelling the

global emphasis on considering the inhabitants and culture of the site as fundamentally interlinked within any conservation process (Wilson, 2003) to be completely derelict in the formulation stage of the revitalisation. This is evident in some of the suggestions advocated by the Final Report on the revitalisation (2009), which condones a cultural factor, such as the traditional 'housing', for the sake of another, such as 'tourism, commercial and institutional activities' (p. 7) within the site.

Secondly, based on some local studies, another reason might be the lack of a genuine action plan that considers the Citadel's inhabitants as real representatives of the site. In more detail, based on some studies conducted on some local heritage sites, such as the study of Bortolotto et al. (2014) that was conducted at the Koya urban heritage in Iraqi Kurdistan, most of the local experiences of local participation in conservation processes lack 'an action plan [which] target the communities inside and around the [site], involving them through meetings and workshops' (p. 101). This action plan would enable a real activation of the local views to be directly tailored to the policy setup of the site conservation. The study shows that these local experiences share some specific shortages, such as (p. 100-101):

- *Little awareness amongst decision makers about the role and benefits of involving people at the grassroots levels;*
- *Local community-based organisations lack the official recognition and the capacity to participate in an actual development [in] community-based natural resource management;*
- *Inadequate human, technical…capacity of cultural staff at local level to address the complex management issues and to secure effective implementation of conservation actions;*
- *Lack of integration between institutions and local development strategies.*

In fact, this series of weaknesses may be more risky in the current revitalisation plan than the previous renovation process of the Citadel as it would finally lead to weakening the locals' appreciation towards this plan, and thus to 'perceive [it] as a restriction and [therefore] have no incentives to participate in [its] activities' (Ibid, p. 101). Based on that, it can be stated that both the regional criteria and the local laws indeed lack a real activation for the role of this power, (the local community), who have been considered as a vassal category and always subordinated to the site decision-makers. Both of these criteria and laws have combined to marginalise the site's local views, which seem to be plaguing the current experience of the

revitalisation project. Linking that to the decision of evacuation may also outline an answer for the above second question.

In more detail, as a consequence of the weakness of the local experience of drawing up integral conservation policies, the revitalisation's first step was to prepare the site for the new tourist shift. Secondly, due to miscalculation of the role of the site inhabitants in furthering the setup of the overall plan of this aim, the potential for involving them in this plan was almost non-existent. Therefore, the most appropriate procedure was firstly to clear the site of its residents, which would facilitate the next step, which is the adaptation of the site to accommodate new functions, all of which serve its new tourist shift. However, regardless of its repercussions, what is still vague and may require an in-depth discussion is the incentives behind the decision of evacuation, which for the site's authorities, is considered practical.

3.8.1 Incentives and Repercussions of the Evacuation

Debating the reasons behind the evacuation, Erbil Citadel represents a power for the place, acknowledging Erbil city in the global tourist milieus (Brammah, 2009b, MacGinnis, 2013). For the site's authorities, this means shifting the site from its current residential function and re-directing it towards this new turn for its boundless economic impacts on the site and the place. This, according to Uzzell (1996), and Howard (2003), grants the Citadel a global significance to appropriate the global tourism. Such a top-down vision to the site is cogent, and what may support this argument is that different studies demonstrate that built heritage is powerful enough to flag and introduce the place's cultural significance globally. For instance, Casey (2007) indicates that '[heritage] holds the power to gather experiences, histories, memories and thoughts...in the way of life of many communities...making it...universal' (p. 507). Chapman (2008) corresponds to Casey stating that built heritage is a sufficient cultural structure, which enables the re-displaying of the place, communicating its meanings and values globally.

They are popular foundations that have their private authority, potentials and power to legitimately determine the originality of the place. Graham (2002), and Dicks (2003) consider that as a real motive that encourages this new tourist shift of the site; Erbil can represent a stockpile of diverse meanings and values for different people in various contexts. This consequently creates a kind of place attachment for the visitor as a 'cultural…process that

engages with acts of remembering that [place]', substantiating its presence worldwide (Smith, 2006, p. 2). As such, the Citadel's cultural significance is considered key for the revitalisation strategy to shift its traditional residential feature towards this new turn.

Tacit to this turn, and according to Brammah (2009a), (2009b), and HCECR (2012a), revitalising the whole site requires a huge budget that necessitates globalising the site touristically. This is for its notable impact on increasing the global visits, assisting in making the revitalisation a self-funded process in addition to its economic return for the whole place. In this respect, Dicks (2000), and Urry (2002) state that built heritage has often been re-displayed as a tourist potential to serve multiple economic purposes for the site and its surroundings. To achieve that, Hall (1996), Graham et al. (2000), Urry (2002), Dicks (2003), and Woodward (2006), suggest that the activation of the Citadel's tourist aims should be run through re-employing its bygone events and values in a way that ensures their vital correlation with the present-day architectural and urban language of the place, which together may re-shape a new cultural manifestation for the entire area.

Accordingly, the residential feature of the site came second for the revitalisation policy-makers, as the priority was set to re-manufacturing its historical and cultural significance as an urban and economic tool, which may revive the entire place with new economic opportunities (Rebwar et al., 2014). A gesture to the past, based on Hewiston (1987, 1988), is therefore needed to re-invent the Citadel's heritage in order to avail its tourist potential. The tourist economic impact of the site would enlarge its zone of influence to include the urban vicinity of the site, protecting the place from an economic urban recession, or what Hewiston (1988) terms as *economic urban decline*. Perhaps, this also authorises the local authorities to direct the site towards such an urban economic path.

Apparently, re-directing the site towards this new global destination would not really contradict keeping the site vibrant for the visitor. Conversely, the social composite of the site may support the new global tourist aim, in principal. This is due to their deep-seated relationship with the site, that instead of being permanently exiled, they can represent a perpetual depository of continuous interpretation of these socio-cultural values, which would boost the new tourist setting of this built heritage, and thus its global reputation. As such, interpreting the top-down insight into how to support the tourist aim of the site and through the decision of evacuation is mostly held on subjective considerations.

The subjectivity here evidences harnessing different cultural layers and social traditions to serve the global visitor and conspire to exploit its rich past as an inert show only for the foreigners. In this respect, Chapman (2008), and Smith (2006), mention that the misreading that often occurs with heritage is that the latter is often understood subjectively to be falsely constructed and only to exploit the site for economic or tourist purposes. Focusing on built heritage through re-formulating what is distinctive among its past events and values and bringing it to the foreground to operate the site is not the solution. Built heritage should be seen as a vital entity that combines integral components of its history, which requires seeing it displayed as *a whole dynamic* including its different past social and cultural layers when planning for the next.

Thus, the decision of evacuation mostly proves what the study of Bortolotto et al. (2014) concluded about the local mechanism of heritage policy-making in that it lacks, and noticeably so, the scientific way of preserving our legacy.[28] To ensure a sound decision, it was supposed to keep the inhabitants in the site and involve them in a thorough discussion and broad investigation about everything that goes through their minds even as a kind of self-convulsion. All that can be said regarding this decision is that it was made to confirm a fact that the Citadel's 'heritage only has significance to the extent that it benefits people' who bring economy to the place (Garrod and Fyall, 2000, p. 691), forgetting the role of the inhabitants in activating such facts. The decision came to be rooted in the habitual local mechanism of dealing with our heritage through empowering a group of local specialists to act as those who know everything, and who do not need others. It is the granted power approach, which restricted the mechanism of the policy-making, making it a purely one-way mechanism, void of any kind of collaboration at the locals' level.

In fact, what the decision of evacuation reflects here is the repudiation from the role of the site's social component when it was ignored from the new scenario of the site's cultural entity. Ignoring the social component here reduces the tourist efficiency of the site, as it lessens the flexibility of interpretation of its cultural events resulting from revoking the deep reciprocal relationship between these events and the inhabitants. The necessity beyond their collaboration, according to Dicks (2003), is due to their vital role in establishing solutions for the Citadel's different socio-cultural issues, which are rooted in their daily vernacular habits

[28] The results of this study have been detailed in Section 3.8

and are integral to their heritage. In Kerr (2013, p. 6) words, the evacuation diminished the role of the ‘oral evidence’ in narrating and construing some bygone values and social norms of the Citadel, which substantially consolidate its tourist approach and which is robustly premised on the permanent presence of the inhabitants. The Citadel’s inhabitants are ‘the local history society [which] is the most promising place to begin’ activating the site towards supporting its tourist aim, as they ‘can help reduce research time considerably, provid[ing] handed down stories as well as primary evidence’ that enhance the site’s present cultural significance for the visitor (Ibid, p. 7). Furthermore, their presence enables the visitor to explore further the fortress’s living social habits and local traditions.

Presence of locals, according to Kazimee, (2010), maintains perpetual and live meanings of traditions and their attachment with the site, thus creating a sense of belonging among users of heritage also. However, disconnecting heritage traditions from their social contexts, in some Islamic heritage sites, has undervalued the role of traditions as an inspiration of authentic sociocultural assets, thus weakening its humane tendency. Traditions, in many Islamic age-old urban environments, give lessons about how and why the meaning of many of our heritage sites became 'increasingly defined by pointlessness' (Ibid, p. 133). Some inherited traditions from the preceding generations are inherent in the site, whilst the inhabitants might be the best to narrate them, making their involvement, as a living social component from the site, requisite (Abu-Lughod, 1987), (see: Section: 2.3.2, Chapter 2).

Perhaps this proves for us the importance of maintaining the existence of the site’s residents, given their vital role in serving its new tourist shift, which Uriely et al. (2003, p. 69) argue ‘should be considered as a determinant of residents’ attitudes’, to be regarded as a ‘core of heritage tourism’ (Poria et al., 2003, p. 239). This also construes why heritage tourism goals more recently are seen as being ‘integrated in the social fabric of the destination’ (Nicholas et al., 2009, p. 397). Hence, instead of permanently evacuating the site, the inhabitants’ diverse potential had to be substantiated in the revitalisation process, and consequently corroborating them in the industry of the Citadel’s heritage tourism. This ultimately, in Aas et al. (2005) words, may build a ‘more satisfactory and harmonious relationship between...conservation and tourism’ as two integral goals for the current revitalisation policy (p. 37). Smith (2006) makes the image of the repercussions of the evacuation clearer when he states that:

> The cultural heritage [is] increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions which aggravate the situation with even more formidable phenomena of damage and destruction (Smith, 2006, p. 100).

As intangible heritage-based tourism, the ties between local communities and the intangibles-based potential offered by the site, such as sociocultural values, local traditions and historical events give real priority to the inhabitants to planning for the Citadel touristically (Mengistu, 2008). These ties make heritage inhabitants an efficient "toolkit" in how to present and/or re-present these potentials in a more dynamic manner within the heritage tourism market. For instance, criteria such as the segregation principle among genders, the urban meandering alleyways that stem from the grand gate towards the periphery of the Fortress, and the oblique entrance of most of the Citadel's houses demand the presence of the inhabitants in displaying the site touristically due to the entangled overlap between them and these criteria. Whilst they stand as essential structure within the cultural composite of heritage (Abu-Lughod, 1987), the local community should be granted more worthy positions in planning for the Citadel's touristic potential, for example in remanufacturing and re-experiencing its heritage sociocultural values, traditions and historical events, rather than a total evacuation from the site. The Citadel, through the overlap between the inhabitants and its cultural heritage-based tourist attractions, 'can encourage the revival of traditions' (Tarekegn, 2016, p. 250), and thus pursue local-based mechanisms towards a better incarnation of its heritage potentials for the global tourism market.

What can be stated here is that firstly, the evacuation limits the enrichment of the storytelling of the Citadel's socio-cultural values, as it at times relies on some inherent social values, local traditions and Islamic social norms and undoubtedly, the local inhabitants' experience of the site can strongly fuel that (Abu-Lughod, 1987; Kazimee and McQuillan, 2002; Kazimee, 2010). (See: Section: 2.3.1 & 2.4, Chapter 2).

Secondly, the task of operating these values, traditions and norms within the tourist aim of the site should not completely depend on increasing the role of the experts' realm. The current style of, what Vinas (2005) calls, the "expert-only zone" of the revitalisation policy-makers, should be annulled and more efforts from the inhabitants should be re-invited. Here, a fundamental point can be stated. Admitting that a large number of local participants are authorised to voice opinions on the revitalisation policies would likely result in a "loss" of the

power which has traditionally been given to those policy-makers. However, confining the task of revealing such meanings to the expert-only zone often results in a "loss" of a complete detection of these values, and therefore, a critical calibration between these two themes of "loss" is needed, where the priority should be for the site's diverse considerations and values.

Thus, the evacuation, which aims at expediting the conversion of the site's character from residential into 'a visitor-friendly area' (Monk and Herscher, 2015, p. 71), seems contentious, and what makes it more contentious is the tools being used to achieve this procedure. Based on Monk and Herscher (2015), who both are specialists in history of architecture and urban spaces, the decision 'had a troubling backstory' (p. 68) when it was justified that the site suffered from a lack of infrastructure and therefore, the efforts were 'to maintain [these infrastructures] necessary to mitigate [their] chronic erosion problems…to ensure there would be no break in the site's continuous habitation' (p. 71). Consequently, the inhabitants had to leave to facilitate them achieving this task. However, immediately after the evacuation, the revitalisation policy sought to include the property on the 'WHL' utilising the argument of the site's global history that evidences its global stature, arguing it should be a global tourist site.

Whereas the reason behind the inclusion was mainly claiming it to be 'the longest continuously inhabited site in the world', it was transformed 'into a certified site of heritage…and tourism destination, [but] cleared of its inhabitants' (p. 68). The contradiction therefore is in the duplication of dealing with the signification of the residential feature of the site, which outwardly is politicised to serve the site inclusion, whereas inwardly it transformed into a new synthesis of recreational and tourist functions, such as "hotels, restaurants, museums and galleries" (Ibid, p. 71). What perhaps propels this argument to a high level of credibility is that this tourist plan is also evidenced through the (Final Report) on the revitalisation process, which shows the approved new urban and architectural tourist use of the site that unleashes different tourist uses. Nonetheless, Monk and Herscher's question here confirms that 'global [tourism] and heritage industry' are "not" mutually working against inhabitants (Ibid, p. 71), but marketing the Citadel as a global heritage site was only achieved by cleansing it of its inhabitants?

Again, the answer perhaps lies in the imprecise granted power approach of the site's authorities to enact such decisions, whereas the underestimation of the local participation with the revitalisation policy-making inevitably acts as a supporting index in making such decisions. Michelmore, a global expert on the revitalisation process, points out that *to say that the power that was given to the site authorities represents a partial reason behind this neglect of the local participation is almost certainly true*. For instance:[29]

> The present site management does not want to collaborate with anyone...they have even avoided having any connections with, for example, the Aga Khan Foundation.
>
> Also, the British Museum wanted to have an excavation of the Citadel, but the HCECR made the conditions so difficult that they gave up the idea…UNESCO Iraq recently advertised for an individual consultant to develop PPP, but whether this will actually be implemented is quite another matter…UNESCO Iraq has advertised consultancies in the past, which have never taken place.

Furthermore, the Final Report on the site in (2009) assures that after the decision of evacuation the whole site became owned by the local authorities as a public ownership. This is in fact a matter of concern and what Hardoy and Gutman (1991) call the tacit 'destructive management' of the historic centre that was often managed 'by those who have the greatest power to intervene' in the social and residential circumstances of the inhabitants (p. 105). This comes against recommendation of the World Conservation Union in (1996) that successful planning for the site's cultural values, including its tourist aim, is conditional upon the participation of its residents who should be given legitimate prerogative recognition in enjoying such rights (see: Section 2.2.2). Thus, the decision of evacuation was followed by a series of decisions principally formulated by the revitalisation policy-makers, which all aims at boosting the future tourist destination of the site, which was immediately objected by different views of the local community of the site seeking their amendment and according to what the locals believe is more fruitful for the site (see: Table 3.1 and Figure 3.20).

[29] Personal emailed communication with Professor David Michelmore, key expert (principal) of the site revitalisation in March 2016

Decision No.	Decision Issue	Top-down Objectives Envisaged for the Decision	Bottom-up Views Raised against the Decision
Decision One	**The Demolition of the Babylonian Gate 'BG', Replacing it with the new Proposed Design 'PD'**	Maintaining the site's integrity, authenticity and OUV	The new PD does not retrieve this series of features completely, and it is not devoid of some passive impacts as a "new pastiche" of architecture.
Decision Two	**The Implanting of the Kurdistan National Museum 'KNM' in front of al-Ahmadi Gate of the Citadel**	Consolidating the site via this complementary building that assists in demonstrating its historical and cultural values. It will be an integrated structure with the Citadel where its interior spaces focus on displaying groups of traditional functions, consistent with the conventional tinge of the site.	The KNM's deconstructive architectural philosophy undermines the Islamic philosophy of the traditional architecture of the Citadel. Therefore, instead of consolidating the traditional architectural language of the site, the KNM degrades the historical values of the Citadel.
Decision Three	**The Creation of the Buffer-zone Surrounding the Site Including its Green-belt**	Preventing the site from passive relationships that may increase its physical deterioration or obscure its visual dominance on the place.	The Buffer-zone, through some strict instructions concerning the urban and architectural laws of the built environment surrounding the site, may reflect some passive aspects as well. Precisely, the Citadel can be anticipated as an investment repellent resulting from banning any new building from vertical expansion around the site, and consequently reflecting a spatial recession for the entire urban place.
Decision Four	**The Mechanism of Utilising the Site as a Means for Heritage Attractions**	"Heritage industry", supporting the substantial aim of the site, which is global tourism.	Harnessing the traditional architectural vocabularies of the Citadel for the global tourism may drag the site into becoming a marketable commodity, consequently threatening its values.

Table 3.1: The series of decisions included in the revitalisation policy

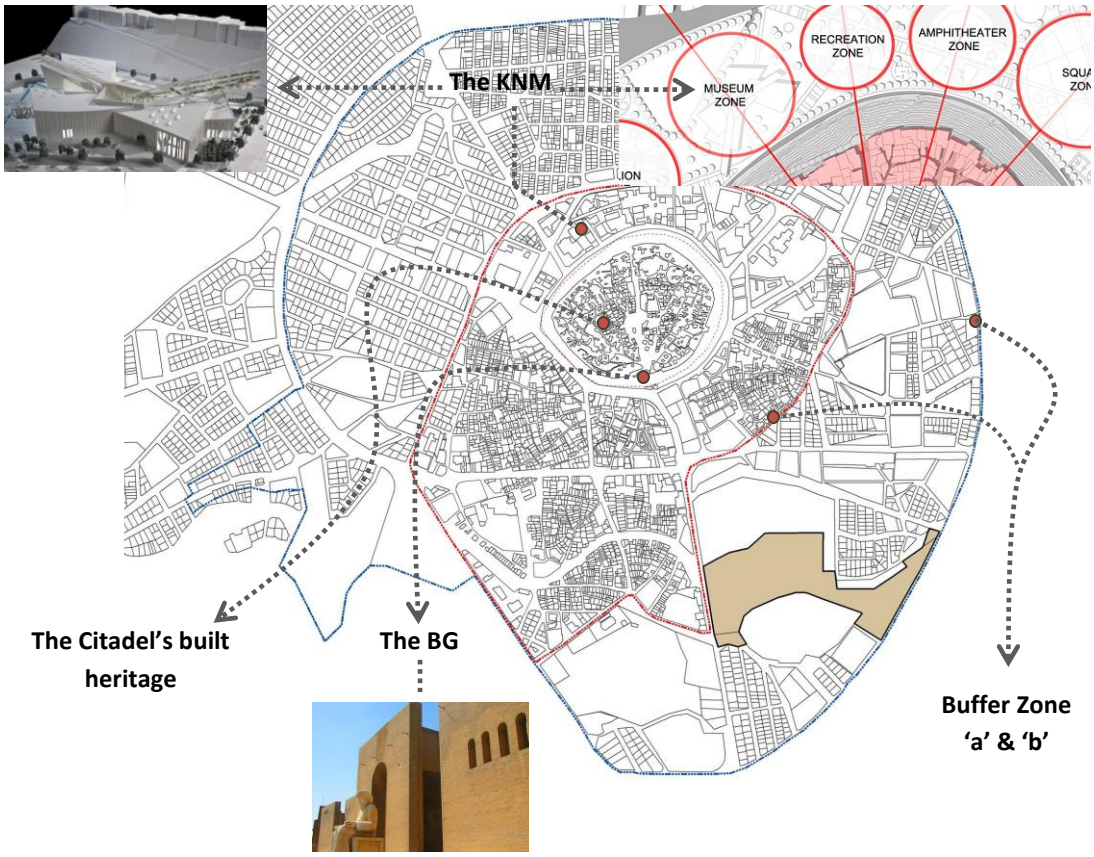


Figure 3.20: the four main decisions made upon the site as essential steps of the revitalisation process; modified from (Progetti, 2011, p. 46)

Finally, this might be contributed to provoke the ire of the local community against the decision of evacuation, invoking local displeasure, particularly amongst those indigenous, to stand against the above series of decisions that accompanied the revitalisation policy. As part of the study, which investigates the role of local participation in formulating heritage conservation policies, this leads to the next step of the research to focus on an investigation of these views, but only with regard to one of these decisions and this is according to some priorities that are mentioned in the next part of this Chapter (see: Section 3.9). Accordingly, what can be stated here is that the local opposition does not come up against the revitalisation policy per se, but rather against the shift in the urban use of the site from being residential for such a long period to becoming suddenly a global tourist spot. Integral to this step is the uncritical top-down vision towards the superficial assessment of the site's local community in terms of undervaluing manifold contributions that perhaps can be made by the social component of the site to serve its new tourist shift. Besides the contemporary style of

directing heritage towards global tourism, it is better to show the site as a “living history” teeming with social life (Chapman, 2008), particularly considering that this is the prime characteristic that this new shift is relying on in marketing the site globally for being the oldest residential site continuously inhabited throughout time. Marketing the Citadel to the global tourism as a living history supported by its social composite assists in keeping the site vibrant socially, and consequently makes it more realistic to the local and global visitor alike.

3.9 Conclusion

Some sociocultural settings of the Citadel’s heritage are really regarded as feats of their local community, making the latter essential for attaining success in its future tourist purposes. This may indicate their awareness of such destinations, which aim to be inspirational and thus offer the Citadel’s local community a real opportunity in this regard to give more support for its policies. In return, it is important to revisit the future policy regarding the merits that the cultural resources have for the Citadel’s heritage, and more importantly to reconsider "how" and "where" the role of local community can be placed within this frame. The more reconsiderations of community role here, the more likely that the revitalisation will be more integrated into mainstream planning of the site currently and its other future activities. However, a synthesis of repercussions surrounding the revitalisation process entails giving attention to the views of those local people of the site; in the foreground is the indifference to the value of the local community, and also to their views in motivating the new tourist shift of the site.

To meet its tourist destination, the need is therefore for an intact comprehensive approach of revitalisation of the site where the preface of this approach is the clear identification of the site’s social structure, particularly the aboriginal residents of the site. More importantly is to revisit the evacuation procedure, and feature the intrinsic reasons that led them to leave their home. Tacit to this aspect, maintaining the sociocultural map of the Citadel’s heritage may require maintaining the permanent inhabitation of the indigenous inhabitants in the site by sustaining its infrastructures. The fragile experience of local participation in the previous renovation, and its passive impacts on the site, for instance, was imputed to the desertification of the site of its inhabitants due to the lack of services, including their qualitative significance architecturally.

Looking again at this aspect would contribute to strengthening the attachment of the indigenous to their heritage, thus boosting the sociocultural ties between them. Otherwise, this may drive them to depart from the Citadel to be substituted by other non-indigenous. In such a case, the fragile relationship that those non-indigenous inhabitants create with the site dismantles this attachment, substituting these ties by a singular economic vision of the new community, or as Smith (2010) points out, the “urban proletariat”. Aftermaths of this may lead to a state of cultural havoc owing to the dichotomy between the “traditional/authentic” (represented by those aboriginals) and the “modern/inserted” (represented by those non-originals), reflecting a "backwardness" in the cultural map and/or a “rupture” in the urban context of the Citadel's heritage.

Thus, the Citadel’s cultural heritage may be increasingly threatened by imprecise procedures by the current revitalisation policies that led to changing the site’s social conditions which may drive the site towards more physical and cultural decay. This shows the need to look again at them, which from this viewpoint gives justification to some locals' views against such policies who still doubt their objectivity. For instance, the demolition of the main gate of the site; the creation of the buffer zone surrounding the site, including its green-belt; and then the construction of the Kurdish National Museum inside this zone; while the repercussions of the evacuation of the Citadel are of course in the foreground of that. According to Chitty (2017), continuity of such repercussions may lead the locals to lose or overlook their norms for establishing innovative up-to-date solutions, ‘thus, challenging the traditional respect for [the Citadel's] heritage and ways of caring for it’ (p. 20). Through Faro Convention, the Citadel’s urban context can be presented as a “source and resource” for exercise of freedoms, putting “people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage’ (Ibid, p. 20, 21). This in fact should be taken as a key input towards valorising the role of its inhabitants as a genuine “toolkit” in protection and management of its built heritage, but the evacuation has cancelled this.

Undervaluing the local role in supporting the new tourist shift envisaged for the site is simply the main cause behind this step against the residents whilst another cause is the complete dependence on the massive recreational activities suggested in planning for the economic returns envisioned for the site and its surroundings based on this shift. This erroneous reading for the local role, based on Ashworth (2012), is often related to too much emphasis being put

on heritage as economic assets for tourism development, which ultimately demoralises the social values of heritage. Isolating the locals indeed implies the social structure of the site is to be 'out of the plan' of any future policies for its built heritage. This may drive the sociocultural assets of heritage to be displayed in a fixed supply as if they were limited and non-renewable, leading to some reactionary outputs of conservation. Yet, heritage, within the tourism context, offers a wide array of potentials that are often created and/or positioned by tourists' demands, which clearly call for treating these assets as part of a more dynamic and flexible mechanism, thus evoking the presence of its social structure. 'As heritage is a demand-derived set of contemporary uses...then the resources of which it is composed have no limits other than the limits of the human creative imagination' (Ibid, p. 283), while primarily the origins of this imagination should emanate from its locals, as they are the most knowledgeable elite of the site.

Otherwise, management, representation and planning for heritage tourism will not be mainly based on an empirical vision originating from the site, but rather a kind of theoretical-conceptual practice, or even according to what tourists' narratives dictate. This ironically may drive to assigning the task of site's cultural interpretation to a purely profession-based task, which may lead to a superficial access and ostensible reconnaissance of some very local cultural assets of the Citadel's heritage, particularly those ingrained in the roots of the Ottoman period of the site. More importantly, the tourist aims of the Citadel's heritage should not be drawn to represent a fascination of its architectural classical civilisations, whilst the site's social accounts including oral history, local traditions and beliefs across generations may be indeed overlooked. This consequently demands rethinking how "cultural tourism" is deployed within the heritage industry of the Fortress based on some raw contributions that initially may originate from its local community. The first step towards this is to substantially rethink the return of the inhabitants and cross-out the evacuation from the whole revitalisation policy of the site.

As a result, what might be inferred here is that there is a state of similarity that can be seen in the fragile methodology pursued to deal with the site between yesterday and today, in the previous renovation and the current revitalisation, namely a shared path within different tools. Either they were predetermined decisions made away from the site and transferred to be applied on it without any consultation with its social components, which was the contribution

of the renovation in 1979. Or, it was an encoded decision of displacing this social component even before the real process was initiated, which is what the early stages of the revitalisation project started with in 2006.

This, to some extent, perhaps contributed to answering the research question: *Does exclusivity in formulating heritage conservation decisions by the site authority lead to prejudiced outcomes?* To reflect more on this question, firstly, what makes the current revitalisation policy flounder in making critical decisions for the local community of the site, particularly the clearance of its residents, might be well-justified by "A Community Guide" for heritage conservation. The latter appeals to 'identify the issue first, then select the tool' when making realistic and purposive decisions for the site (1995, para. 7, p. 12). More specifically, it is essential to assess the issue/opportunity before selecting a tool. This assists in identifying the problems surrounding this issue first, in addition to looking at alternatives to deconstruct them, and then selecting the proper tool that appropriates the identified problem. Here, the evacuation came to render the opposite.

The inhabitants, in addition to their evacuation, including its future repercussions on the site (the future tourist destination), have been superficially investigated in terms of the real obstacles that may impede this destination, and how to prepare alternatives to grapple with them. As a consequence, the tool (the evacuation) to achieve this destination came about worse than expected, particularly regarding the core of the destination (global tourism), which entails activating some cultural dimensions that can really bring this destination into being. To this end, the presence of some local live views, which have deeply experienced the site, is definitely needed in order to succeed with this objective on the ground. However, the misconception of this requirement has resulted in an adverse outcome, namely it has deserted the site socially as well as idle potentials of the site culturally. 'The risk of choosing an inappropriate tool are higher when a [heritage policy] tries to fit the circumstance to the tool, rather than when it fits the tool to the circumstances' (Ibid, para. 7, p. 12).

In fact, what can be concluded here is exactly what this Conservation Guide has come to conclude: 'the legislation [should be] designed to provide fairness to both the public interest [tourists/visitors] and to property owners [local community]' (para. 8, p. 12). 'Principles of heritage conservation' requires some essential criteria, whilst in the foreground 'planning [should] come first' (para.1, p. 11). To achieve efficient planning, 'communities should make

every effort to plan for the conservation of their heritage [potentials]'. This 'will help to avoid [] last minute attempts to save' them, which can be reached through 'communicat[ing] with owners of heritage property' (the locals), to 'identify a vision' for these potentials (para 1, p. 11). For a dynamic revitalisation, instead of ignoring the locals, it is important to establish coherent community-led strategies for the Citadel's cultural tourism, where the significant nexus between them should be well-recognised.

In particular, the 'continuous coexistence' of the inhabitants, and thus 'the overlaid relationship between the urban fabric and the social structure' of the site calls for valorising their potential contributions regarding some general themes of the site, such as the 'authentic history, symbolic values and the urban formation and growth' of the Citadel's built heritage (see the locals' contributions in Section: 3.3, p. 120 and Section: 3.5). More importantly, the urban formation of the site celebrates some Islamic rules that governed its urban growth over the last three centuries, where the coexistence between its urban structure and social structure has mostly remained uninterrupted. This may bring the local contributions to high levels of credibility and trustworthiness, owing to what this coexistence may have meant for the inhabitants about genuine understanding of different historical events of the site. Consequently, reliability on what they raise regarding the impacts of any new events on the site, which may create some changes within its urban and architectural context that may underestimate history and other symbolic-cultural values of the site, is perhaps valid and able to be depended upon, and at least during the initial steps of policy-formulation of the revitalisation. Currently, confirming history and some other symbolic-cultural values that deliver heritage's cultural significance of Erbil Citadel are themes that seem dominant in its current revitalisation discourse. If the eligibility of these themes has accumulated gradually by the contribution of the Islamic norms and sociocultural traditions of the site, the local views may provide real contributions towards rooting the Citadel's true heritage and purifying it of the non-authentic past residues.

Thus, if there should be a return to the Islamic traditions in the cultural practices of the Citadel's current built context, the local community's role should act as a real "toolkit" towards an intact revelation of their cultural performance within the site. However, the evacuation step has proven the non-presence of this role within the policy-formulation stage of the revitalisation. This perhaps obscures an interdisciplinary approach to diagnose the original from perhaps the non-original that has been embedded into the site superficially by

the renovation, and particularly the construction of the current gate and the demolition of the central area of the site. Whilst this may challenge the authority of the original in the new urban formation of the site, it may drive the site's authentic history and values to different blurred implications, complicating the mechanism of its revitalisation policies. While the absence of the local participation within this stage may have divested the latter from benefiting from a more obvious designation of historical-cultural value origins of the site after the changes the renovation added, due to what the inhabitants may contribute in this regard.

Within this context, the current physical structure of the grand gate of the site evokes themes that largely correspond to the core of what this discourse evokes concerning what is original and non-original within the urban context of the site, which is believed to reduce history and other symbolic-cultural values of the site. This led the revitalisation's policy-makers to put a quick, but perhaps feasible, decision to remove it from the site, which is believed to aim at boosting the historical-cultural potentials of the site, including its deep history and rich cultural heritage, as part of the tourist aim of the Citadel. However, for some of the locals, it evokes completely different implications that may contradict the factuality of the modern history of the site. Therefore, what encourages involving the locals' views, albeit retrospectively, in reinvestigation of this decision, which is still awaiting the assessment and implementation stages, is their coexistence and their understanding of such themes. This also may correspond to the suggestions of the UNESCO Report (2014) about the importance of the local participation within the revitalisation, which state that the contributions of the locals should be included in the revitalisation from the first step of the process, which is the formulation stage, until the final step, which is the implementation stage. Therefore, in Michelmore words, 'although it would not be generally considered good practice to expel the inhabitants, as was done, what is done is done and there is no point in thinking about it'[30]. What can still be done is a reinvestigation of the views of the inhabitants regarding this decision, where findings may strengthen a final step regarding the existence of the Gate in the site. In fact, this may verify the extent of efficiency of the local participation, and whether it was really crucial for the formulation stage of the revitalisation plan. Moreover, and more importantly, it may enable a clear conclusion of whether the existence of the current gate

[30] Personal emailed communications with Professor David Michelmore, key expert on the current revitalisation, 2016

really reduces the value of such themes or not, which may also contribute to a clear assessment regarding its demolition or preservation in the site.

Perhaps, what is worthy to be mentioned here is that there are some intrinsic reasons that urge the research to give a priority to this decision, such as the fact it occupies the primacy within the timeline of the revitalisation plan as being supportive for the inclusion of the site in the WHL (Doha ICOMOS, 2014). Secondly, as it stands on diverse dimensions and causes, the decision of the gate requires deeply debating the specific reasons that are considered the moot point between the site authority and its inhabitants. Finally, the traditional cultural ethos of the gate's issues highly corresponds to the general cultural genre of a rich body of literature and treatises of heritage conservation that put the role of the locals in the foreground in the investigation of such issues, while the rest of the decisions can be suggested as future studies. Thus, the next part of the research therefore will focus on Decision One: *The demolition of the Babylonian Gate and replacing it by the new Proposed Design,* based on the views of the locals.

CHAPTER FOUR:

The Decision of the Grand Gate

Demolition of the Babylonian Gate and its Replacement with the new Proposed Design: A Controversial Cultural Dialogue

Historical Chronology of the Gate, and Findings of Data Analysis about the Decision of its Demolition

4.1. Introduction

The grand gate of Erbil Citadel has suffered a great deal of destruction throughout its history and this has resulted in huge alterations of its form and structure, which have resulted from the continuous collapse of the site, particularly its mound-slope *"Tell"*. As a consequence, the soil breakdown of the *Tell* has threatened the foundations of the perimeter wall where the gate stands (Brammah, 2009b). Accordingly, it has witnessed more than one attempt of restoration during its history. Some of those attempts have enormously altered its architecture and have been considered as reckless interventions. Specifically, the renovation process of 1979 entirely demolished the gate and rebuilt it again in another architectural character, which is argued to be different from the traditional architectural language of the site to be called locally the *Babylonian Gate* 'BG'[31] (Brammah, 2009b, HCECR, 2012a, 2012b, 2014) (see: Figure 4.1).



Figure 4.1: (above): the original grand gate of the Citadel after 1930s, (HCECR, 2012a, p. 2); (below): the Babylonian Gate 'BG' of the Citadel in 1979; site archival data

The renovation has justified its decision of demolition as the gate has been set as a *landmark in danger* due to the huge destruction that impacted the Citadel after the 1950s, and which should therefore have its architectural features restored meanwhile ensures the Citadel's integrity. Yet, the original gate has been substituted by the BG, which instead of reflecting the site's historical and traditional spirit, reflects a sense of modernity, which it is believed may diminish the authenticity, Outstanding Universal Value 'OUV' and cultural significance of the site (Novacek et al., 2008b, UNESCO, 2010a, Qassim, 2010, and Ivan, 2011).

[31] This name of the Babylonian Gate 'BG' has been projected to this version of the gate due to some indications of its architectural form that will be illustrated subsequently in this study.

In fact, the history and culture of the gate show different historical events and cultural values to grant it its significant character in the site, making it the most distinctive component of the fortress. Its architectural physical setting, for instance, articulates a panoramic scene of the most important historical periods that record and attest to the cultural history of the site to be evaluated to the level "MAX 6" in the Final Report of the site in (2009), which is the highest level of importance there.

Therefore, although the *Tell* was suffering from a breakdown in structure, this did not grant legitimacy to the renovation project to demolish the original gate totally. Furthermore, the renovation decision denied its historical value transmitted from the past and should be conserved as a universal value (Waterton, 2005, UNESCO, 2010). This, in 2012, led the HCECR to make its decision of removing the BG and restoring the grand gate to its original setting of authentic structure and original form through its new Proposed Design 'PD' (HCECR, 2012a) (see: Figure 4.2).



Figure 4.2: the revitalisation new Proposed Design 'PD' attempts to restore the gate to its original manifestation; (HCECR, 2012b, p. 53).

In 2013 and thenceforth, the traditional language of the gate has changed to become a mixture comprising both the BG and the PD. In more detail, the BG consists of three main portions, and the main central portion (which contains the main central arch) has been replaced by the main part of the PD (which contains the main pointed arch and the two flunking masses). In fact, on the one hand, this perhaps complicates the situation of the gate in terms of its vague destiny, leading to the question of which one between the BG and the PD will capture the entire visual spectacle of the gate ultimately. On the other hand, it raises local critique at the grassroots level of the site. Here, the views of the local community towards this decision have been split two ways. The first track indicates some local anxieties, which emerged against this decision believing that the BG shows a level of cultural significance for the site.

Therefore, its demolition perhaps carries some “political motives” and as a consequence the decision should be deeply scrutinised before being initiated.

More precisely and for this group of views, the purpose behind this decision is to remove the BG from the site because it denotes some political signs of the former Iraqi regime rather than restoring the grand gate to its authentic structure and original form. Otherwise, some buildings of the site are suffering from serious structural issues, and they require urgent maintenance more than the issue of the BG, evidenced by the establishment of the ‘Urgent Response Section’ within the HCECR, which endorses ‘as quickly as possible [protective intervention] to save those buildings in the worst condition’ (Brammah, 2009b, p. 36). Therefore, they question the justifications behind giving the priority to the maintenance of the gate and at the expense of these buildings. The political repercussions that the decision to demolish the BG is charged of are possibly standing on a firm base, and this is based on the adoption of these repercussions by some recent reliable studies on the site, such as international and local studies. Regarding international studies, some global intensified reports on the site, which are an initial step to running its current revitalisation, have demonstrated that the Citadel's built context has confronted a real threat of demolition during the period of the former Iraqi regime (Brammah, 2009c). In local studies, the recent Report on the site prepared by the HCECR (2012) in order to get the Citadel onto the WHL -through which the site has been inscribed on the List, thus reliable enough to be adopted-, also stated that the cultural heritage of the site has faced some 'deliberate demolition by the previous regime' (p. 88). These two testimonies make the local views in this regard a trustworthy subject to investigate.

Conversely, the second track signposts some local reassurance towards this decision, believing that the Babylonian Gate ‘BG’ underestimates the site’s diverse values whereas the revitalisation’s new Proposed Design ‘PD’ consolidates some “cultural motives” of the site. For them, the new architectural settings brought by the BG have influenced the site’s authentic structure, which does not exclude the idea that it might hold some political implications that ultimately impact the gate’s authenticity, OUV and cultural significance. In fact, notions such as authenticity, cultural significance, integrity and OUV of built heritage are often impacted by the different roles of heritage political purposes, and this is what has been underscored by many studies on built heritage sites, such as ICOMOS (1994), Von and Bertilsson (1995), and Graham (2002). Justifications of intervention in heritage authenticity,

for instance, are usually built on maintaining heritage physical integrity to revive its cultural significance, which conversely often leads to partial loss of these two substantial characteristics (Urry, 1996, Graham et al., 2000, Dicks, 2000), which is the case of the BG.

For Jokilehto the matter is totally 'about cultural-political awareness and about deciding what should be feasible from the…practical points of view', stated by the public of the site (ICOMOS, 2008b, p.48). As a consequence, the views of the local community should be equal to those of the HCECR decision-makers in order to carefully filter the revitalisation decision of demolition of the BG. According to the Preamble of UNESCO (2005b), 'the identification of the OUV of a site needs wide participation by stakeholders including local communities and indigenous people' (phase k). ICOMOS (2008b) also states that characteristics such as authenticity and cultural significance of built heritage 'need "wide participation by [] local communities and indigenous people"' (p. 14).

Hence, the methodology to overcome this issue is to examine the genuine purpose underlying this decision to explore which of these two tracks is the more concrete that may promote the decision, and this is what the research investigates in this chapter. If the first track "political motive" is more likely than the second track "cultural motive", the BG should be considered as a genuine representative for the site's diverse historical and cultural values. If the opposite occurs and the "cultural motive" gained favour, the revitalisation decision should be activated and the BG should be removed from the site. In this sense, the PD will also be investigated to evaluate to what extent it can support this cultural motive. Such a methodology enables evaluation of the transparency of the local community's views, and thus to what extent they can support the revitalisation plan. Accordingly, both of these two with-and-against views of the public will be criticality investigated here and within the direct rapport with the views of the revitalisation policy-makers in order to enable a transparent assessment. On a different note, though dense literature emphasises the role of the local community in formulating the conservation decisions, the endeavour here is not to set the revitalisation policy-makers' views as "black" and the local community's views as "white", but rather to find some "grey" areas between them that will enable the beginning of an analysis and assessment of the decision in a neutral objective manner. To accomplish this, the research diversifies the mechanism of data collection into questionnaires and interviews among the local community and the revitalisation policy-makers, which enables inferring such grey areas, and consequently approaching from the consequences of the decision thoughtfully.

4.2. Local Assessment of the Demolition of the BG and its Replacement by the new PD

To preview, and thus estimate the local acceptance of this step, it will be screened through a broader scale within the grassroots level of the site in order to firstly state to what extent such political and cultural arguments are entrenched in the views of the local people. Also, a base is built to support the transparency of the revitalisation decision among the top-down views. Hence, the study tracks four trajectories in gathering such varied data. Firstly, some semi-structured interviews will be conducted with the indigenous inhabitants of the site, the local people of the place and the site's authorities and the HCECR's members in order to clearly reveal the views that believe in the "political motives" behind demolishing the BG as well as the views that believe in the "cultural motives" behind the revitalisation new PD. Prior to that and to be familiar with the language of the interviews, the study reviews some historical and cultural archival data about the historical sequence of the cultural events of the gate that will subsequently assist in evidently sifting and evaluating these views. Fourthly, some specific views will be gathered based on the main themes that the interviews trigger from the local people of the adjacent urban fabric through an on-site survey and questionnaires.

4.2.1 The Grand Gate: Historically and Culturally

Reviewing some accessible documents is necessary to reveal an array of historical and cultural facts of the grand gate that enhance its cultural dimensions, which could ease the overall assessment of the decision. Several studies, such as HCECR (2008), (2012a), and SOITM (2013), show that Erbil Citadel and its first historical manifestation had only a main gate that was located in the south direction of the outer perimeter wall as a main entrance of the site, which is currently called the grand gate. Tracing its historical growth, the gate was subject to some modifications, which are attributed to some structural defects and constructional fragilities over time. However, they subsequently became inherent in it. For instance, in the *Neo-Assyrian* period-657 BC, the gate was composed of two towers surrounding the Arch of the entrance. In 1258-9, and during the Mongol invasion, the gate reflected another façade of slightly different architectural features and elements, with new domes covered with turquoise and blue tiles on both sides. At the beginning of the 18th century, due to the fragility of its structure that changed some of its outer details, it was mostly rebuilt. During the mid-18th century, it was composed of a simple entrance passage of

a pointed Arch that was located under the middle of the mound-slope. In 1932, the gate showed a pointed Arch with decorative brick and deep niches on both sides of the passage. In the 1950s, it witnessed another deformation that included the demolition of the top storey above the main Arch. Later, the destruction reached most of the upper floor of the portal to be confined subsequently and after 1953 a mere curtain appeared above the outside façade of it (see: Figure 4.3).

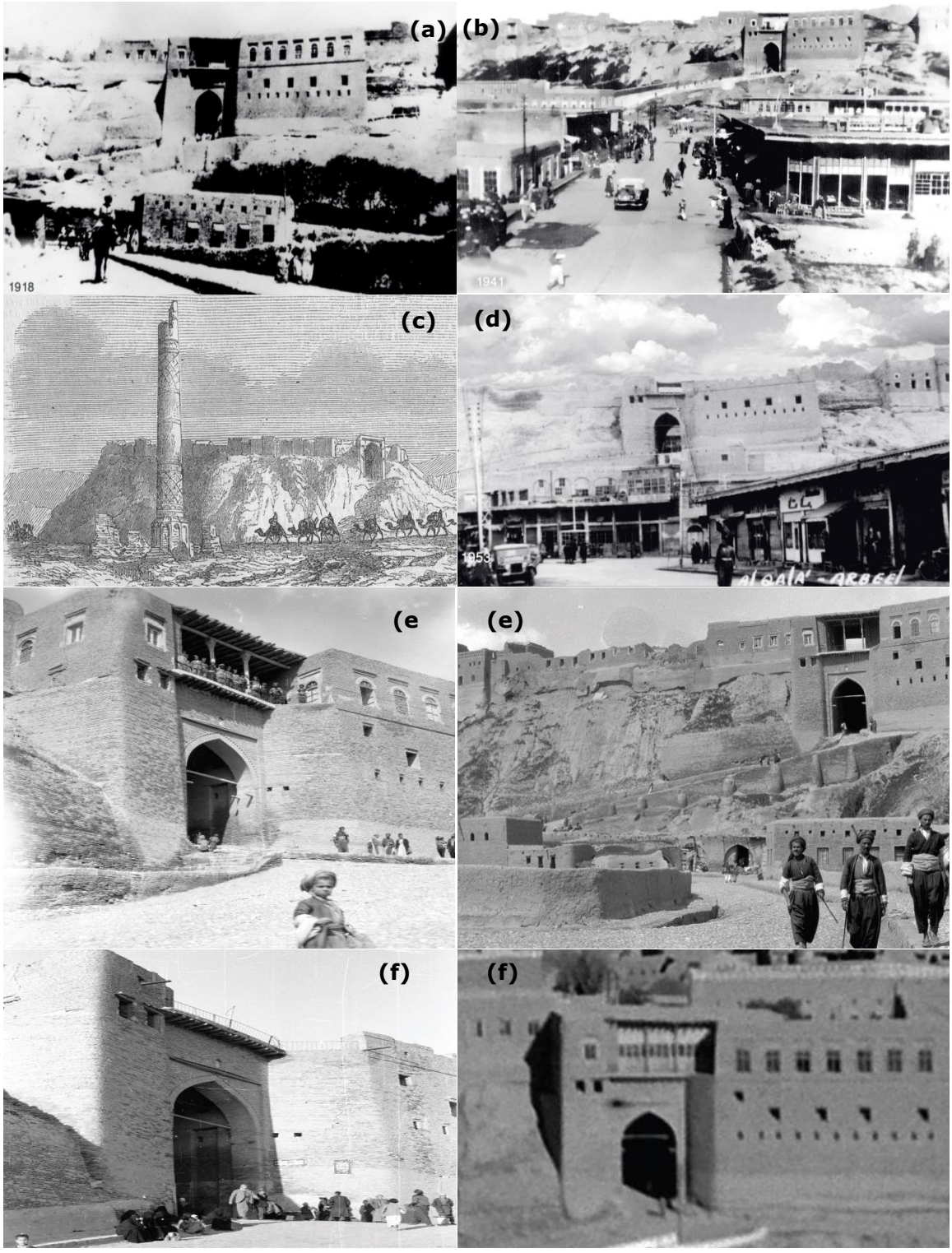


Figure 4.3: The grand gate historical modifications between the end of the 19th century and the middle of the 20th century; (a): in 1918, (b): in 1941, (c): in mid-18th century, (d): in 1953, (e): during the1930s, (f): during the 1950s; (HCECR, 2012b).

Though the gate's structure has faced such transformations over history, it still displayed evidence of its genuine form and original function until quite recently. These modifications are documented within the gate's physical components and its historical chronology that empowers its historical dimension of authenticity, cultural significance and OUV that should be prioritised in any attempt of conservation, as it is a witness from the past in its historical value and functional, visual and structural integrity.

Another series of studies, such as HCECR (2008), (2012b), Novacek et al. (2008b), and Brammah (2009b) indicate that the gate was employed, like most of the medieval citadels' gates, as a fortified entrance for the site which adopted some basic religious and visual functions that granted it its authentic historical status and physical integrity. Its location apparently was determined according to two main purposes: practical and visual. Practically, the specific location facilitates a smooth slope to the surrounding lower area, or the "*Suq"* (the traditional market in the lower city). Visually, it reflects a strong impression regarding the site as robustly fortified and is likely to be impossible to be penetrated by others. Above all of that, its huge size has lessened the necessity to locate any other portal beside it. Accordingly, the gate dominates the whole perimeter wall of the site as a result of its singularity and its massive structure as a multi-functional structure of various functions such as courtyard, formal governmental offices, jail, guest spaces, commercial shops, a clinic and horse stables (Brammah, 2009b, Progetti, 2012, HCECR, 2012b). In fact, the diversity of these various historical, functional and visual attributes enriches its architectural value and authentic status, which will be precisely employed in the discussion of the issues surrounding the decision of the gate (see: Chapter 6).

4.2.2 Findings of the On-site Interviews/Survey

Firstly, a selective approach has been pursued here in conducting this kind of data collection, which enabled the researcher to carefully choose the participants and according to some priorities. For instance, the selection of each participant was conditional on them having some background about the gate in particular, or at least some background knowledge about the site in general. Therefore, as a preliminary step, the on-site interviews have started with obtaining some quick information about the participants themselves in order to ensure whether they have this kind of knowledge or not, in addition to knowing their age, which might be essential for this background. The appropriate age of participants was therefore set

as being between 35 to 65 years old. All of these primary data about the participants guarantee an important aspect that they will be familiar with the next step of the task, which may appropriately answer the research question. This firstly may increase the expectation regarding receiving a real contribution from the participants, which, on the other hand, led the researcher to dispense with the participation of some of them immediately after this initial step, as it revealed their shallow information and their modest background about the cultural story of the gate in general. To ground this expectation of such contributions, a particular group from the stakeholders from the lower traditional commercial area "*Suq"* that surround the site has been targeted in order to examine "*which one between the BG and the PD is more representative for the site*". The participants have been provided with hard copies of the PD, the BG and the original ancient gate of the site, which may assist them in providing direct and clear views. Through this question, the participants' views may be obtained as well as an idea of how to read the cultural correlation between the site and each of these two designs through the lens of the locals. This also supports a level of validity of the local claims regarding the cultural and political motives behind the decision of demolition, and consequently it may reveal more information whereby the research can deepen the investigation.

This series of on-site interviews was conducted in late 2014 and encompassed 70 individuals from those stakeholders, who are mostly indigenous of the place and thus socio-culturally connected to the Citadel. This somehow makes them eligible to be included in the oral assessment of the above cultural correlation. Moreover, it interprets why this task of data collection has been confined to this specific number in particular, which in fact is due to the difficulty of increasing the number of participants who possess such a socio-cultural connection. In addition, it allows for assembling some succinct opinions and quick answers regarding the above question, so the gathered data will be more concise and more direct. Consequently, it may reveal more information about some contentious matters within both of the BG and the PD, such as the understanding of the cultural value that is added and/or omitted by the construction of the BG and/or the PD (see: Section 1.4.1.2b: On-site Interviews, Chapter 1). For the research, understanding of this seems problematic due to some historical cultural values associated with the new characteristics that each of these two designs may bring to the site, which may affect its authenticity and cultural significance ultimately. Nevertheless, since the essence of the on-site interviews is to gather some quick answers on a large-scale among the participants concerning some more general issues in the

site (mainly related to the cultural correlation), the research does not probe these characteristics in this part of the data collection despite their importance for the study. This is also owing to the fact that such characteristics are more associated with the aboriginals due to the robust sociocultural ties between them and this residential settlement, and this is what the ICOMOS charters, UNESCO conventions and other heritage specialists have evidenced (see: Sections: 2.2-2.7, Chapter 2). Therefore, the compilation of some concise views regarding either of these two designs may assist in approaching more from the views of the aboriginals as regards such characteristics thereafter, and this is if there are such kinds of characteristics in principal. To enable a realistic debate on their potential contribution, the research grouped these views as raw materials showing the viewpoint of each participant about which of the PD or the BG is a better representative for the site, coupled with their contribution (see: Table 1: On-site Interviews, Appendices). Then, through an initial use of Nvivo, the research attempted to debrief and debate the main themes that indicate similar views towards the acceptance of any of these two designs as a better representative for the site.

In fact, the results of this series of on-site interviews, which can be referred to as a system in pyramid form, show that the revitalisation's new PD seems widely understood by the locals (43 individuals, who represent 62 per cent of those surveyed individuals) in that it can represent the site more than the BG due to some historical and cultural values that it can display to the site. 27 individuals, who represent 38 per cent of those surveyed characters, show their sympathy with the BG that it can represent the site as being part of the cultural implication of the place (see: Table 4.1). Using Nvivo technique in an initial analysis of the findings of these data has assisted in grouping them into some main themes, which enable linking of the similar views on each specific theme to specific clues, which facilitates a conclusion regarding them, and thus, estimates their contribution to the issue of the gate. Starting with the acceptance of the PD to represent the site, the key themes of these views can be categorised into four groups, while each theme is surrounded by some clues that some of them are reciprocal from one theme to another. Reference to these themes is made sequentially based on their importance and through presenting the number of participants who demonstrate similar views of different clues on a similar key theme. This, in fact, facilitates a clear debate regarding the findings of this part of the data.

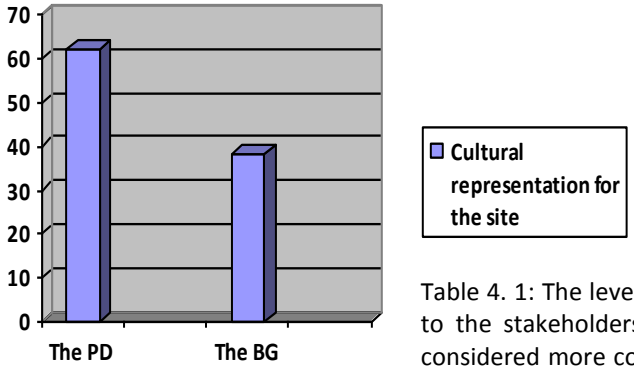


Table 4. 1: The level of representation of the site according to the stakeholders of the surroundings 'Suq'; the PD is considered more compatible, thus more representative for the site than the BG

Starting from the top of the pyramid in presenting this cluster of views, the majority of these views (25 individuals) revealed more meditative reasons about the reasoning behind the acceptance of the PD as a representative for the site. For instance, the outside form-based similarity with the original gate repeatedly places the PD as a better representative for the site, evidencing obsession with the outward physicality, as an 'identical copy' that 'imitates' the ancient design of the original gate (see: P.12 & P.18: Table 1, Appendices). Hence, suggesting the PD as a genuine representative for the site here comes through diverse clues, which is mainly based on a 'verbatim imitation' with the original gate through focusing on its outward form. Hence, the reading of this imitation stretches to involve some 'architectural details' embedded in the physical structure of the Proposal, which is firstly emphasised through the "physical features", "original elements", "traditional spaces" and "form and design" of the ancient gate. For example, 'there is a high similarity in form and architectural details between the PD and the original design of the original gate before the construction of the BG', says one of the participants (see: P. 4: Table 1). 'I can remember the original historical gate of the site, before the 1980s, through the verbatim imitation of the PD', says another (see: P. 6: Table 1). Additionally, the material congruence of form and design between the ancient gate and the PD also suggests the latter to appropriately retrieve 'the real past', and 'the historical and cultural values of the site' (see: P.16 & P.37: Table 1).

Based on this verbatim imitation, the Proposal is also regarded that it acts as a reminder of most of the tangible and intangible assets of the original gate. Some views demonstrate, in this regard, that it 'reminds' thus assists the local community to 'sense' the historical and cultural values of the ancient gate (see: P.53, P.19 & P.26: Table 1). In fact, the reference to the PD as a reminder of the ancient gate also mainly draws upon its material similarity with

the latter, which is probably attributed to ease of remembering the old gate through the identical physical form of the Proposal. This perhaps is evident through the acknowledgement of the Proposal as a better representative for the site and without mentioning tangible reasons for supporting this endorsement but it merely 'reminds...of the original gate' (see: P.43: Table 1).

Some other views (8 individuals) have deepened this vision towards a more realistic visualisation, stating the PD presents a visual solution for the current visual setting of the perimeter Wall, which comes foremost against the insertion of the BG, which is seen as an 'artificial part [that] has been added to the Citadel' (see: P.38: Table 1). This is mainly assigned to its 'young' age and its visual impact that firstly 'seems forcibly added to the original units of the Wall', which 'reduces [its] historical importance' (see: P.68 & P.62: Table 1). Therefore, the PD 're-completes or re-links' the original units of the Wall to each other once more (see: P.25: Table 1). In fact, this viewpoint has also been referred to by some of those participants through the reference to the non-originality that the BG brings to the site, because it has displaced one of its ancient urban units. The PD 'remodels' that again, making the outside wall a piece of originality, which gives priority to the PD in the representation of this built context. For them, the demolition of the original gate is a mistake, while 'the PD corrects this mistake', which properly re-harmonises the architectural language of the wall (see: P.49: Table 1). Accordingly, it visually reforms the outside look of the wall. Thus, there is an agreement on the material representation of the original gate by the PD in terms of the architectural form and through imitating the original physical setting as an architectural structure of the original gate.

Though the verbatim imitation seems a mutual theme for most of the participants who see the PD as a genuine representative for the built heritage of the Citadel, some others (4 individuals) present some worthy reasons-based arguments behind embracing this Proposal, particularly those who are aged more than 60 years and see themselves as veteran in experiencing the *genius loci* of the place. They believe that the PD does not just show a verbatim imitation with the exterior shape of the original gate, but also retrieves the same proportions of the original form, interior spaces, exterior architectural details and location in the perimeter wall. Retrieval of such material settings of the ancient gate makes reinstatement of its same traditional functions possible. Thus, the endorsement of the PD as a better representative for the site here goes beyond the congruence of material settings between the

latter and the ancient portal to involve those immaterial functions also. According to one of the participants, the PD 'evokes the same ancient spaces...including their original…functions of the original gate' (see: P.17: Table 1). It 'largely suggests the same functions based on its form', says another (see: P.8: Table 1). Yet, the evidence to this is still sentimental and lacks proof.

The last theme adopted here behind the PD as a better representative for the site, which composes the base of the pyramid, is its potential to boost the authentic history and cultural significance of the entire urban context of the site. In general, the views here (4 individuals) reveal that the construction of the PD re-activates the real cultural history of the site, and this is according to various contributions. Firstly, the PD assists in reinstatement of the original gate, where the material presence of the latter aids in bringing many historical and cultural values removed by the insertion of the current Gate, and thus, it revives the cultural significance of the site. One of the views here demonstrates that 'the removal of the original gate has led to removal of many historical and cultural values, which…the PD may bring them back into being, and…this probably can serve the cultural significance of the whole Citadel' (see: P.40: Table 1). Secondly, the insertion of the BG is an uncritical step that jeopardises the site's cultural history, and more than one aspect has been put behind that that devalues its cultural significance in the end. More importantly and even if it was subject to doubt for them, some views acknowledge and encourage investigating those local attitudes that see the association between the current gate and the former Iraqi regime, which is regarded as one of the features that may impact the site's genuine history and cultural significance. For instance, one of them argues that:

> The BG is an [uncritical] step actually against the cultural history of the site…Some here believe that it carries some political dimensions related to Saddam Hussein, because it has been built during his political regime and I think its decision was also made in Baghdad. I do not know to what extent this is true actually, and I do not want to adopt it, but from my own point of view, if this is correct, I think it impacts the history and cultural significance of the Citadel. And in this case, I see the Proposal may be a better representative for the site (see: P.58: Table 1).

The second viewpoint in this regard also does not confirm, but rather questions whether 'these claims are correct', seeking their investigation. Otherwise, the current Gate 'will be something negative on the cultural importance of the Citadel, which we feel proud about it as we see it as part of our history and culture' (see: P.48: Table 1). Therefore, 'if there is an

evidence that may prove this', the removal of the current gate will purify the site from such an implication. In fact, the two participants who have referred to this implication are both aged more than 57 years old, and for the research, this confirms an important matter that the prevalence of such claims might be associated with the indigenous people of the place more than those who came later after the global invasion of Iraq in 2003.

Finally, what can be inferred as regards this group of views is that there is a disparate cultural space that separates them. Whilst some of the participants here did not reveal any tangible evidence about the adoption of the PD as a representative for the site (for instance, see: P.29 & P.55, Table 1), some others have shown some reasons behind that. It mainly draws upon the potential of the PD whereby some histo-cultural values of the ancient gate, and cultural significance of the site, can be expressed. Form and design, function and location, for instance, have been repeatedly assigned behind the reinstatement of historical and cultural values as well as cultural significance of the ancient gate and/or the site. More importantly, despite it being a subject of doubt by the participants, the possibility of association between the current gate and the former Iraqi regime has been highlighted, arguing that it lessens the authentic history and cultural significance of the site. Nevertheless, the arguments about some of these themes still lack real evidence that can realistically ground them upon a concrete base. For instance, the reference to the PD's potential as a reminder of the same historical and cultural values through its form-based similarity with the latter, or its potential in reinstatement of the same original functions of the ancient gate follows a subjective narration of the participants. Neither the researcher nor the participants have presented any clue in this respect that may prove that the PD indeed involves these functional aspects, or even aims at embedding the same traditional functions of the original gate into its programme. Cultural significance, including other aspects such as historical and cultural values, for instance, are also a subject of questioning, as in some views, they also lack such evidence. As such, perhaps it is necessary that such aspects are to be debated with the revitalisation's decision-makers.

However, 27 individuals, who represent 38 per cent of those surveyed characters, show their sympathy with the BG that it can represent the site as being part of the cultural implication of the place (see: Table 4. 1). The current gate is seen as 'well-known' for many now, and this is evident through different visits of different people who used to start their journey with taking photos with it as 'memories with the gate' (see: P.63: Table 1). For this group of views, the

acceptance of the BG as a representative for the site can be categorised into three tracks. Firstly, the age of the BG of about three to four decades, which is advocated by 7 individuals, makes it part of the Citadel, which enables it to represent the site, and regardless of being completely different from the traditional architectural language of the perimeter Wall. 'I agree that the BG is somewhat different in design from the surrounding houses of the Citadel, but actually it has existed for more than 30 or 40 years on the site; so, I think this period is enough to make it representative of the site', a stakeholder mentions (see: P.61: Table 1), which is also agreed by many among them and through different codes. For instance, 'it has existed in the Citadel for more than 30 years', 'it has been part of the site for years' and 'it has been built since the 1970s' (see: P.31, P.39 & P.54: Table 1). Whereas the reference to the age of the BG is evidence that may give the latter priority to represent the site, some other arguments have seemed unable to associate this code "age" with the research question properly. For instance, the reference to the gate through its 'age' has been made as if the question were about its demolition and/or preservation, and this is when some argued that 'it deserves to remain' (see: P.36: Table 1), while the question is about the potentiality of the BG to represent the site rather than about its demolition and/or preservation. In fact, at least at this stage of data, the Gate's demolition and/or preservation should be decided based on what these views can contribute.

Furthermore, its difference in shape has been seen by 5 stakeholders as a positive characteristic, making it distinctive and easily recognised from the surrounding residential units, enabling it to dominate the perimeter Wall. According to this group of views, the current gate can represent the Citadel as it 'looks different [thus] dominant on the residential units of the site' (see: P.34: Table 1). What empowers it to achieve this dominance are its huge and high walls as well as its pivotal location that faces the main urban visual axis of the lower city of Erbil, which increases this dominance visually. 'I think its huge and high wall enables it to represent the site, and also we do not have to forget that its location is in front of the main road to the site, which gives it some visual dominance', a viewpoint of one of the participants (see: P.33: Table 1). Therefore, this visual hegemony has been regarded as a symbolic function by some of these surveyed views, which makes some of them emphasise the priority of the BG to represent the site, putting it second after the Tell in the symbol of the urban heritage of the Citadel. For instance, one of the participants notes that 'I cannot

imagine the Citadel without the long and high wall of the BG. I think it comes second after the "*Tell*" as a direct symbol of the site' (see: P.70: Table 1).

However, 12 individuals among those participants endorse an opposite reason to this, arguing that the BG complements the built context of the perimeter wall physically, and therefore it is integral to its visual-spatial interrelations. The difference in shape, as a huge and long wall, of the Gate from the surrounding traditional units has been regarded as an impact of the ambient environment and not just architecturally but culturally as well, which over time became an integral part of its urban structure. 'The BG is a cultural sequel of the built heritage of the site, which complements [] and tailored with [its] visual-spatial associations' to be 'part of the perimeter wall [thus] the urban scene of the site', two participants clarify (see: P.3 & P.22: Table 1), which makes it 'part of the local life' of the locals to be visited frequently by them (see: P.65: Table 1). Some others consider it complements the perimeter wall functionally, setting it as a representative for the site due to its traditional function as a 'main entrance' of the Fortress (see: P.2: Table 1). A third category accepts what this complementary unit provides to the site currently and this is not because of its cultural potential to represent the site, but rather they do not know 'how the PD will seem after its full construction' on the ground (see: P.64: Table 1). They doubt 'whether constructing a new gate for the site will act as a better representative for it more than the existing gate' (see: P.51: Table 1), while some participants, who believe in the Gate as a complementary unit for the site, have also referred to a similar viewpoint but probably through different terms (see: P.28, P.47 & P.52: Table 1).

Thus, what can be concluded in respect to this group of viewpoints is that there are some cultural memories mutually shared between this group and the BG enables the latter to create a state of spatial belonging between them. This is not for genuine cultural dimensions drawn from the deep history and rich culture of the site's built context by the BG, but for an emotional anxiety towards its removal, which for them may erase an element that became part of the urban vocabularies that constitute their current environment. This emotional apprehension for them perpetuates a state of cultural significance of the gate, which in reality does not have deep-rooted origins within the cultural heritage of the site, particularly if compared to the original gate before 1980.

As a result, the on-site interviews put the PD as a real representative for the site more than the BG. Though the latter is referred to that it may display a level of cultural significance in general for the site, it seems hard to identify which kind of cultural significance specifically. For instance, it is not clear whether it has a historical, cultural, symbolic, or functional significance for the site. Whereas the symbolic importance is adopted by few viewpoints, the reference to the BG's huge wall as a direct index to this significance lacks critical evidence. Apparently, the visual dominance of this wall cannot be taken as a genuine reason to symbolise the site, otherwise reconstructing the original gate with new huge proportions would perhaps represent the site better. Symbolism of the gate should emerge from the core of the site, for instance, as a deep history or a unique cultural practice that distinguishes the site historically and culturally. Likewise, the reference to the functional significance of the BG by some others also places it as an entrance to the site alone, rather than being a true gate that involves some essential spaces that define most of the historical gates of most of the Middle-eastern citadels, such as courtyards, formal governmental offices, jail, guest spaces, commercial shops, a clinic and horse stables, which is the case of the original gate. What can be inferred here is that the BG's erection over those four decades has created a kind of intimacy with some of the locals who are inhabiting the place but not necessarily indigenous to the site.

However, in respect to the PD, the matter is different. The latter, based on its architectural drawings, completely traces those traditional symbolic spaces in addition to carefully restoring the same proportions of the original gate including its architectural details, which in fact, even partly, is what many of the participants have highlighted. This perhaps makes the PD more qualified to represent the site than the BG, and may lessen the severity of the local claims against the revitalisation decision to demolish the BG, particularly approaching from the rationale behind imputing the decision to some political and/or cultural ends, which may enable an in-depth analysis and real discussion of them. All of this requires more debates in the next part of the data collection.

However, to enable this kind of debate, a concise comparative reading of the findings of the on-site survey may reveal a contradictory vision towards the acceptance of the BG and/or the PD to represent the site, particularly through some key aspects that most of these views are revolving around. In other words, the emphasis on the PD to represent the site, for instance, puts these aspects in favour of the latter as positive aspects supporting its standing in the site,

while it weakens the potential of the BG to achieve a similar standing. However, the emphasis on the BG to represent this role indicates completely the opposite vision reversing the same aspects against the PD and putting them in favour of the former to achieve such a status. For instance, the PD is accepted as a representative for the site as being an identical copy of the ancient gate, which may revive some intrinsic themes of historical and cultural values as well as its cultural significance. On the other hand, the BG has been seen as an artificial part forcibly added to the body of the Citadel, which devalues these themes. Yet, the views that accepted the BG have rejected this discourse, deeming the latter as a complementary unit in the perimeter wall instead, where these themes are part of it, questioning the new value that the construction of the PD will bring to the site. Likewise, age is another aspect that has been lost behind two conflicting visions, where one of them supports the BG as having existed on the site for about four decades, while the other rejects it, deeming the former is still “young” on the site, impacting the deep historical and rich cultural values of the site. Yet, the latter vision did not refer to this aspect within the PD, particularly as it is still a proposal.

The potential of the formalist dimension between both the BG and the PD, as similarity and difference with the ancient gate, also creates a kind of collision in how to decide which one of them can achieve the better representation of the site. For instance, the formalist congruence of the PD with the original gate is seen as "evocative", thus reminding of its historical and cultural values and boosting its cultural significance. On the other hand, the different form of the BG from the traditional units of the perimeter wall has also been regarded as supportive for the site through supporting visual dominance of the former, and consequently acts as a real symbol for the site that boosts its cultural standing. Thus, history, cultural values and cultural significance of the gate and/or the site are intrinsic themes, which regard the pivot that most of these aspects revolve around. They have also been seen as having been impacted by the possible association between the current gate and the former Iraqi regime, and though it might be a premature step to seriously adopt this view from now, it is important not to delete it from the research considerations, as it forms a key aspect in the investigation of the issue of the Gate. Consequently, they may determine the qualitative inputs through which each of the PD and the BG can show their potential to contribute, and thus represent the site.

What the research attempts to demonstrate here is that despite many material aspects that have been placed behind the acceptance/rejection of the PD and/or the BG as a representative for the site, those immaterial themes as historical and cultural values and cultural significance are perhaps a basis through which the issue of demolition of the current gate can be deepened. In particular, tracing such themes while deepening the investigation with the locals may facilitate a more qualitative understanding regarding the political and/ or cultural motives that the current revitalisation decision to the current gate is perhaps contingent upon. This may also constitute one of the tools for achieving more realistic findings that facilitate approaching more from the viability of the decision. As such, through the next part of the local community-based data collection, the research will take into consideration this aspect while debating any new findings, which firstly enables bringing more evidence of these themes, consequently deepening an objective discussion about them with the site's decision-makers and the revitalisation's global experts in the last part of the data. All of this enables a more objective reading of the revitalisation decision of demolition.

4.2.3 Findings of the Direct and Semi-structured Questionnaires

After reviewing the local acceptance of both the BG and the PD among the local stakeholders of the conventional Suq surrounding the site, it is indicated that the majority of them agree on the PD as being a better representative for the site and they give various reasons for this. Perhaps this, on the one hand, indicates, albeit indirectly, the prevalence and the acceptance of the cultural motives among the social strata of the local community. On the other hand, it entails questioning the actual proportion of the local claims concerning the political purposes, which demands enlarging the base of data collection to involve more participants from the local community, including both professionals and non-professionals, and whether they are indigenous or non-indigenous inhabitants of the site. This allows for estimating the proportion among the local community; in addition, it facilitates knowing where it can be more prevalent among its social strata, and whether it is prevalent among the professionals more than the non-professionals and vice versa. This ultimately helps to crystallise some evidence and then deepens the debate about any repercussions that result from them with the decision-makers of the revitalisation process and some professionals who are indigenous inhabitants of the Citadel. Therefore, it is important to bring more data about the level of

adoption of the political and/or the cultural motives among the local community of the site regarding the decision of demolition of the BG.

To achieve this, two kinds of questionnaires have been conducted in 2015, which are provided to evaluate to what extent both the political motives behind the BG and the cultural motives behind the PD are accepted among the local community. The questionnaires, which are categorised as semi-structured and direct questionnaires, were distributed to two groups of local people. Semi-structured questionnaires were distributed to a group of professionals, which comprised 40 individuals from the local community (as architects, engineers and from other social and administrative disciplines)[32], and this may assist in diversifying the views around the research question in order to ensure, as much as possible, tackling the issue from different perspectives. Secondly, direct questionnaires have also been disseminated to another group of non-professionals, which encompassed 100 people among the audience. Whereas the rationale behind the latter questionnaires is to gather some direct answers regarding the local turnout to any of these two motives, the semi-structured questionnaires enlarge the base of the answers to involve some reasoning behind the agreement of those participants who are carefully selected in order to ensure a sample that provides specific answers in this regard, and thus, can really contribute to the study. This also may justify the reason of why the chosen sample is only confined to the professionals among the locals (see: Section: 1.4.1.3 Questionnaires, Chapter 1). Grouping their views around similar themes has also been achieved through the use of Nvivo, and also presented as raw materials firstly, which enabled debating the findings more clearly (see: Table 2: Semi-structured Questionnaires, Appendices). Finally, both groups were categorised according to these political and cultural motives, and both were provided with hard copies of the images of the PD and the BG, which enabled them to give more specific views.

[32] Departments of Architecture and Civil engineering of three local universities –Saladdine University, Koya University and the Technical College-, including their Heads and teaching staff, have genuinely helped in finding the proper sample of the participants here, as architects, engineers, and graduated students from different disciplines who are believed that can really contribute to the study. In addition, the Engineering Section in the Parliament Building in Erbil has also facilitated finding the rest of those participants within this Building and other administrative institutions, such as Ministry of Culture, where the latter introduced the researcher to more professionals whom their backgrounds are social science. This, in fact, enabled diversifying the views around the issue of the Gate.

Starting with the political motive, and *whether the revitalisation decision of demolition of the BG and replacing it by the new PD really holds some political motives*, the direct questionnaires among the non-professionals indicate that 43 per cent of them (43 individuals) agree that there is *no* political purpose behind that, but the lack of true cultural relationship with the site necessitates its removal. Nevertheless, 46 per cent (46 individuals) believe in this political motive. Some of those participants who briefly explained the reason behind that believe that the revitalisation policy sets the justification of this decision that the BG is a direct sign of the former Iraqi regime, which necessitated its removal, and 11 per cent (11 individuals) among them strongly agree with this. As a result, 57 per cent of them agree on the political motive, whereas 43 per cent of them disagree about it (see: Table 4.2).

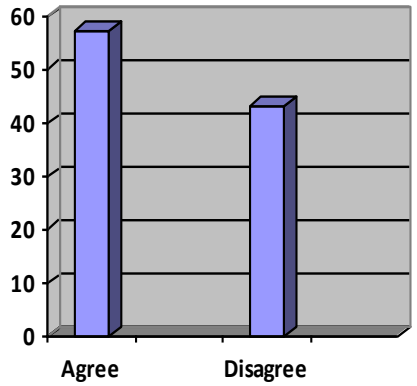


Table 4.2: The non-professionals' views regarding the political motives of the revitalisation decision of demolition of the BG

In respect to the cultural motive, and *whether the revitalisation new PD is really capable of reviving the authentic features of the original gate*, 48 per cent (48 individuals) of the non-professionals observed that it is unable to revive the authentic value of this historical gate. Conversely, 34 per cent (34 individuals) considers the gate will be properly restored to its authentic features; and 18 per cent (18 individuals) highly agree with this insight. As a result, 52 per cent of them agree on the cultural motive, whereas 48 per cent of them disagree about it (see: Table 4.3).

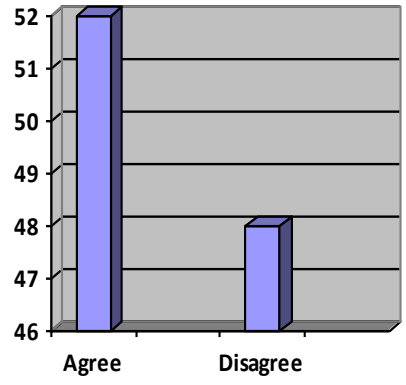


Table 4.3: The non-professionals' views regarding the cultural motives of the PD

However, the semi-structured questionnaires among the professionals have shown different results. 63 per cent (25 individuals) among the professionals of the public consider the revitalisation decision to demolish the BG is distant from any political motives, while the PD holds purely cultural dimensions that prioritise the site's true values. Some of them argue that the decision to remove the Gate should be activated due to some historical and cultural repercussions embedded in its physical settings and short history on the site. The reference to these repercussions comes through diverse interpretations. As material settings, which is the first track of interpretations that is referred to by 6 individuals, the new "form and design" that the current gate propels to the site, for instance, impose a modern "architectural language" on its traditional character. Here, these interpretations come through an outward reading of the BG's façade through diverse indications, which for instance, is seen as "different" and "detached" from the architectural style of the Citadel's Wall. 'The [BG] is different from the façade of the Citadel's Wall, and [therefore] the revitalisation plan seeks its demolition', says one of the participants (see: P.37: Table 2, Appendices). Another says, 'the only reason behind the demolition of the [BG] is its strange form that seems different from the old residential fabric of the site' (see: P.22: Table 2). Whereas some other views within this group have shown a similar non-acceptance of these material settings of the current gate, they have equally placed its cultural properties with these settings as a reason for its removal. As material properties, the Gate was considered to be in contradiction to the "traditional design", and different from the "architectural language" of the site (see: P.40: Table 2), while both its "history" and "age" were also regarded as fragile (see: P.16, P.21 & P.35: Table 2). 'The [BG] is completely different from the site as a history and an architectural language', where it was 'added to the site recently' (see: P.16 & P.21: Table 2).

Whilst their agreement with the cultural motives that the PD holds to the site primarily results from their consensus that it revives the cultural dimensions of the original gate, their views regarding this matter also come through a similar reading of the BG that focuses on the PD's physical settings. For instance, the PD's outside façade is repeatedly viewed by many of them (11 individuals), but through diverse formulas, as "architectural form", "architectural language" and "physical features", which operate a design conformity between the original gate's material features and what the Proposal suggests as physical masses. As an architectural form, for example, one of these viewpoints demonstrates that 'the Proposal reflects the same architectural form of the ancient gate, which...helps to revive it' (see: P.37:

Table 2). Some of them refer to this aspect through simple opinions and according to what the Proposal provides as a ‘copy’ of the old gate, such as its consistency with the ‘original physical features’ and its suggestion for 'the same original design' and ‘spaces’ of the ancient gate (see: P.22, P.40, P.39 & P.16: Table 2).

However, 8 professionals refer to this material aspect through more detailed analogous indicators that go beyond the original gate's physical features to involve its traditional functions, for instance. For example, ‘The Proposal displays an identical copy of the original gate, as form and possibly as functions, making it able to revive the original gate’, a participant mentions (see: P.18: Table 2). For some participants of this group who also argue about the PD’s material properties, recurrence of the same form and function between the Proposal and the ancient gate is considered a tool whereby the gate can recover its past stature, historically and culturally (see: P.16, P.20, P.25 & P.34: Table 2). Here, besides form, the concurrence of function between the Proposal and the old portal evokes some immaterial properties of the latter that mainly denote its history and cultural values. One of them confirms that achieving a form-based similarity between the PD and the ancient gate facilitates retrieving ‘the same traditional functions of the ancient gate [which] will revive the cultural and historical status of the original gate’ (see: P.30: Table 2). Another believes in this respect that ‘if the Proposal reflects a precise copy of the original gate, many cultural and historical values will be revived’ (see: P.20: Table 2). Thus, rejecting the political motives behind the BG’s removal through the reference to these historical and cultural values has come through an expected harmony between the Proposal and the old gate as a form firstly, and then as functions. Confirming homogeneity of “functions” is also controversial here due to lack of evidence in this aspect.

Another emphasis on the immaterial ethos of the Gate as diverse historical and cultural values has been put by 7 participants, but mainly without reference to the outward reading of its material properties. The “short history” and “superficial cultural link” of the current gate with the site, for instance is seen to have ‘cancelled the historical values of the original gate’ due to the fact that it is ‘confined to a specific period of the modern history of the site’, thus distorting the cultural story of the Citadel’s cultural heritage (see: P.18, P.30 & P.6: Table 2). Therefore, the removal of the current gate is seen as an ‘objective step’ here, as it ‘boosts the site’s historical aspect’ and it may also help to bridge 'a historical gap between the [] gate and the site' (see: P.28 & P.31: Table 2). On the other hand, the Proposal is expected to ‘show

more genuine considerations in dealing with the real history of the site'; yet, the reference to this role has also been made based on its contribution of form-based similarity 'in terms of copying the exact details of the original gate' (see: P.2: Table 2).

The inconsistency between the BG, as a history and an outside façade, and the site, on the one hand, stands behind the belief that there is a visual detachment between the Gate and the traditional language of the Citadel's perimeter wall. Consequently, it lessens its history, authenticity and cultural significance. For instance, one of the contributions of the professionals in this regard indicates that the removal of the current gate is to meet with 'some cultural aspects regarding the site's history, authenticity' besides remodelling 'visual integrity of its urban façade' (see: P.34: Table 2). Consequently, based on this viewpoint, the current gate 'distorts the genuine visual scene of [the] perimeter wall'. Another states that the cultural ethos of the current gate 'reduces the cultural significance...and lessens the historical originality of the whole site' (see: P.33: Table 2). As such, according to this group of views, the short history of the BG entails more genuine considerations in dealing with the real history of the original gate in order to reinstate its past to its genuine assets obliterated by the structure of the existing gate. The construction of the latter might really have led to eliminating a substantial part of the physical data of the former to be replaced by a modern-rooted element.

This perhaps drives another category of the professionals (8 individuals) to reject those political ramifications behind the decision to demolish the BG, acknowledging and endorsing the promising cultural potential that the Proposal may provide the site with instead. Their endorsement comes based on different themes. Firstly, as a material features-based cultural reading of the PD's form, the Proposal is seen as an appropriate material-cultural "connector", which links the material details of the wall to each other so that it displays a harmonised architectural language that denotes a unified traditional architectural style. For instance, one of the participants notes that 'the new Proposal works as a cultural connector linking the original units of the wall to each other, as currently…there is a missing original unit…a missing cultural link from the perimeter wall' (see: P.9: Table 2). Therefore, the Proposal is seen to re-unify the cultural image of the wall as a coherent panorama, which bears various, but historically synchronised cultural features, which ascribes them to the same architectural character. It will re-fill a physical-visual gap, thus re-harmonising the traditional architectural style of the wall and returning it to its ancient historical period as an integrated

whole. This is what another participant demonstrates, stating ‘the Proposal will re-link the traditional architectural language of the wall to become a harmonious piece of architecture that indicates a one historical period’ (see: P.35: Table 2). Secondly, the new Design is highly expected to resolve many cultural aspects emerging after the erection of the BG, such as the site’s rich “history”, including its “authenticity” as well as the current visual “integrity” of the wall ‘since [it] remodels the same architectural proportions, form and functions of the original gate’, as one participant stated (see: P.34: Table 2). Again, the reference to the Proposal's cultural potential here is made based on its physical properties, which some interpretations have also corresponded with: ‘copying the original gate in everything reminds of its deep historical values’ (see: P.2: Table 2).

However, 4 participants among this group trust the Proposal’s cultural potential, even without tying their insights to some evidence that may justify that, but largely according to some personal expectations. For instance, one of them declares, ‘I see the implementation of the new Design will improve the authentic cultural image of the site’ (see: P.28: Table 2). Another states: ‘I expect the [PD] will show the real cultural and historical story of the site, which is rich in diverse values and historical events’ (see: P.8: Table 2). One participant affirms, ‘I can say that the [PD] denotes all of these values and events’ (see: P.6: Table 2). Regardless of to what extent such expectations are feasible and take into consideration that they are an oral discourse of the participants, to accept the demolition of a portal of a world heritage site, perhaps some evidence is important for objectifying such a discourse, particularly explicitly referring to some essential themes of heritage, such as historical and cultural values, authenticity and somehow integrity.

More importantly, reinstatement of the original gate to its ‘original settings’, as tangible and intangible assets, is argued by two participants here as serving the main purpose of the revitalisation, namely, heritage tourism. What makes it possible to adopt the cultural motives behind the construction of the PD for these two visions is that the revitalisation process ultimately is a re-direction of the cultural potential of the site towards promoting and granting the latter a better position within the global tourism market. Therefore, it is hoped that it will evoke the authentic historical-cultural stature of the original gate once more. ‘The Proposal brings the original gate back into being, which is part of the revitalisation aim in order to support the site touristically’, says one of them (see: P.23: Table 2). Others have also

confirmed this touristic aspect drawing upon the Proposal's potential for reinstatement of the material properties of the original gate, to serve this aim more than the short age of the current gate. 'The priority of the revitalisation is how to boost the site touristically, and this requires reinstating the main gate of the site to its original settings [which] serves this aim through the new Proposal better than the short-age current gate' (see: P15: Table 2). Hence, a physical copy of the ancient gate is regarded as necessary here to boost the touristic turn of the site according to what it may retrieve of genuine cultural features of the gate, which might be seen as a tool to perpetuate its 'cultural significance' for another (see: P.33: Table 2). This may justify the demolition of the current gate for the construction of the new Design. To achieve this, two participants lean on the experience of the revitalisation's policy-makers in how to properly embed the Proposal in the same material properties of the original gate as form and architectural details. The global experts of the revitalisation 'attempt to embed the [PD] full details of the original gate in order to re-demonstrate its cultural status at the site once more', one of them demonstrates (see: P.11: Table 2).

Whilst the last category of professionals rejects these political motives this means an absolute reliance on the 'skills' and expertise of the global experts, besides the local specialists' knowledge in this respect, who are working on the revitalisation presently. According to this group of views which encompasses 3 professionals, the 'diversified experiences' of those experts in the discipline of heritage conservation qualify them to enact any decision they believe and they believe they can rectify any inappropriate step taken by the previous renovation. Secondly, they are able to perpetuate the future aim of the revitalisation far from any 'subjective aspects' that some perceive as behind the removal of the current gate in the name of political motives (see: P.24 & P.20: Table 2). Based on these views, 'the revitalisation process follows an objective aim in removing the current gate' from the site (see: P.39: Table 2), which ultimately weakens the potential of the political implications that are adopted by the majority of the non-professionals behind the removal of the BG shown by the earlier direct questionnaires.

A similar endorsement is also given to the objective role that the current experts are expected to play in order to achieve some purely cultural dimensions through the suggestion of the PD, where 3 professionals here believe that the Proposal is 'well-designed' to accomplish such dimensions. 'I think the people who are working on the site are experts in this aspect and know that the Proposal will promote the cultural status of the site', one of these professionals

argues (see: P.14: Table 2). Although the opinions here did not reveal more interpretation about how the Proposal is considered to be 'well-designed', perhaps suggesting the same traditional design of the ancient gate, and its spaces and functions, is regarded essential to fit with its same historical and cultural features. Moreover, it may facilitate receiving local acceptance by the local community of the site who are considered part of the historical-cultural story of the site. To achieve both of these goals, the current experts on the site have apparently been deemed to be aware of the essence of meaning of conservation, and the contribution that they may provide can develop some local conservation techniques that appropriate achieving that. For instance, some viewpoints here expect that their rich experiences are enough to produce vital technical solutions visually and physically, corresponding with similar features of the original gate in terms of ancient age and eroded construction materials. In more detail:

> If the [PD] will remodel the same design of the original gate, including its spaces and functions, I think it will…revive that gate not just physically but culturally and historically as well…, particularly the conservation techniques have currently been developed and I think the global experts on the revitalisation are aware of this and can produce different solutions to grant the Proposal some indications that make it similar to the original gate in terms of age and materials (see: P.24: Table 2).

However, inferring the diverse cultural values of the original gate through an outward reading of the façade and other physical features of the PD only might be an incomplete inference, as it may leave a substantial part of the immaterial history of the former subject to underestimation. Consequently, it may have an adverse impact on authenticity, cultural significance and such other intrinsic themes that contribute to the cultural uniqueness of the Citadel's built context currently. Thus, the extent of credibility and trustworthiness of such opinions are still at stake in terms of whether embedment of the material details of the original gate is enough to evoke that immaterial history of the gate.

On the other hand, 37 per cent of the professionals (15 individuals) believe in these political motives behind the decision of demolition, while the PD may not really hold purely cultural dimensions that prioritise the site's true values. However, the majority of those professionals who believe in the political motives do not really have concrete reasons supporting their views. Rather, they superficially adopt what is widespread locally regarding the factuality of such motives, and regardless of the level of their criticality (see: Table 4.4).

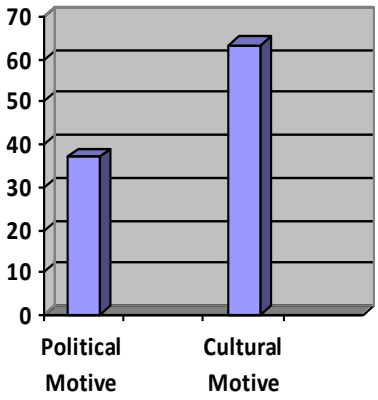


Table 4.4: The professionals' views regarding the political and cultural motives of the revitalisation decision to demolish the BG

Regardless of its extent of objectivity, this perhaps interprets a state of certainty endorsed by a particular elite of the local community about the spread of such motives at the grassroots level and how they may have some repercussions on the decision irrespective of whether they were actually embodied in it or not. This has driven two views among the professionals to acknowledge the objectivity of demolition of the Gate, which for them, has political implications that distort the authentic historical values of the Citadel as it incorporates and commingles them with such modern implications. 'The gate…includes some political implications and I think the demolition is objective. This may facilitate a real support to the original historical values of the site as [it] distorts them by such modern implications', a professional argues (see: P.38: Table 2, Appendices). Or, they may have an impact on some authentic features of the Citadel's built context, its originality. Consequently, '…it is important to be taken into consideration by the current plan of the revitalisation in order to remove what is non-authentic from the traditional fabric of the site, which may reinforce its originality', notes another (see: P.36: Table 2). Whilst designing the gate in Baghdad is regarded by another two participants as a predictive guide to these implications, it makes the acknowledgement of the embedment of these implications within the gate something expected. For example, more than one participant stated that 'the design of the [BG] has been brought to the site from Baghdad, which...makes its political implications accepted' (see: P.29 & P.32: Table 2). However, another possible contribution of this input is that it attempts to address the controversy of the removal of the BG basically according to what is said locally, and thus problematises the matter of design location of the BG as a main issue, which those political implications are part of. Yet, the same contribution acknowledges that the future goal of the site is heritage cultural-based tourism that puts its historical features in the

foreground in order to attain this goal, while in all cases cleansing the site from such implications has been regarded as essential. ‘So, the important thing is how to purify the site from such impacts to appropriate its cultural-touristic shift in the future’ (see: P.29: Table 2).

Suspicions and non-agreements regarding the worth of the cultural motives that the [PD] bears to the site is expressed differently by 11 participants within this group, who question whether the Proposal will not reiterate ‘the same mistake of the current gate’ (see: P.3: Table 2). Some of their views state that it is still on paper, questioning its potential to revive the cultural features of the original gate, and to what extent it can feed the site culturally in comparison to the original gate (see: P.4, P.13, P.29 & P.32: Table 2). For instance, ‘I cannot judge the Proposal through an on-paper design; I do not know to what extent it serves the original gate’, one of them questions (see: P.4: Table 2). Another excludes accentuating the immaterial cultural dimensions of the old portal through an on-paper suggested material copy, the sole role is that it may return the traditional architectural language of the wall to its origin. ‘I think it is hard to agree on [these dimensions] from a design on paper. So, let us say the Proposal may help in re-harmonising the traditional architectural language of the perimeter wall’ only (see: P.32: Table 2).

The precise role of the Proposal in terms of reviving the deep history of the ancient gate through its material setting is still perplexing for some of the participants here. For instance, one of them mentions that achieving this only through ‘copy[ing] the ancient gate materially’ is not enough (see: P.10: Table 2). Another doubts the cultural rapport between the deep history of the ancient gate and constructing a physical copy of it at the site presently. He wonders if a material copy of the original gate can really contribute to reviving its authentic history, stating ‘whether copying the original design of the ancient gate revives its deep history’ (see: P.19: Table 2), and this is what another confirms that the Proposal ‘evokes a physical copy of the original gate, no more’ (see: P.26: Table 2). Accordingly, though it does not display a determined discourse, one of the participants here states that this cultural rapport needs to be well-thought-out in terms of guaranteeing its local consensus on the achievement of this rapport, particularly as it may constitute an essential aspect of the tourist move of the site in the future. ‘To revive the original features of the original gate, the [PD] should really be carefully designed; otherwise, it is hard to demolish the current gate and

rebuild it again. This makes it lose its credibility locally and also may affect its touristic cultural role to the site' (see: P7: Table 2).

Hence, retrieval of the material details of the original gate is seen as an incomplete step towards retrieving the cultural dimensions, as values and events, submerged under the structure of the current gate. This, if compared to the former group of the professionals who shows an agreement towards the PD, indicates a completely different narrative towards this aspect. Whereas the "identical material copy" of the ancient gate provided by the Proposal is regarded capable of retrieving the cultural dimensions of the gate by many within the first group, it is still subject to suspicion by the latter group regarding whether it can really achieve such dimensions. Perhaps this may explain why some have been reluctant to embrace the cultural potential that the new Design is expected to provide to the site, as its construction is seen as a resultant outcome of the demolition decision which helps to fill the gap created by the removal of the current gate. Hence, planning for the Design to re-display the same facade of the ancient gate is ordinary. 'I think when the current gate will be demolished, there should be a new design that fills the gap, which rationally means remodelling the ancient gate' (see: P.17: Table 2). Thus, the cultural renovation that the Proposal's physical properties display to the site is being weakened here, whereas uprooting of the current gate, regardless of the real reasons behind that, is seen as a sensitive step that needs to be carefully thought about before implementation.

What may advocate a well-consideration before initiating the decision to remove the current Gate is what many views among the professionals demonstrate here regarding the validity of the political implications of the Gate. In fact, a particular proportion, comprised of 8 professionals, acknowledges the existence of these political motives, stating that they are drawn from the local community's sufferance from the former Iraqi regime, which can be regarded as a basis of the decision. The latter is seen here as remnants of that regime, and therefore the decision to demolish it by the current revitalisation policy is imperative. This, in fact, represents a mutual point among many of those professionals who believe in these political implications, while their views on that have come in different forms. For instance, 'the current gate is a sign that reminds the Kurdish nation of the former Iraqi regime, whose crimes are known to all', says one of the participants (see: P27: Table 2). The Gate 'holds some political dimensions'; it has some 'political roots', 'political fingerprints'; it is a 'direct

reference to an aggressive political regime'; 'it is one of the political residues of the former Iraqi regime'; it 'documents' a political period of Saddam Hussein's regime, other participants mention (see: P3, P4, P5, P7, P12 & P26: Table 2). Some of them attempt to look at the issue more neutrally through associating architecture with the evolution of the surrounding local political-cultural scenarios considering them an integral part of the gate's cultural delivery. In fact, this may tackle the issue more realistically, which perhaps assists in revealing more practical solutions regarding the position of the gate within the new cultural-tourist shift of the site. For instance, they demonstrate that 'architecture became part of the political-cultural environment', which may make the truth of these implications factual; therefore, 'the revitalisation should respond to such allegations' (see: P17: Table 2).

In fact, the political implications of the current gate are an axiom locally, and even among some assistant professors in some local institutions, with whom the researcher has personally met to discuss this issue as part of his position as a Senior Architect with the HCECR/UNESCO during the first steps of the revitalisation, regardless of the results of the on-site survey, which may indicate different somewhat findings. Yet, some of these views here remain unclear as to whether these political implications represent the participants' own vision or expectations of whether they see it as a pretext for decision-makers to demolish the gate. The need for this may increase when we know that the local bureaucratic systems followed by some decision-makers may sometimes persecute these views when expressing explicit opinions that oppose their interests.

Nevertheless, from an analytical perspective, despite acceptance, some professionals question the extent of objectivity of such implications and their embodiment within the cultural story of the current gate, where the evidence of these implications, in general, is oral, which may spread as a group of hypotheses raised by the local community. Although there is no scientific study conducted on this issue, which could confirm or refute these implications, they are legitimate locally and adopted by many of the inhabitants of the city, which entails a sensitive effort towards the decision of their future status in the site. This is what one of the professionals states here:

> Perhaps, these [implications] are a kind of hypothetical narration spread locally, whose validity we do not know; yet they became part of the arguments against the gate currently, which may need to be well studied by the specialists who are working on the revitalisation (see: P.19: Table 2).

Thus, the acknowledgement of these implications is widely spread, and not just among the non-professionals, but the professionals as well. Whereas some of them endorse dealing sensitively with the removal of the Gate so that these implications will not adversely impact the site's new touristic shift, some others have deepened the grounds behind that, considering that the continuity of the Gate will have more sensitive repercussions upon the site, and this is not only due to the touristic shift, but also to the global standing intended for the Citadel. The latter has started to be seen as a cultural symbol of Kurdistan, and therefore the continuity of such implications within the Gate undoubtedly undervalues this symbol:

> Erbil Citadel is a national symbol of the place, and of Kurdistan, currently. So, the removal of the current gate is necessary to purify the site of its political significations that have been forced on the site during the former Iraqi regime. This will definitely promote this symbol globally (see: P.13: Table 2).

From this perspective, the anxiety of accepting the solution that the PD suggests to the site by some of the professionals seems a kind of obsession against any futuristic cultural repercussions on the built heritage of the Citadel similar to what the BG left fearing that it will be forced on the site just to actuate the removal of the BG. One of the participants explains that, '*the solution that the [PD] suggests to the site will be coercive upon the Citadel as what the [BG] suggested before*' (see: P.27: Table 2). Hence, perhaps the removal of the undesirable impacts of the BG is important, but it is more important to look closely at the tools and/or strategy to attain this, which may drag the site away from its real history and expose it to new threats. One of the participants has given the reason for this, stating:

> The removal of the current gate does not mean that any alternative design can supersede this gate just because it copies the same details of the ancient gate. Revival of the traditional gate should also focus on some intangible aspects, such as authenticity of the Citadel at that time. In addition, the construction of a new alternative gate should also take into consideration the structural integrity of the foundations of the perimeter wall, particularly those residential units surrounding the current gate. The mound-slope is fragile and this needs to be carefully tackled…. So…it looks like a calibration between maintaining the current gate for the sake of avoiding the structural problems, or rebuilding the ancient gate for the sake of supporting the cultural issues. Here, the role of the global experts should emerge (see: P.27: Table 2).

Therefore, the alternative design should really consider all of these possibilities, as currently it is sensitive to decide to what extent it can achieve them, so the experts who are working on the site should 'pay real attention to the new design that should supersede the current gate', as mentioned by another participant (see: P.38: Table 2).

In conclusion, the direct questionnaires indicate that there is local satisfaction among the majority of non-professionals of the site's local community that the revitalisation decision to demolish the BG reflects some political associations with the previous local regime. On the other hand, though the professionals, through the results of the semi-structured questionnaires, have shown a higher emphasis on the cultural implications, still there is a prominent proportion among them who also observe and agree with these political implications. Yet, regardless of the variance in their views about both of these political and/or cultural implications, some of their contributions have led to new sub-issues emerging, such as authenticity, integrity and historical and cultural importance of the Citadel's built heritage, and how the decision to demolish the BG might deal with those. In fact, the on-site survey with the stakeholders have somehow gestured to such issues also, but not similar to what the semi-structured questionnaires demonstrate. The former has addressed in general some themes such as age, historical values and cultural significance that are involved within the structure of each of the current Gate and/or the Proposal, while the latter has deepened this towards more intrinsic themes such as authenticity and visual and cultural integrity as well as cultural significance of the site through their personal assessment of the political and/or cultural implications of the revitalisation decision on the current Gate.

However, still most of these views lack inspiration -as a strategy or tools for instance- for how the new Design may realistically perpetuate these themes, which may lead their arguments against the current gate to be more accepted and thus more advocated by the research. Evidence of this may come from the identification of the impact of the "short history" of the current gate, for instance, which on the one hand, may contribute to the cultural dimensions of the site. Yet, on the other hand, most of the semi-structured views still lack a raw reference, perhaps to the tools through which the Proposal can genuinely demonstrate the accentuation of such dimensions. For example, if the current Gate's short history is agreed then it limits its cultural association with the site, which may create a gap within its historical chronology, so it might be important to narrate, even generally, how the insertion of the PD will revive and/or re-draw the historical dimensions and values of the site to their authentic position once more. This may form a more realistic interpretation of accepting the cultural implications that presumably the new Design suggests based on the participants' contributions, and meanwhile, rejecting those political motives that the demolition of the BG is attributed to. Likewise, many of these viewpoints do not reveal a

realistic interpretation about the confirmation of how the construction of the new Design will promote the authentic cultural image of the site, which may indicate a kind of subjectivity in a neutral reading of the real value whereby the BG and/or the PD may contribute to the site.

In this regard however, the study has demonstrated earlier how the current built context of the Citadel is sensitive to any step which may impact its histo-cultural values, and its potential to progressively incorporate any new features in its structure may boost these values. According to the professionals' views, the historical gap that the current Gate creates, for instance, negatively impacts the site's cultural significance, and therefore it undervalues the historical authenticity of the built context of the Citadel due to what it imports of modern characteristics to the site, as a form and design. The traditional architecture of the site is characterised by an Islamic historical style, which firstly is deep-rooted in the site and part of the culture and traditions of its local community (see: Section 3.2.2, Chapter 3). Secondly and more importantly, the style of the BG is evidently different from its architecture, making the physical features of the former easily determined for many of the locals. This, for some local professionals, makes it possible to debate the Gate's cultural intangible aspects through its physical features, such as its cultural significance, authenticity and visual integrity, which are virtually adopted here to weaken the claim of the political motives behind the decision to demolish the BG.

Thus, it might be necessary to deepen the debate and approach more from the reality of these implications with the decision-makers and global experts of the revitalisation besides some professionals who are indigenous inhabitants of the site through a series of direct interviews, which may reveal more information in this respect.

4.2.4 Findings of In-depth Interviews

Two series of in-depth interviews were conducted in 2015 with both the local people of the site and the decision-makers of the revitalisation process. The aim was to reveal more about the true purpose behind the decision of demolishing the BG by the revitalisation policy-makers and replacing it by the new PD and whether there were some political implications or purely cultural ones. As a complementary step and following up what the previous survey and questionnaires have revealed, this will be debated firstly through the views of the professionals of the local community of the site only. As a justification behind focusing on those aboriginals' professionals, the former on-site surveys and questionnaires have revealed some tacit notions such as authenticity, integrity, and cultural and historical significance, which are not easily understood by those uneducated as they may not be deeply rooted in their culture. On a different matter, this step in the research does not aim at counting voices concerning the views of the local community regarding the "political motives" of the BG and the "cultural motives" of the PD, but rather at debating the whole issue through specific interviews with the aboriginals' professionals, who are part of the site, which enables them to ask different questions that the researcher perceives necessary regarding the issue of the Gate.

Afterwards, the focus will be shifted towards the views of the revitalisation decision-makers to debate the weakness of the BG as a real representative for the Citadel as an attempt to disclose the different purposes behind such a decision. In addition, more debate will also be placed upon the potential of the Proposal with the specialists (who are part of the revitalisation), as particularly many views revealed by the previous survey and questionnaires still challenge a realistic justification to some of their arguments concerning some main themes in this respect, which might be possible to discuss in more depth here. Finally, the site authorities who are involved here comprised those parties who are considered to be in a direct relationship with the future purpose of the revitalisation and thus interlinked to each other for the sake of achieving this purpose, such as the Ministry of Culture, the Directorate of Tourism of Erbil, Erbil Investment Commission and the HCECR's Office Manager(s) (for more information about this series of interviews see: Table 3: Participants' Sheet: Data of Interviews on Revitalisation Decision to demolish the BG, Appendices).

Starting with the local community and *whether the BG is powerless to act as a genuine representative to the site*, a managerial professional from the site has referred to its ineffectuality to typify the site's historical characteristics that may boost its originality and other historical values.[33] Based on his contribution, the main purpose of the BG was intended to be a structural solution that was aimed at resolving a weakness in the foundation that the ancient gate was suffering from, while the historical and/or cultural dimensions that the Gate possessed had not been considered:

> The BG was produced by the renovation decision-makers as a structural solution for the site's integrity, against the soil breakdown of the *Tell*, which had been argued that it is suffering this failure at that time actually; but it was nothing to do with the intact representation of the site's historical characteristics, such as sustaining the gate's authenticity and cultural significance.

Hence, according to what this character demonstrates, the renovation was concerned about soil collapse that was expected to affect the foundations of the original gate, thus associated with its physical integrity more than the gate's authenticity and other historical values. Therefore, its decision to demolish the original gate was fundamentally based on this anxiety, while the criteria of authenticity and historical values of the site seem to have been neglected by the renovation. As a result, the solution that the renovation displayed to the site was a simple replacement of the original gate by a new gate that did not take into consideration the authentic properties of that gate as historical criteria and cultural significance, which ultimately impacted the cultural significance of the whole built context of the site. Such an imprecise technique in dealing with one of the most important structures of the site has distorted the site, which indeed distanced the current gate from the cultural significance and historical authenticity of the traditional urban fabric of the Citadel:

> The new birth of the BG has attempted to replace the original gate by a new portal regardless of all the historical criteria and the cultural significance that the original gate carries. I think, such a kind of superficial treatment, even for the physical integrity of the gate, makes the BG distant from the site's authenticity and cultural significance. I see that it has distorted the gate more than rooting it.

[33] This character is well-known locally and on the local level of Kurdistan and Iraq as he is a Head of a branch of one of the famous political parties that has governed the country for many years. He has a rich knowledge about the Islamic architecture and social synthesis of the Citadel and its emergence and historical growth, while his direct relation with different political-cultural events that is being held between Iraq and Turkey have boosted this knowledge in terms of approaching more from the Ottoman architectural character of the site, which perhaps enabled him to make some trustworthy contributions to the research.

The claim that the renovation decision of the BG endeavours to support the integrity of the grand gate also stands on a fragile ground of credibility. More precisely, the anxiety that the structural weakness of the original gate had not been emphatically proved with tangible evidence by the renovation could really indicate a structural weakness within the ancient gate itself. Rather, the whole perimeter wall was suffering a state of soil collapse, and this was a visual-based evidence also according to what was being noticed by the local community at that time:

> The original gate was not really suffering from such structural defects within its own structure, but rather a kind of light shearing force of the mound-slope it stands upon, which was mainly narrated by the inhabitants at that time and that I was part of. I do not say that the *Tell* was not suffering from such a weakness as this is more linked to some structural check-up and I am not an engineer, but also I think it is not wise to draw up a decision against a very historical structure of the site based on what some local testimonies indicate. As a consequence, the decision to demolish the whole gate was controversial, I think. The grand gate had been completely demolished under the claim that it is about to collapse and be substituted by the BG; however, its physical structure did not suffer from any structural defect. It had to be restored rather than replaced by this new Babylonian Gate.

On the other hand, '*whether the new Design that the revitalisation suggests can revive the Citadel in terms of authenticity and cultural significance of its built heritage*', it is regarded as providing a better deal with the compositional language of the traditional architecture of the perimeter wall, particularly on the level of its outside masses and inner spaces. This enables the creation of a formalist reference to the ancient gate on the level of its façade.

> The Proposal shows an obvious formalist homogeneity with the original gate as spaces and proportions…Its outside design seems easily to denote the original gate as it corresponds with its ancient facade.

In return, to reveal '*to what extent the current Gate carries political signs of the former Iraqi regime*', the decision regarding its removal is politically motivated, and the political implications that are believed to be behind the decision to demolish the BG have also been weakened here. Instead, its un-relatedness to the original cultural features of the ancient gate, such as its authenticity, and the traditional Islamic architecture of the site are seen as clear proof of such an argument:

> I cannot agree with some beliefs that associate the BG to the former Iraqi regime and therefore it should be eliminated from the site. The point is that the BG is unrelated to the Citadel…It is far from the site localism…and its original features.

> Rather, it distorts the site authenticity; as a consequence, it has to be demolished and rebuilt according to the original details. I exclude such political implication within the BG and link its fragility in representing the site to its detachment from the site's local traditionalism (see: Participant's Code: L1, Table 3, Appendices).

Thus, claims that adopt the political implications behind the decision to demolish the current portal are being rejected here, yet themes such as authenticity, structural integrity and cultural importance, which have been raised by the local community, are also subjects of consideration for the aboriginals. Such themes are considered key behind the fragile stature of the current gate, which necessitate its removal from the site. On the other hand, the formalist homogeneity with the ancient gate, as spaces and proportions, may put the PD in a position of favouritism amongst the professionals of the indigenous inhabitants of the Citadel.

The Owner of the traditional *Qalat* Museum of the Citadel furthers the debate regarding the cultural impact of the revitalisation PD and the BG's political motives. Culturally, on '*whether the Proposal is able to boost the historical values, originality and cultural importance of the gate*', he also confirms that similarity of outside form and spaces between the Proposal and the ancient gate can support the former to possess a better position on the site. However, the reference to this aspect is still general, while themes of originality and cultural importance have not been referred to, even verbally, at all:

> The PD replicates the original spaces and details to a high level of similar proportions which support its representation for the site.

Yet, regardless of its correspondence with the original gate in form and spaces, the argument here still lacks proof that can really demonstrate the cultural dimensions that the Proposal may bestow on the site. Symmetry in forms between the new Design and the ancient gate may receive agreement on the outward architectural aspects, but still challenges those cultural dimensions. Nevertheless, the current Gate has ignored both of these characteristics. On the level of its outside form, the Owner of the *Qalat* Museum notes that the BG condones most of the original spaces, as masses and functions, changing the traditional Islamic features of the ancient gate into new modern language. It is a 2D language of a linear wall more than real 3D spaces. This consequently led to cancelling out many of its traditional functions on the level of inner spaces, which have characterised the gate with its Islamic traditional style for a long period, undervaluing its cultural dimensions:

> The inadequacy of the BG to act the same role [of the PD] results from its mechanism of shortening the original spaces of the grand gate to be confined on a modern longitudinal wall of 2D linear composition…The 3D spaces of the new Proposed Design make you feel the real architecture of the original gate more than the BG which seems as if it was a kind of sculpting. In fact, it is a composition of a longitudinal wall and you cannot feel its [components].

More importantly, regarding '*how to see the political motives behind the decision to demolish the current Gate*', he affirms the robust link between the BG and the former Iraqi regime, which in fact bestows a kind of legitimacy on the local claims that adopt such motives behind the revitalisation decision to its demolition. Being an indigenous inhabitant of the site in addition to an owner of the most treasured recreational unit in the site (the *Qalat* Museum -which may enable him to meet different professional characters-), this perhaps makes the acceptance of this argument possible here, which firstly entails its short age at the site that many views have referred to it within the previous survey and questionnaires among the stakeholders and professionals. Secondly, it may prove its discontinuity with the site's history and other cultural values, which authenticity and cultural significance of the Citadel's Islamic heritage are part of:

> The BG has been added by the former Iraqi regime…which is quite disengaged from the site, which shows its discontinuity with the site's diverse historical values…Charging the site with this negative political implication undoubtedly affects its authenticity and cultural significance, and particularly it impacts the long history of the site (see: Participant's Code: L2, Table 3).

While the reference to the political and cultural motives seem to overlap here, still the reference to the relationship between the BG and the former regime is vague and more general as it does not show any concrete evidence whereby this relationship can be substantiated, or even what kind of scientific base it stands upon.

Yet, another confirmation of the political motives behind the decision to demolish the current Gate of the site comes from a Senior Architect of the local community who considers that as the first issue behind the decision recommending that such implications, and if proved, should not be seen as a black period in the chronology of the site. Conversely, they should be considered as part of the entire cultural story of the gate, and thus, maintained for the next generations of residents and global and local visitors alike. He mentions in this regard that some bygone political impacts that govern the sociocultural environment that surrounds some built heritage sites cannot but be part of their built contexts, where their repercussions are

undeniable from our built heritage's theatre, and thus part of its cultural history. Its architecture may act as an archive of such repercussions, while acquiring its authenticity from its continuity in the timeline of the site as a political event within diverse events that the site documents throughout history. Therefore, it should be sustained in order to document such an important period of its history, which may represent a cultural value in the future that adds to the cultural significance of the site in the end:

> Such motives should not affect the chronological history of the gate [in] or the Citadel. The BG still refers to a period of the Citadel's political history, and therefore, it is a symbol among the numerous symbols of the site, which should be retained. It gesticulates to a period of political architecture within the chronology of the site. Therefore, regardless of whether it is a genuine representative for the site or not, its authenticity can be subjugated to the continuity; to the chronology of the site's political events and periods. Therefore, it bears some forms of intangible heritage belonging to a specific political period of history that should be forwarded to the next generations of the site. This political period has its value through its impact on the site regardless of whether it had a positive or negative effect.

Hence, based on this vision, preserving the current Gate within the built context of the site can assist in displaying a realistic architecture of the Citadel, making the cultural history of the latter more believable to its visitors as it shows some historical facts. Conversely, removing them from the site cancels out a period of its past. This is a past that possibly encompasses different cultures, principles and values that passed through many cultural changes, which involve diverse historical events, none of which can be removed for the sake of another. What the local people of Erbil have suffered from the former Iraqi regime, he continues, should not be taken at the expense of the future of the Citadel's heritage. Destroying the current gate cannot erase such memories, rather it eliminates a realistic part of the history of the site, and its revitalisation should be run more openly here:

> Built heritage is the mirror for the events and the cultural life of people…and therefore destroying any piece of it signifies creating a gap in this culture at that time that this destroyed piece is synchronic with…A gap that, besides denoting this political period, may involve some other events that seem insensible now but sensible in the future. Therefore, the archaeological site should be preserved on what it became after exposing it to notable changes. These changes will record this period of history for the next generation as a piece of the historical events inscribed within this archaeological site (see: Participant's Code: L3, Table 3).

Thus, according to this viewpoint, conservation of the Citadel's heritage should be achieved through looking at the site more objectively as an integrated synthesis of cultures, events and

values, which together, reflect its past and present. Affirmation of the political implications of the current gate is seen as something that reinforces the cultural story and historical events of the site, while its existence is regarded as a part of the site's historical authenticity and cultural importance. Therefore, revitalisation of the built heritage of the site should deal with the current Gate more sensitively, taking into consideration these implications as a potential for boosting its cultural significance and authenticity, thus increasing its tourist attractions for the visitor, which is a key objective for the future shift of the site. As such, some of the contributions here refute these political implications, where some confirm, and some others suggest maintaining them within the cultural story of the site. This contradiction in views, and the evidence behind them, creates a clash in possibilities regarding the existence of such implications on the decision to demolish the BG. Consequently, it might be useful to involve some direct views from the HCECR's members regarding this issue. To ensure a state of objectivity, the research questions relate to these implications indirectly somehow, which may enable the avoidance of the direct answer of "yes" or "no", and maintain a rational debate on this aspect instead.

Thus, one question asked to the sit authorities was '*whether the BG is powerless to act as a genuine representative for the site'*. The Office Manager of the High Commission for Erbil Citadel Revitalisation (HCECR) indicates its incapacity to perform such a role as being powerless to bolster some features ingrained in the site, such as authenticity and cultural significance of its ancient Islamic architecture, which bestow on it some outstanding values. The HCECR's Office Manager confirms that the renovation decision to demolish the original gate did not take into consideration how to maintain different historical aspects that characterise the traditional urban character of the Citadel and correspond with its deep and rich history, which contributed to the site's current authenticity and importance, when replaced by the current Gate. Also, it distorted visual integrity of the wall in terms of introducing a new form of modern detail to the traditional design of its residential units, which detaches the two sides of the wall from each other. The change the Gate made has affected the cultural value of the site:

> The BG is powerless to act as a true representative for the site, as it is unable to correspond to any level of authenticity or cultural significance of the original gate, but I see that its recent and modern construction devalues the deep history of the site. It cannot boost the outstanding values of the site, if it does not lessen that. I would say that the decision of the BG did not take into consideration any criteria

> with regard to the site's authenticity, integrity or cultural significance. For instance, visual integrity of the outside wall has been disregarded by the new form and details of the current Gate, which deforms the traditional residential units of the wall, and particularly it has made the wall seem like two separate pieces.

Furthermore, he mentions, the reason behind that decision was to protect the gate from an anticipated soil breakdown of the *Tell* that affected the perimeter wall of the site at that time. However, the plan to achieve this goal was inappropriate, which is evidenced by its impacts on characteristics of authenticity and other cultural values of the site. Regardless of how to deal with the impacts of soil breakdown in the site's integrity, what can be inferred here is that the indifference to its repercussions on the site's authenticity, cultural importance and other features, which are of no less importance to the site integrity, has brought to the site even worse outcomes. The new architectural settings, as a form and design, that the BG has introduced to the site seem completely detached from its Islamic architectural character and attached more to the architectural heritage of Babylon:

The paradox here is that the renovation claim is based on protecting the site's integrity resulting from some soil breakdown of the *Tell*. On the level of the outside façade, authenticity and OUV of the site are two forgotten aspects for the BG and this is obvious from the new architectural form that the BG has. Its form is completely separated from the Citadel and seems attached to another local heritage site, which is Babylon. If we appreciate the effort made to protect the site's integrity at the time, I think the tools and strategy to achieve this goal were completely imprecise and have shown a lack of awareness of the site's authenticity, historical values and the general value of the urban fabric of the Citadel, which I think are no less important than the site integrity.

In relation to '*why this kind of architectural style*' was used, the HCECR's Office Manager attributes this to the architectural philosophy and approach of the designer of the Gate, who follows a firm line of design style in most of his architectural works, a style defined locally as Babylonian. Despite its deep history, introducing such a new style to the traditional Islamic one of the Citadel has devalued its authenticity in terms of its deep history and distinct and very local characteristics that have decreased to make way for the current details. A definition of the authenticity of the Gate based on a deeply historical perspective is probably rational, but should come from the history of the site itself (the Citadel), rather than the same place (Iraq).

> The designer of the BG was fascinated by what is called locally the Babylonian architecture and therefore a uniform touch of this architecture has clearly prevailed upon most of his works in the field of archaeological sites.[34] It has been concluded by some local experts that the architect of the [BG] was known as the architect of a uniform touch (Babylonian architecture) and that prevailed in most of his designs. [He], perhaps, has followed his personal subjectivity in his interpretation of authenticity of the gate [and] through how to draw inspiration from a design that I think shows deep historical dimensions of a local heritage site. Hence, I think the search for authenticity was through inspiring a design from a local site that shares a deep history, which echoes the deep history of the Citadel rather than how to substantiate those characteristics for which the gate is regarded authentic.

Debating '*whether it has a historical impact on the site, and the demolition decision may ignore it*', the HCECR refers to another negative influence that the BG's young history has left on the site. It disregarded the outstanding value 'OV' of its Islamic architecture, which has involved diverse historical periods of different events, cultures and social cults that perhaps make this OV universal. As a time dimension, history was obvious in the construction material of the ancient gate which left some indications on its outward appearance evidencing its deep-rootedness and obsolescence, whilst the current Gate has ignored this history and has given the site an explicit modern addition:

> The outstanding value of the original gate was clearly absent during the erection of the BG as a result of mixing the historical with the modern…The BG, from its façade and materials, reflects a state of modernity which contradicts the historical features of the site, which is considered one of the very outstanding values of this built heritage that can be assigned to its deep history of 6000 years…Consequently, [it] is detached from the site's history. Therefore, [its removal] from the site is due to the fact that it distorts the OV of the original gate, and originality and cultural importance of the site in general. It is a modern addition actually. Consequently, it has to be demolished and rebuilt according to the original details immediately after its addition to the site.

On the local scale of Erbil, he agrees with those views that object the different architectural settings of the current gate and their impacts on the Citadel's built heritage, noting that it is seen as an intrusive element inside the built context of the Citadel, which contradicts, and thus is not in harmony with its traditional architectural language. Its modern features make its appearance a discordant element that visually deforms, and materially disengages with the traditional units of the perimeter wall, such as the physical masses and architectural details:

[34] Theoretically, it is hard to say Babylonian architectural style, however, this term is locally borrowed from this style, which is recognised in its high and clean façade with high and circular arches that usually reflect a state of symmetry upon the overall mass, such as *Ishtar Gate* of Babylon site.

> For us, it is understood as a strange body and is inharmonious with the architectural language of the site's perimeter wall, which therefore seems intercalated in its architectural context. Such sequences of the BG, I believe, impede authenticity, cultural significance and OV that the original gate has acquired over time, and lessen their value within the entire site. It can be seen as a clear intrusion of a discordant element, which is detached from the traditional language of the perimeter wall of the Citadel as well as visually distorting its unity.

Visual integrity of the gate seems also embedded in this discourse through the reference to its impacts on the visual unity of the wall, which besides authenticity and other cultural values of the site, is also regarded a problem in need of a solution, and perhaps achieving this is contingent on the revitalisation policy. To this end, the HCECR's Office Manager believes that the revitalisation decision to demolish the BG should be commenced on the ground. The only sensitive point that should be investigated here then is whether the demolition of the BG will compromise the site again. However, quoting his words in relation to this:

> After undertaking some international consultations, the HCECR believes that if the BG is fully removed [by now] and replaced by the new PD (as planned), the BG's existence would be for less than 40 years, which will not influence the site's authenticity, cultural significance or its OV, rather it will revive the history of the Citadel. This is what we have talked about as an HCECR team over the last two years actually, I mean between 2012 and 2014, and what we inferred from some seminars with some experts of world heritage sites that the experts of world heritage sites believe that removing a gate aged less than 40 years will not affect a history of 6000 years of the site, [and thus], let me say that it will reinstate some true values of the site (see: Participant's Code: L4, Table 3).

In fact, such contributions from heritage experts may confirm the statement that the BG carries no consideration for the international conventions in terms of prioritising authenticity, cultural significance and OUV during renovation of the original gate. Secondly, it may legitimatise the revitalisation policy towards the current Gate and boost its decision to demolish it and reinstate the grand gate to its authentic status through the implementation of the new PD.

The formal Spokesman of Tourism Directorate of Erbil 'TDE', who was also involved in this series of interviews, also confirms that the BG is powerless to act as a genuine representative of the site. When asked '*why the BG is powerless to achieve this role*', he also believes that there is a cultural gap between the physical properties of the Gate and the traditional character of the built heritage of the site, which weakens its role of representing the rich

historical aspects of the site, whilst authenticity and cultural significance of the original gate are an integral part of it. The modern features that the current gate imposes on the Citadel's traditional Islamic architecture are also seen as a substantial reason for that. As a form, a similar reading has been made by the TDE on the Gate's outside façade in that it failed to show an architectural language rhythmical and consistent with the traditional architecture of the perimeter wall of the site, which may evoke memories of the local community regarding the ancient gate:

> The BG is unable to represent the original gate's authenticity and cultural significance due to the modern tinge that it brings. This tinge weakens its qualifications in demonstrating any old age value, which is a crucial feature in the representation of authenticity and consequently misplaces its cultural significance locally. Instead, the BG should reflect high levels of credibility in terms of presenting an authentic form, originating from the local cultural traditions of the place and harmonised with the site to be rhythmic with the social feeling of the local community and consistent with their stockpile of memories about the gate.

According to the formal spokesman of the TDE, the Citadel hoped to 'act as an authentic cultural sign of the local heritage of Kurdistan'. Therefore, evoking memories of the local community about the ancient portal is seen as a complementary task of any new portal that supersedes the current gate as part of the cultural shift of the site, and this, in fact, gives a clear recognition of the mistrust in the cultural potential of the BG to achieve this role. The modern construction material and design of the Gate, and the technique of presenting such material through its outside façade are also seen as lessening the historical features of the ancient gate:

> The truth is that the impact of the modern materials of the BG is dissonant with the perimeter wall and its contemporary materials of cement mortar and some concrete pieces do not really mirror the exact historical characteristics of the original gate. Therefore, I think the BG reflects a modern tinge on the façade of the perimeter wall, which results from its modern design and material that negate the traditional features of the Citadel's heritage. I mean the old language of its architecture. I see such treatments reduce the site's historical dimensions, and consequently its authenticity and outstanding values, which are all essential for the site to be a real cultural sign of Kurdistan.

Thus, aligning the modern with the Islamic historical is seen as an irrational architectural solution here, particularly in themes of conservation of built heritage, such as authenticity and other features that define and/or bestow traditional character on its Islamic context, which are regarded as deep-rooted in many cultural issues of history of the Citadel. Accordingly, the

TDE suggests eliminating the concept of modernity, including its sub-concepts as a design approach, construction material and architectural details when dealing with concepts of conservation of built heritage in general and Islamic heritage in particular, stating that introducing the latter into themes of conservation is an *architectural fault*. Such an approach implies combining the modern with the traditional Islamic, which may jeopardise the latter's historical values and contaminates the visual relationships between some of its traditional compositions and architectural details:

> Modernity is an architectural fault that should be banned when it comes to dealing with such archaeological structures in this heritage site. It could contaminate its historical values and spatial relationships. So, I believe that working on restoring the gate to its original status by eliminating what is modern will support its history and authenticity (see: Participant's Code: L5, Table 3).

The Ministry of Culture and the former Head of Erbil Citadel conservation, through a direct question on '*the role of the Proposal to support the cultural heritage of the site*', underpins the latter's authority to act as a genuine representative for the site and this is based on its obvious tracing for the tangible elements and details of the original gate, which may enable it to reincorporate notions of authenticity and other outstanding values within the new cultural language of the site. In fact, many of the contributions made by this series of interviews have come to agree and deepen some views revealed by the locals within the previous two tasks of data collection regarding the positive role of the Proposal through its physical properties. Some of them have confirmed this role through the functional role of the Proposal also and without material evidence of whether the latter will really evoke the same traditional functions of the ancient gate. Therefore, the research questioned this aspect with the former Head of Erbil Citadel conservation, asking '*whether the Proposal will re-present the same function of the ancient gate*', and searching for tangible evidence that may prove this functional role. However, the Head of the Citadel conservation confirmed that many of those ancient functions will not be retrieved. He attributed this to the fact that currently they are entombed functions and cannot be re-activated within the present cultural theatre of the site, but some of them will be retrieved just as a symbolic gesture to the rich past of the ancient gate. Yet, as spaces, most of these functions will be re-established according to the ancient dimensions of the ancient gate, but will be occupied with new recreational cultural functions, such as small galleries that display some local exhibits:

> However, the new PD is not expected to restore the portal to its exact traditional functions of the historical original gate. A modern functional change is expected. Though the outside façade and the interior design are completely echoing the original gate, the interior function of the PD will also be moderately altered so as to fit some modernistic cultural functions, such as [adding] a heritage museum. For instance, some of the historical functions are hard to make functional in the new PD due to the considerations that these functions nowadays are entombed and completely forgotten, and they are difficult to be reinstated.

Though the PD does not completely retrieve the similar functions of the ancient gate, the former Head of the Citadel conservation mentions that its cultural potential is aimed at contributing to boosting the cultural-tourist potential of the whole site, and particularly the Citadel is envisioned as representing the Capital Erbil in the cultural tourism globally. Therefore, he believes that more emphasis should be put on the material potential of the Proposal whereby a similar cultural feeling about the ancient gate's authenticity and importance can be retrieved among the local community. This may help to establish confidence in the revitalisation efforts among the local community as they are expected to perform a real role in the cultural-tourist shift of the site:

> Given the importance of sustaining the same traditional feeling regarding the original gate, the outside form, the traditional language of the façade and the historical expression of the materials that will be used to construct the PD will be largely identical to the original gate in a manner that can sustain its authenticity and OV regardless of some minor alterations within the interior functions. I see the impact of this is important actually and at least upon the locals who are expected to be real proponents for the tourist turn of the site through disseminating and sharing their cultural knowledge with the visitor about the cultural heritage of the Citadel, including its diverse cultural attractions (see: Participant's Code: L6, Table 3).

In response to '*how the can locals participate in such a role when they have left the site'*, the former Head of the Citadel conservation believes that the small sample of them, which the Master Plan suggests will inhabit the site after the revitalisation, may be able to achieve this role, but, based on his clarification, it is conditional on some "training courses".

This series of interviews with the site's authorities and local community, as professionals and architects, have revealed different views towards the political and cultural aspects of the Gate, while deepening some key themes that some of them have already been raised by the previous surveys and questionnaires. They have narrated some evidence regarding some of

these themes, which were still searching for proof within the interpretation of the participants of the survey and questionnaires, such as the functional aspect of the Proposal, for instance. Whereas the survey and questionnaires have shown that the latter is retrieving a similar copy of the original functions of the ancient gate, the site's authorities here confirmed that the Proposal will not retrieve those functions completely. Rather, it will re-display the same spaces, but with some functional modifications to them that include small local exhibits and other recreational artefacts spaces, replacing those archaic functions that are believed to be difficult to fit into the new cultural tourist frame of the site. With regard to the current Gate, the majority of the views of the local decision-makers, such as HCECR and the site's authorities, have rejected the existence of the Gate as it may result in diverse negative impacts on the site's cultural history and other essential themes of authenticity, visual and structural integrity, OUV and cultural and historical significance. Instead, they rely on the PD's material settings and outside configuration including the new functional modification to achieve this role. However, regardless of the level of acceptance of the political implications (which is uneven among the interviewed aboriginals), some local architects rejected its removal advocating a completely opposite argument here. The BG's existence on the site may demonstrate the actual reality of the latter in terms of showing its genuine history, including the new values that these implications may have added. Therefore, conservation of authenticity, cultural significance and other cultural values should be carefully tackled within the new political-cultural setting that the BG has imported to the site, which should be seen as an integral part of these themes.

These two contradictory visions make it necessary to involve the views of the international experts who are working on the site currently, which may help to ensure a neutral stopover about the transparency of the revitalisation decision of demolition of the BG.

Michael Brammah, an international key expert on the site and the chief designer of the revitalisation Master Plan, mentioned in a direct interview with the researcher in 2015 that 'the [BG] stands upon a fragile ground of credibility regarding its true representation of the site and its historical and cultural dimensions'. He also explained that what stiffens the issue of the BG is a kind of disagreement that exists between the revitalisation policy-makers, which reflects a kind of subjectivity towards this issue. A controversy over some administrative matters among them, mainly shared by the former Head of the HCECR from one side and other local decision-makers of the revitalisation from another side, has led to a

kind of conflict of interest at the expense of the objective and critical assessment of the revitalisation project which the issue of the Gate was part of. Making a neutral decision regarding the position of the latter at the site was not the main purpose for some of the HCECR's members, who often disagree with any findings or evidence that comes from the other side of the HCECR, regardless of to what extent it serves the site. The site's issues were not the main concern for them, particularly the former Head of the HCECR. For instance, the elementary preparations regarding the decision to remove the current Gate and replace it with the new Proposal did not receive real consideration from them:

> A kind of disagreement among the local decision-makers of the site about some managerial points surrounding the revitalisation process in general has also reflected upon the issue of the gate…During a workshop in Erbil conducted on the Citadel, the previous Head of the HCECR has triggered different strange issues that seemed far from the core of the revitalisation about who was mixing up the papers of the site and still arguing in the interest of the BG [], indicating that it reflects some values for the Citadel, which subsequently led to a change in the members of the HCECR (see: Participant's Code: L7, Table 3).

As a result, based on these three sections of data collection (on-site survey, direct and semi-structured questionnaires and in-depth interviews), the public views (as locals from the place, indigenous inhabitants of the site and revitalisation policy-makers) towards the political and cultural implications of the decision of the BG's demolition can be categorised into three trajectories. Firstly, some believe in the existence of the political implications of the Gate and perceive them as negatively impacting the cultural features of the site, thus appealing for their removal, while some others do not see that. In this sense, the revitalisation decision to demolish the BG is a culturally motivated decision as the latter is considered to lessen authenticity, cultural significance, integrity and OUV of the Citadel, being a political sign completely detached from the site's history and other cultural values. Consequently, it creates a gap in the authentic historical and cultural chronology of the site, and thus its removal is requisite. Here, the revitalisation PD is considered to reinforce authenticity, cultural significance and OUV, being able to refill this gap and relink the historical-cultural chain of the gate, and therefore it should be fully constructed. Initially, the vision of the revitalisation policy-makers on the issue of the Gate, based on their contributions, can be placed within this trajectory, regardless of their actual adoption of the political implications of the Gate which still needs further investigation.

Secondly, some of those who believe in these implications still consider that they have been adopted by the revitalisation policy as a motive to remove the Gate from the site. Thus, the decision of demolition perhaps does not completely aim at purely cultural motives, but is politicised to serve some political motivations. Thirdly, some believe in these implications, and perceive them as positively impacting the cultural characteristics of the site, including authenticity, cultural significance and other historical and cultural values of its built context, and therefore they call for their preservation. In this sense, authenticity, cultural significance and OUV are progressive notions that should absorb and respond to the surrounding environmental changes over time. Consequently, if dialectically the insertion of the BG was politically motivated by the Iraqi former regime, now it has become an integrated part within the structure of the Citadel. It embodies a political period in its historical and cultural chronology, and therefore its removal from the Citadel would delink the cultural chain and create a gap in the representation of the realistic history and culture of the site, thus weakening its authenticity, cultural significance and OUV. These themes are also a reflection of the heritage intangibles including such historical events, and therefore, instead of supporting, the BG's removal might weaken them.

4.3. Discussion

Starting from where Brammah ended, a crucial point can be stated here regarding the issue of the gate: there is a kind of inner controversy amongst the present parties of the local policy-makers of the revitalisation regarding the situation of the BG as a competent or incompetent representative for the site. Evoking this point here is for two reasons. Firstly, the roots of the debate regarding the demolition step seem to be more than merely a local debate at the grassroots level of the site. This may grant a kind of controversy or legitimacy among the locals as one of the stimulating motives for the local criticism of the demolition, and specifically among the local professionals. The incompetency of the BG remodelling might come from its underestimation of the site's authenticity and cultural significance that ultimately affects the OUV of the whole site. However, perhaps what might be said about its potential is that it records a critical period of the modern history of the site, which if we argued that it involves those political implications, it may add to the cultural significance and the OV of the Citadel's cultural heritage. Nonetheless, some studies, such as Novacek et al.

(2008b), HCECR (2012a), (2012b), and ICOMOS (2014), report that the BG is repulsive and disconnected to the site, eroding authenticity, cultural significance and OUV of the site.

Yet, the locals who see the revitalisation decision to demolish the BG as built on political motives, and those that believe that the existence of the Gate complements the site's historical and cultural story, both boost its cultural significance and reason for not being demolished. According to Grimwade and B. (2000), and Thapa (2007), as the public views towards the inherited meanings and values of the patrimony may substantially endorse the formulation of decisions, they must be considered. However, the question here is whether most of the public views are objective or not. Freeman (1984), and Nicholas et al. (2009), demonstrate that subjectivity, especially among the local people of built heritage, is apparent particularly when it comes to managing their private interests within a legacy. However, quoting Laurajane's words, 'if we agree that most of the public opinions are subjective, are the opinions of the site experts any less subjective? '[35]

This inconsistency towards assessing the credibility of the BG indeed calls for a transparent procedure towards debating its representation for the site, and simultaneously invites the revitalisation's new PD to a similar procedure. Thence, it might lead to taking the new PD to higher levels of appreciation and placing it in the primacy of the policy of the revitalisation, but also it may turn the balance in favour of the BG.

The BG cannot simply be considered as a negative political symbol on the site, as it shows historical evidence, which records a specific political historical period from the site's chronology, and thus should be documented for the next generations. What might support this consideration is that some heritage treatise, such as Von and Bertilsson (1995), state that some historical elements of built heritage should also accept some inevitable changes that attest to the significant periods and events experienced by the site. In this sense, the debate about the qualifications of the BG in representing the site's authenticity, cultural significance and OUV can also be shifted from a strict discourse that does not believe in the changes that occur over time to built heritage into a more flexible dialogue that prioritises such alterations. In fact, this is what some of the local professionals call for, stating that it is not easy to enact a decision to demolish a piece of a site that records an exceptional historical period of an

[35] : Laurajane Smith, who is a Professor of Heritage Studies, refers to the importance of prioritising both the top-down and bottom-up views regarding the built heritage conservation processes, declared through a personal emailed communication focused on this issue of the decision of demolition of the BG in 2014.

unrepeatable political event within the built context of the site. Rather, the revitalisation policy should openly respond to that, and give more considerations to whether the current Gate can be involved within the future conservation plan of the site and in a progressive nature, a nature that flexibly and cautiously deals with the authenticity, OUV, cultural significance and other themes that are believed to be intrinsic for the cultural-tourist futuristic shift of the site.

This makes the decision to demolish the BG more contentious as it fluctuates between two controversies, the "true nature"/"original state" from one side, and the "progressive nature"/"developable state" from the other. In other words, the main purpose of conservation is to maintain or reveal the built heritage's true nature as a genuine integrity and authenticity of the site. 'Conservation has no meaning or purpose without a concept of the real, the original, the authentic' (Vinas, 2005, p. 66). Consequently, the most perfect state of revitalising the gate's authenticity, integrity and OUV 'is its original state' (Jokilehto, 1986) through sustaining a synthesis of its true cultural and historical values that were confirmed over history. However, citing professor Laurajane's contribution to the research in (2014), can we really assume that material culture has inherent value (in the form of authenticity)? Is it not sometimes assigned by people rather than inherent in the material? As a consequence, the concept of authenticity, integrity and OUV of the gate's true nature is progressive and developable, constructive and buildable to be self-sustained over time (Von and Bertilsson, 1995). This gives legitimacy for the subsequent inevitable changes that occur for the gate over time that should be involved in the futuristic conservation processes on the site. Therefore, the BG is probably worthy of being included in such a progressive plan.

More importantly, the historical evolution of the Citadel's built context is also progressive and follows an adaptable conservation process, particularly its current Ottoman cultural heritage, which documents different cultural layers since the Neo-Assyrian epoch until the Ottoman period. This progressive nature of the site, which is governed by Islamic norms, has firstly maintained the structural and functional integrity of its urban context over time. Secondly, it has retained a kind of symbolic configuration between the current built context and the Assyrian urban remnants at the urban level of the site, which have contributed to reinforcing its historic authenticity and some other cultural and historical values. Socially, the morphological urban fabric has also progressively responded to some social assets adaptively developed from some pre-Islamic traditions by the contribution of the current Islamic norms

of the site, and particularly the principle of social privacy, which has introduced new criteria to the urban context and boosted its cultural originality (see: Section: 3.2.2, Chapter 3). What enables that is the flexible Islamic thought, and the comprehensive material structure of the Islamic built heritage, which permits the perpetuation of some pre-Islamic traditions within its cultural structure, as long as they affirmatively contribute to the building and promotion of its norms. As such, the current urban, social and cultural norms provide a flexible holistic vision, which evolves constantly, enabling the progressive assimilation of what is feasible from the urban and sociocultural traditions of the pre-Islamic civilisations that ultimately facilitate their flexible embedment within the Islamic heritage of the built context of the Citadel (see: Section: 2.5, Chapter 2). In this sense, the current Gate should be involved in such a discourse.

Thus, to deeply analyse the revitalisation demolition decision based on this discourse, it is crucial to examine the level of authenticity, integrity, OUV and cultural significance in both the BG and the PD, while other historical and cultural aspects of both should also be implicitly involved. Achieving this requires referral to the original state of the original gate and its true nature as a reference in order to present some plain evidence that maintains the transparency of the assessment. Furthermore, notions of authenticity, integrity, OUV and cultural significance should be tested as highly contentious terms within the gate. Based on Mitchell (2008, p. 29), authenticity, integrity, OUV and cultural significance characterise 'the interplay of tangible and intangible values and the dynamic relationship between [heritage] and culture'.

However, examining the various components of these notions together would drive to 'partial loss' of these notions (Von and Bertilsson, 1995, p. 310). Therefore, their details will be tested separately from each other through some specific criteria that define these notions in the BG and the PD to be simply recognised and to ease a transparent test. The test may construct a firm base towards the final assessment of this decision and bring the local views of both the site's authorities and audience to the ground, performing as a cornerstone to soften the controversy point among them. Within this context, it might be worth noting mention here that some information (which is used as tools to accomplish the test) regarding the original gate, the BG and the PD are reused among these four notions (authenticity, integrity, OUV and cultural significance). This is according to the findings of 'Stovel' who recommends separating these notions from each other when it comes to testing them within

built heritage in order to achieve a precise assessment, as suggested in a paper submitted to the ICOMOS in 2007, critiquing the technique of combining these notions with each other as if they were one when they are not. Dealing with them as if they were one may lead to shortening the full information with regard to each notion; consequently, this affects the level of criticality of the test, which is what the study attempts to avoid in this test. Furthermore, Professor David Michelmore, UNESCO's key expert of heritage conservation and currently acting as a key expert on the revitalisation process, also suggests the researcher to follow such a procedure. More importantly, the Nomination Report of the Citadel to the WHL (2012) has traced a similar technique when referring to the existence of some of these four notions in the site based on one mutual historical-cultural dimension of the *Tell*. The latter has been referred to, and subtly paraphrased to clearly define and thus confirm the existence of authenticity, integrity and outstanding universal value of the site according to what it possesses of potential that is deemed to be a multidimensional aspect in the Report, and for which the site has been inscribed into the WHL in the UNESCO Doha Meeting (June 2014) (see: the Nomination Report of the Property to the WHL prepared by synthesis of global and local experts in 2012, pages "88-113", and for more information in this regard see the full Report comprised of 916 pages as well as the UNESCO Doha Report on the inscription of the site into the WHL, p. 189 and afterwards).

Finally, to deepen the investigation regarding these features, and to tackle it from different angles, it is necessary to firstly understand their significance and definitions in built heritage in general. According to Poria and Biran (2006), this facilitates restoring the gate's ruined parts to their original status more clearly. Secondly, the intrinsic dimensions and the conceptual frameworks about these notions (authenticity, integrity, OUV and cultural significance) need to be extracted in order to establish a knowledge base that enables critical testing. At the end, both designs, the BG and the PD, will have been 'verified in a comparative study' (ICOMOS, 2008b, p. 46), having tested these four notions within both of them through referring to their existence, including their sub-criteria, in the ancient gate firstly. This enables a concise investigation into to what extent the addition of the BG and/or the PD may 'hinder the possibility of later access to all evidence incorporated in the [ancient gate]' to these four notions, which is conditioned by UNESCO (2014) as part of the "Conservation Guidelines" that the current revitalisation should follow, and this is the task of the next Chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE:

Defining and Testing Authenticity, Integrity, OUV and Cultural Significance within the BG and the PD

5.1 Defining Authenticity

Authenticity, according to Little and Shackel (2014), implies ‘a deep truth [but] always risky when referring to heritage’ (p. 43). Authority control on deciding heritage policies sometimes leads to partial erasure of a rich history, making authenticity ‘suppressed or blurred by power relations’ (Ibid, p. 43). The creation of the site’s authorities has even led to a kind of misunderstanding of heritage authenticity and misidentification of its genuine historical dimensions, where the latter is habitually connected to some local settings that are not necessarily completely understood by some decision-makers of the site. This is one of the residues of the “power imbalances” that are frequently found within an undemocratic formulation of a heritage policy. It is for this reason, public views are required in order to attain neutrality and balance. However, Little and Shackel note that “nostalgia” and “sentimentality” accompanying these views also cause the definition of heritage authenticity to suffer from a “foggy judgement”. It is now acknowledged that interpretations of authenticity, according to Conran (2006), have recently started to be managed based on “oral understanding” of people also, which may lead to the creation of what Lowenthal calls 'dismay at massive change stakes' of the cultural origins of heritage authenticity (1998, p. 6). Accordingly, Alberts and Hazen (2010) write that ‘identifying and maintaining authenticity…at cultural heritage sites are challenging goals’ (p. 56). Authorities’ power, from one side, and the public’s sentimentality from the other leaves the definition and revelation of this concept open to loose interpretations, particularly when the built context of the site is a synthesis of different cultural layers that conceal a variety of influences beneath. As a solution for this, they suggest pursuing ‘individualized approaches’ to deal with this concept (Ibid, p. 56).

Stovel (2004) has responded to Albert and Hazen by defining authenticity as a ‘measure of the degree to which the value of a heritage property may be understood to be truthfully, genuinely and credibly, expressed by the attributes carrying the values’ (p. 3). These attributes are defined through the heritage’s tangibles and intangibles as: form and design, function, materials, norms and traditions, location and place setting, and feelings and spirit (ICOMOS, 1994, UNESCO, 2005b). In this, authenticity is also understood as a relative concept and determined through some particular attributes that together should be able to ‘express the nature of key recognised values’ (Annex 4: The Operational Guidelines).

Dushkina (1995) -ICOMOS Russia- in her paper for the Nara Meeting has clearly categorised these attributes into tangibles and intangibles of the heritage. She asserts that the 'bearers of authenticity are both the tangible (form, setting) and the intangible (function, tradition, spirit) values of the heritage property that [together] transferred authenticity to the public and thereby are relative and familiar to it' (p. 310). "Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites" in China's ICOMOS Charter (2004) put more emphasis on defining heritage authenticity through the site's historical events inscribed within its physical components as a historical truth grown over time until the present. In other words, the value of authenticity is associated with prominent symbols and events submerged in the heritage's physical setting that contribute to shaping the heritage expressions, which for Park (2014), are essential components in developing 'the concept of authenticity' as part of heritage attractions that participate in a continuous process of creating significations (p. 2). Prior to that, Staiff, et al. (2013) argued that it is important to differentiate between what is 'authentic' from what is 'inauthentic' when presenting the tourist attractions to the visitor, which enable pre-set protection of the concept of authenticity of the site (p. 181).

The new contribution, which stretches the latitude of the definition of authenticity once more to involve the subsequent material changes, is conditioned to be historically and deeply rooted in the site. It is set by the Operational Guidelines of the World Heritage Committee 'OG' followed by the National-Park-Service (2006a), which declares that: to be authentic, 'the property should meet the test of authenticity in…materials…handicraft and setting', thus confirming their originality. However, 'authenticity does not limit consideration to original form and structure but includes all subsequent modifications and additions over the course of time, which in themselves possess…historical values' (UNESCO, 1977, par. 9). Therefore, the basepoint to determine the authentic from the inauthentic, the original from the non-original, entails the recognition between what possesses historical value and what does not possess the same legacy. In this respect, authenticity of built heritage is mainly considered as either "historical-material authenticity" or "social-cultural authenticity". The former refers to diverse attributes, where the legacy sets them as 'materials and substance…location and setting' (Culler, 1990, p. 5), emphasising the material dimensions to represent authenticity. It states that the 'distinction between the authentic and the inauthentic' (Ibid, p. 5) parallels the historical and non-historical among the heritage physical components, which is substantial in making its conservation decisions. The latter "social-cultural authenticity" indicates another

series of features such as diverse ‘forms of intangible heritage, [and] spirit and feeling’ (para. 82 from the OG cited in ICOMOS, 2008b).

Zancheti et al. (2009) broaden the scope of the definition to involve three main dimensions, namely ‘material dimension…, constructive dimension [and] expressive dimension’ (p. 1666). The material dimension undoubtedly lies within the tangible features of a heritage property, while the constructive dimension combines both the tangible and the intangible, and finally the expressive dimension mainly refers to the intangible aspects. However, more emphasis is still being concentrated on the material dimensions to be balanced with the immaterial aspects of built heritage by UNESCO. ‘The tangible and physical aspect of authenticity is as important as social and intellectual dimensions; to such an extent that UNESCO often expresses doubts about those properties that have been mostly or completely reconstructed due to their lack of capability of material authenticity’ (Nezhad et al., 2015, p. 98). This in fact strongly suggests the latter “material authenticity” as an unparalleled representative for the “truth” of the histo-cultural values of built heritage.

At the end, the definition of authenticity is sequentially developed from the tangible to involve the intangible, and thence widened to encompass the historical changes that occurred upon the physical structure of built heritage over time. Hence, it can be concluded that the notion of authenticity should be set as the “qualifying condition” for built heritage, and it should be analysed and assessed through all the above tangible and intangible settings, and material and immaterial dimensions wherever it is essential ‘considering authenticity in connection with all [these] attributes’ (Stovel, 2007, p. 29). Such attributes will be utilised as “conditions of authenticity” that involve the gate’s material and setting (as tangible attributes) and the socio-cultural context of the site (as intangible attributes) to ensure a truthful assessment of “test of authenticity” for the BG and the new PD.

5.1.1 Test of Authenticity

The above synthesis of definitions gives emphasis to involving the original and subsequent components of the grand gate in the test of authenticity (adaptable and/or buildable process progressively), which is also endorsed by UNESCO Declaration for safeguarding tangible and intangible cultural heritage in Getty (2004). This controversy, to critically achieve the

test, concerns two points. Firstly, the authenticity test needs to be categorised into three main trajectories, for which Stovel (2003, 2004, and 2007), suggests the following:

- a) Authenticity as "qualifying conditions"
- b) Authenticity as a "non-renewable"
- c) Authenticity as a "composite" of various components

Secondly, the particular attributes of each trajectory of **a**, **b**, and **c**, which tacitly denote the material and immaterial settings of the grand gate, will be utilised to achieve the test. This permits the comparison of some palpable evidence between the BG and the PD which enables a transparent test, and the primacy between them to represent the site.

a) Authenticity as qualifying conditions: according to the Declaration of San Antonio ICOMOS (1996), these particular conditions are identified as: 'social value [and economics], use and function, [and] identity' (Subsection C. Parts i-v). Therefore, a successful test, which ensures an efficient representation of authenticity, should patronise and protect this pack of attributes. Thus, examining the extent that these attributes are achieved would be a key-factor to evaluate the extent of success in representing the gate.

i. *Identity:* refers to 'whether the local population identify themselves with the [gate], and whose identity the [gate] reflects' (Subsection C. Parts i-v). Firstly, the potential for the BG to symbolise the site through its huge wall, and to be part of its architectural identity, is endorsed by a slight proportion of the local stakeholders of the surrounding *Suq*. Its visual difference in form from the traditional wall is seen by them as granting it priority to come second after the "*Tell*" as a direct symbol to the site, which may contribute to its role in constructing the architectural identity of the latter (see: Section 4.2.2, p. 178). Yet, if arguably symbolism can contribute to constructing identities of built heritage, the former should emerge from the deep and genuine cultural history of the Citadel to be an integral part of its local culture for which the site is locally and globally recognised. However, the fact that the BG possesses a short "age" in the site may diminish its potential to achieve this aspect, as it contradicts the unique history of the Fortress that the Final Report on the Revitalisation (2009) indicates is part of its cultural identity. Secondly and more importantly, it has eliminated the multi-functional role of the ancient gate, which stood for a unique cultural practice for the latter within the Ottoman period of the site and afterwards (HCECR, 2012c).

Except for this slight endorsement, the Gate is largely indicated locally as an "artificial part" added to, but simultaneously detached from, the built heritage of the site. This is also referred to by some recent studies on the site that reject any unoriginal structure at the site, as it may lessen the 'authenticity of setting' (Brammah, 2009a, p. 90) of the traditional built heritage of the site, and as one 'homogeneity [of] architectural typology' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 17). Moreover, the same study affirms that there is local confirmation of the weak role of the current gate in symbolising the site's identity, whilst the original gate had represented for the site "high symbolic value", leading to demands to reconstruct that gate:

> Given the high symbolic value of the old Grand Gate and its role for the whole Citadel town (which is said to be kind of 'headless' without its previous gate), stakeholders and civil society have demanded its reconstruction after demolition of the present construction (HCECR, 2012c, p. 51).

In this sense, the BG is regarded as a sign that seems unfamiliar with the architectural language of the Citadel, which reflects another place's identity, and thus its removal may boost 'the Citadel's [original] identity' (Brammah, 2009c, p. 26) to bring back the unique pattern of traditional Islamic architecture. Repercussions of this have left different cultural impacts on the local community of the site, as aboriginals and non-aboriginals and as professionals and non-professionals, who have shown their dissatisfaction regarding the architectural, historical and cultural correlation between the Gate and the site, which may exacerbate some sociocultural repercussions against the identity of the site. The Gate created a kind of cultural detachment between them and the new cultural properties due to what the Gate has brought to the site in its new design and material construction, which according to Brammah (2009a), challenges both the 'authenticity of design [and] authenticity of materials' of the urban context of the site, which ultimately impact the Citadel's urban identity (p. 90).

There is plenty of evidence for this argument, for example, some of the local stakeholders have shown that it was 'forcibly added to the site' (see: Section 4.2.2, p. 174-175), while many of the local professionals notice that the current gate imports to the site new "material properties" through its façade (form and/or design) that impose a new 'architectural language' on the traditional character of its urban fabric. Also, it brings new "cultural properties" detached from history and culture of the site (see: Section 4.2.3, p. 183), making both material and cultural properties made unfamiliar to the site and for many among the local community. Additionally, some aboriginal professionals of Erbil affirm that it displays a

completely different pattern of architecture (see: Figure 5.1), which makes it ‘unrelated to the Citadel’, diminishing its potentiality ‘to be a real cultural sign of Kurdistan’, and thus reducing its role in supporting the site identity (see: Section 4.2.3, p. 207). The latter is characterised by a unique homogeneity of an authentic built heritage, attributed to its original ‘materials and techniques as well as architectural typology and style’ (HCECR, 2012c, p. 17). What makes it evoke Babylon heritage is the regression of the height of its linear wall, which is sectioned into mostly symmetrical semi-attached pieces that contain ‘small narrow arched windows mainly opened in the upper parts of [each piece]’ (Ibid, p. 52), and apparently this emulates the traditional compositional language of Babylon. The emphasis on the abstract and symmetrical design of the central piece that ‘accommodates the tall arched gateway’, which has been given more height to be ‘taller’ than the rest of the wall to emphasise its dominance on the gate and the entire perimeter wall (Ibid, p. 52), gives a similar feeling of Ishtar Gate of Babylon. This in fact completely contradicts the local compositional language of the original gate, including its spatial relationship with the perimeter wall, reflecting a defensible and symbolic look within the wall. Whilst it was carefully tailored with its residential units in terms of harmonising their architectural details, as windows and other elements, the location of the ancient gate was noticeably under the skyline of the perimeter wall in order to facilitate daily circulation between the site and the lower area “*Suq*”.

This, in fact, challenged its credibility and its acceptance locally, as it failed to show an authentic form originating from the evolving urban traditions of the Citadel’s architecture, where the latter has involved different periods of urban norms through which its current urban context developed to attest its ‘authenticity of settings’ (Brammah, 2009b). For a sound perpetuation of the latter, the BG should have proved that its structure was an integral part of these traditions, and to achieve this, its design should prove an authentic setting of 'architectural design, structure, materials and details' that embody these traditions (HCECR, 2012c, p. 92). This firstly may enhance its architectural identity on the site as part of the urban identity of the built context, and be familiar to the local community of the site. Yet, for the aboriginals, the fact that it produces a completely different architectural setting from the site has jeopardised the traditional identity of the perimeter wall, which therefore could not establish an actual level of intimacy with them to be ‘rhythmic’ and ‘consistent with their stockpile of memories’ about the original gate (see: Section 4.2.4, p. 207). This coincides with what Novacek et al. (2008) reveal, that there is a gap between the Citadel’s current

Ottoman architectural character and the current gate, as a modern abstract architectural style (HCECR, 2012c), to be read locally as ‘a kind of sculpting’, which foreshadows a weak level of intimacy with the inhabitants (see: Section 4.2.4, p. 201).



Figure 5.1: Form-based similarity between the BG (on the right) and *Ishtar* Gate of Babylon heritage site (on the left); site archival data

Conversely, what makes the PD familiar to them is its conformity with the same original masses and spaces as form and details and in this way it corresponds to the architectural language of the perimeter wall, and thus the same architectural identity of the site. Its “material copy” of the ancient gate as “form and design”, for instance, has received wide acceptance among the stakeholders of the traditional *Suq* surrounding the site for its potential for retrieving ‘the real past’ of the site, thus helping the local community to evoke and ‘sense’ different cultural values displaced by the removal of the original gate (see: Section 4.2.2, p. 173). This may enable the re-creation of a state of intimacy, not achieved by the current gate, between the locals and the ancient gate once more through the physical copy of the Proposal. In particular, retrieval of the cultural assets of the ancient gate through the potential of its physical features has also received a certain level of acceptance among the local professionals of Erbil, based on what the Proposal provides as a corresponding ‘architectural form of the ancient gate’ (see: Section 4.2.3, p. 184-185). The assessment of the local community here on both of these designs, the BG and the PD, is apparently overwhelmed by a state of subjectivity, as stated by the OG (para. 82), and should be taken into consideration as a complementary condition for this criteria and associated with what is termed “social-cultural authenticity” (ICOMOS, 2008b). The latter insists on ‘the community whose functions and value judgements are part of the traditional continuity of the [site]’ (Ibid, p. 43). More importantly, the Proposal is planned to revive the same traditional feeling regarding the

original gate locally that confirms the validity of what it displays as a 'formalist homogeneity' with the gate (see: Section 4.2.4, p. 199).

ii. *Use and function:* refers to 'the traditional patterns of use that have characterised the site' (ICOMOS, 1996, Subsection C. Parts i-v). Locally, what the BG provides to the site as "a main entrance" validates its complementary functional role to the Citadel while its "physical existence" on the site complements the built context of the perimeter wall as a material sequel (Novacek et al., 2008; SOITM, 2013). However, to assess to what extent the BG contributes to an authentic use and function for the Citadel's urban context, this may require comparing its contribution to the original function of the ancient gate and then seeing to what extent the latter is perpetuated in the former. Based on the HCECR (2012a), before its demolition, the original gate presented unique traditional patterns of functions of full spaces and uses. Its synthesis of traditional functions, such as courtyard, formal governmental offices, jail, guest spaces, commercial shops, a clinic and horse stables characterised its authentic status within the site and its singularity within the perimeter wall (HCECR, 2012b; Progetti, 2012). According to HCECR (2012b), its unique and very traditional multi-functional structure has therefore granted it the authority to express its significance perpetually, as a norm proves authenticity set by Stovel (2007). Authenticity through this criterion is essentially attributed to the concept of how to maintain the original function (Von and Bertilsson, 1995). When a heritage component sustains an original function, it is legitimate and can be deemed authentic.

Therefore, though it retains the same function as a main entrance of the site, the BG reduces those sub-functions and spaces of the original gate to merely a segmented linear barrier erected as a mass-production wall without those uses. Some site visits in 2015 as a Senior Architect with the HCECR along with that which has been demonstrated by many studies on the site, such as Novacek et al (2008), SOITM (2013), HCECR (2012c), Al-Yaqoobi et al. (2012) and Brammah (2009a) and (2009b), show that the current gate has eliminated those original functions and spaces and has left them as empty areas, visually isolated from the lower area surrounding the site by the linear wall of the BG. As a result, the authentic traditional pattern of use that has characterised the ancient gate has been replaced by a new pattern, which only maintained the pattern of its gateway as an entrance to the site. According to the local community, this led to a huge difficulty, for instance, to the inference of those 'functions' of the old gate and through 'the exterior language' of the current gate due to the

abstract wall of '2D linear composition' of the latter (see: Section 4.2.4, p. 201). As such, the reference to the traditional architectural pattern that both the perimeter wall and the original gate share over history becomes weak, and the new construction material properties of the BG have increased this weakness (HCECR, 2012a, 2012c). Comparing that to the PD, based on the Reinstatement of the Grand Gate (2012), the latter attempts to mirror the exact traditional pattern and uses of the original gate, which was established as a pre-set aim for the revitalisation (see: Figure 5.2). In addition to its material copy of the original gate, the site's authorities also noted that the Proposal attempts to re-produce a functional copy of those traditional functions of the ancient gate, except for some 'entombed' functions that seem difficult re-activate within the current sociocultural properties that govern the urban fabric of the city nowadays (see: Section 4.2.3, p. 184). In fact, some 2D schemes detailed by the Master Plan of the revitalisation of the area surrounding the gate may bring evidence of this through what they suggest of some local cultural exhibits that display some local craftworks as an extension of the local culture of the place. Whilst this may lessen the opportunity for the PD to fully meet the criterion, it is still clearly better than the BG in this regard. Yet, what is likely to be questioned is the validity of restoring authenticity of a completely demolished gate through the reconstruction of a new physical and functional version of that portal, which will be discussed more subsequently (see: Section 6.1).

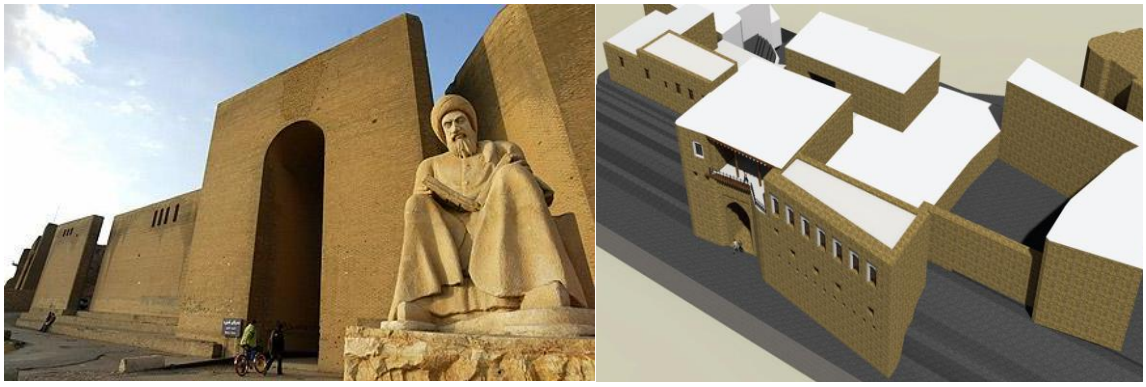


Figure 5.2: (right): The revitalisation new PD mirrors the exact spaces of the original gate (HCECR, 2012a); (left): the segmented linear barrier of the BG is erected as a mass-production wall in the site; site archival data

iii. *Social value and economics:* refers to 'matters of present day concerns [] being largely concerned with the impact and control of [cultural attractions]' (Rowny, 2004, p. 133-134). In respect to the social value, the purpose behind the insertion of the BG within the built context of the perimeter wall was not about improving the cultural attraction of the site,

rather it was a structural solution for some concerns about a possible soil breakdown in the Mound-slope (HCECR, 2012c). Therefore, matters of any positive or negative impacts from this purpose on the social value and economic returns of the site are not really an essential theme behind the construction of the gate. Based on what the gate presents as modern physical characteristics, contradicting the traditional features of the built context of the perimeter wall, it is largely regarded as unable to maintain any social value for the site and particularly for the majority of the local community of the place. In addition to reducing the cultural attractions of the Ottoman Islamic pattern of the site (which may nourish the tourist purpose of the revitalisation) (Brammah, 2009b), the gate did not tangibly create some positive impressions that can trigger or increase a meaningful correlation with the local community. As part of the social value of the locals, the Citadel's built heritage, including its ancient gate, possesses a 'strong' image in the 'memory' of the local community (HCECR, 2012c, p. 113), to be regarded by some stakeholders, for instance, as an integral part of the local 'history and culture' of the place, while the current gate negatively impacts these characteristics (see: Section 4.2.2, p. 174). Moreover, with regard to its spatial belonging with the site, the BG's insertion into the perimeter wall is largely seen locally as an 'artificial part' that weakens the traditional pattern of the Citadel's urban heritage (see: Section 4.2.3, p. 183). Therefore, it is regarded by the site' authorities as less impacting on the local community as being unable to trigger their memories about the original gate, which is essential in order to perpetuate a similar local "feeling" about the gate, and may indicate its fragile potential in supporting heritage attractions of the site in the future.

In return, the PD's identical design of the ancient gate is regarded as re-displaying similar architectural properties that parallel the traditionalism of the original gate, as spaces and construction materials (Brammah, 2009b), which may help to evoke memories of the local community about the gate, and therefore enhance the meaningful nexus of the Proposal with them. Secondly, if they are offered a real opportunity to participate in disseminating cultural knowledge about the site, it could help to increase the potential of the cultural attractions of the site, particularly if the visitor aims to explore the genuine history and authentic culture of the site, which was in a direct interaction with the local community (Doha ICOMOS, 2014). This ultimately may increase site visits, and thus its economic returns, which is a strategy endorsed by the UNESCO Guidelines on the site revitalisation (2014), which perceives engagement of the locals as a "key principle" towards a realistic 'assessment' of the entire

revitalisation plan, and achievement of this criterion by the PD is part of it (p.18). Thus, it makes the findings regarding their contributions on the social value and economics that the Proposal may provide to the site as something feasible, particularly if there is a specific social elite among them who will be supported by 'training courses' by the site's authorities (see: Section 4.2.4, p. 209).

However, a Vision for the Future of the Citadel conducted in (2009) by the revitalisation policy-makers has revealed a possible contradiction as it reported that the elite should be predominantly relied on for supporting the revitalisation "financially", which then meant 'foreign delegates' would be in a similar position regarding the site as the aboriginals who inhabit it (p.7) (see: Chapter 3, p.139). In this sense, replacing the aboriginals with those foreign delegates would diminish reactivating a similar sentimental impact between the site and the aboriginals, which may impact the social value of the Proposal among the locals, and thus its potential as part of the cultural attractions of the whole site. Consequently, this may influence its economic returns, and thus, even slightly, may impede the complete realisation of the criterion. Based on the Report of Nomination of the Property to the WHL (2012, p. 73), one of the robust traditions that may substantially boost the site's cultural attractions, and thus its tourist shift, is the strong sentimental link between the site and its inhabitants, which originated through different local social conventions. Their replacement with foreign delegates would jeopardise this link. However, this weakness should not be counted as the potential of the PD but rather as the strategic tools to achieve the whole goal of the revitalisation. Retrieval of the traditional spirit of the ancient gate, and reconnecting the audience with it based on a form-based similarity between the Proposal and that gate is perhaps still controversial. In particular, the construction of the original gate, according to HCECR (2012c), witnesses its authenticity and has been made over different continuous periods since 1743 until its demolition by the renovation in 1979, where each period had added new value to its structure progressively. Hence, restoring a similar traditional spirit of that gate by the new material copy of the Proposal seems challenging.

b) Authenticity as a "non-renewable": according to the Declaration of San Antonio (1996), it refers to a built heritage "context and materials" in terms of controversy of perpetuation of their original properties. Examining the BG through this characteristic reveals that the context and materials of the original gate have been totally displaced by the BG and replaced by a completely new version. In terms of material, *Description of Property* phase

within the Nomination Report to the WHL (2012) notes that the latter displays 'a concrete core faced in brick, featuring a modern abstract monumental style' (p. 52) that completely negates the original style of the ancient gate. In terms of context, the BG's architecture 'is composed of a series of disconnected sections of wall, interrupted by vertical breaches' (Ibid, p. 52), which also contradicts the original urban pattern of the traditional built context of the Fortress. Based on the Property's Nomination Report, what the BG displays of modern architectural language has completely denied one of the intrinsic aspects that the Citadel has possessed over history, which is the high sense of protection reflected by its Tell and complements by its Grand Gate. Conversely, the current gate gives an impression of an easy-accessibility and penetration of the site by intruders:

> The abstract approach in its design is in contradiction to the spirit of the place. Its architecture gives an impression of easy 'permeability' of the access to the Citadel, against the sense of protection that the site inspired in the past (HCECR, 2012c, p. 52).

In fact, this may correspond to what the site's authorities have mentioned regarding the reasons of the decision to remove the gate, as one of them is its modern style that contradicts and devalues the traditional spirit of the Citadel's architectural character. For instance, what the current gate contributes of "modernity" to the Citadel's traditional architecture is deemed an 'architectural fault' by the site's authorities, which should be 'banned' when it comes to conservation of such sensitive heritage issues (see: Section 4.2.4, p. 207). A similar impression regarding its impact on the perimeter wall's architecture has also been revealed by the local community who state that its modern settings left a negative 'visual impact', which also 'reduces' the value of the deep history of the site (see: Section 4.2.2, p. 173). Thus, the BG's modern materials are firstly unable to show real historical dimensions "as an inherent part of the [site]" that perhaps convey a "deep spiritual message that sustains [it]" (ICOMOS, 1996). In addition, it is apart from the characteristics of the original material and design, handicraft and setting identified by the National Park Service (2006a) regarding this aspect, and thus it may be said to misrepresent the site.

Also in relation to this matter, the Declaration of ICOMOS on the Reconstruction of Monuments Destroyed by War (1982) urges preserving and perpetuating any "inevitable changes" that urban and architectural heritage may suffer in the aftermath of wars and their political repercussions. Such changes are therefore recommended to be well-considered in

any efforts of conservation, which should be tackled as an integral part of the cultural story of the built context of the site as an urban heritage or as an individual architectural mass or monument. Taking into consideration those local views that embed in the construction of the BG some political implications, the latter might be considered as a kind of inevitable historical impact resulting from a determined political conflict that may add to the context and materials of the site, endorsing respecting such new changes to the Citadel's heritage. In this sense, the BG is still able to maintain its position as a preordained impact on the site that may document this period, which may perform as a new political-cultural dimension that boosts the cultural attraction of the whole site. As such, its removal may reiterate a similar mistake of the renovation decision which removed the ancient gate from the site, creating a new cultural gap in the political-cultural history of the site.

According to Brammah (2009a) and HCECR (2012c), the removal of the ancient gate has led to erasing many historical events that that gate has documented for the current and next generations about the cultural history of the site, and perhaps, one of them is the siege of the Mongols at the site (see: Figure 4.11 *left*). Similarly, removal of the current gate may drive to a similar impact of eliminating new significations of a political event belonging to the contemporary history of the current gate, which currently does not really show a substantial value, and may acquire its value over time to become part of the future tourist attractions of the site, which is the ultimate goal for the revitalisation scheme. Such signification may place the BG as a tool for 'creating, recreating and promoting [new] stories and images of the past rather than just attempting to deliver the [same] stories of the past' associated with the deep history of the Citadel (Park, 2014, p. 2). As such, the BG should be seen as part of the cultural story of the site, and thus its physical and cultural existence should continue. This may therefore necessitate understanding 'the concept of authenticity' in a new vision, which perceives the latter as 'neither static nor fixed', but also progressive and adaptable (Ibid, p. 2). In this sense, besides being a limitation protecting the site from superficial additions, "authenticity" should be seen as a potential towards assimilating such new events, and consequently significations, that keep the site's tourist attractions open to expansion, and thus influential in meeting tourists' expectations.

Being part of the Citadel's political history, some local voices also resist removing it from the current cultural theatre of the site, as it is one of the most important 'symbols' of the site, and

its continuity may grant its authenticity (see: Section 4.2.4, p. 203). More importantly, the Implementation Action Plan of the revitalisation of the site (2009) suggests that maintaining 'the authenticity of design' of the gate requires preserving its 'original design and the changes that have been made through time' (p. 34). This simply implies that the BG structure, as a material and immaterial signification should be part of this condition. Although the initial steps of the gate's revitalisation foreshadow that the main segment of the BG, which involves the gateway, is currently under demolition and replacement with the main part of the PD. In return, the BG did not put forward such considerations during the renovation efforts of the ancient gate. The latter was one of the main individual masses of the site that faced some 'deliberate demolitions [as] consequences of political events' that have jeopardised the historical value of the Citadel's urban heritage significantly, and particularly the length of time they have been at the site is relatively short compared to its deep history (HCECR, 2012c, p. 69). Therefore, rebuilding them according to their ancient assets may serve the overall "authenticity of design" of the whole site, and at least from this perspective.

According to Staiff, et al. (2013), deciding for the future existence of the BG at the site should come through a critical reading of its historical value to determine it as 'authentic' or 'inauthentic' with the built heritage of the Citadel. As an authentic value, the BG may add to the future attractions of the site that may 'enhance the tourist experience', but it is important that its current visual-cultural position at the site is not 'perceived as intrusion threatening the authenticity of the site' (p. 181). If the gate proved this dualism, its physical structure, as form and materials, may thus have the potential for creating consistency with the urban context of the perimeter wall, keeping it in line with the urban language of the Citadel's legacy, 'harmonising the old with the new'. More importantly, it should be able to demonstrate 'materials sympathetic' to the ancient built environment of the site (Ibid, p. 181). Nevertheless, some Asian sites have stated this approach is not viable for testing authenticity and attempting to preserve similar components of the heritage sites, owing to non-recognition of the legitimate existence of these modern components within a heritage built in ancient times. Yet, the fact that the BG has been added to the site through an imperative political intervention keeps its existence legitimate, but also controversial until it can make a final decision that clearly states that its insertion at the site is a result of inevitable political aftermaths.

As part of the revitalisation aim, one of the key purposes behind the construction of the PD is 'retrieving the form and aspect of the [gate] before the mid-20th century modifications' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 91). This purpose represents a substantial condition for the ICOMOS to approve the Proposal, which should be 'complian[t] with the Riga Charter on Authenticity and Historical Reconstruction', and which 'the Proposal approved' (Ibid, p. 91). However, despite it tracking the same context of the original gate in terms of the similar traditional language, approval for restoring the same original materials through remanufacturing them is still controversial, as it lacks the deep historical dimension of materials. Section Four of the Declaration of San Antonio (1996) sets the historical dimension of "materials" as a main way to express heritage authenticity. It states that authenticity is strongly linked and presented through the heritage's 'tangible elements [materials] that must be carefully identified, evaluated and protected'. The PD imitates the originality of materials rather than reinstating exactly the same materials, which are currently considered as missing. However, the same (Section Four) again comes to patronise this imitation of the PD, considering it to reflect similar historical expressions. Authenticity, through this same ancient spirit, establishes 'a deep spiritual message that sustains [the gate], linking it to the ancestral past [] as an inherent part of the cultural heritage' of the site (Section Four). Thus, the search here is perhaps for evoking history rather than retrieving history. It is about feelings and expressions more than re-effectuating the historical fact of the exact removed construction material. This again may confirm what the research demonstrated earlier that sometimes material heritage cannot confirm inherent value, and cannot give authenticity by itself and without the contributions of feelings and sentiments of people (see: Section: 4.3: Discussion).

c) *Authenticity as a "composite" of various components*: authenticity should not be tested 'as if it were an absolute concept' as it entails interrelated issues that necessitate treating it "as a composite" of various components (UNESCO, 1983), necessitating detecting the 'why', 'where' and 'when' of each specific feature of the above qualifying conditions (i, ii, iii & c) of a particular heritage component (Stovel, 2007), which were considered to be authentic within the deep history of the site. In addition to what the test of the previous criteria has shown, these three questions (why, where and when) in the case of the BG seem powerless questions, because they involve deep history as a prerequisite, whereas the 'present modern entrance' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 52) is unable to achieve this condition owing to its young age of less than four decades (HCECR, 2012a). In addition, its modern setting is

confined to a recent period of the site's modern history, which makes the gate unable to parallel the traditionalism and spirit of 'the large majority of historic building in the Citadel', where their very traditional constructional properties are possibly a witness of this (HCECR, 2012c, p. 52). Equally important is the achievement of some of these features, necessitating assessment of the local community of the site, such as the criterion of identity. Consequently, with regard to the BG, despite its slight acceptance by some young stakeholders of the surrounding *Suq* (see: Section 4.2.2, p. 178), the majority of the local community has referred to its lack of history at the site (see: Section 4.2.3, p. 184-5). Reference to this aspect by some reliable studies on the site has been made as a comparison to the deep and rich history of the ancient gate, which was about three centuries old (from earlier than 1743 until 1979) (HCECR, 2012a, 2012c; SOITM, 2013).

Moreover, as a composite of various components, it also necessitates respecting all cultural periods of the site, which 'requires that [the BG must consider] the cultural contexts [of the Citadel] to which it belongs' (Nara Document on Authenticity, Article 11). The Citadel noticeably comprises different cultural contexts. Architecturally, its context started from the Neo-Assyrian era (Brammah, 2009a) until after the 'Post-Ottoman period (1918-1960)' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 42), involving different architectural patterns in-between. Its current predominant Post-Ottoman Islamic architectural pattern, for instance, holds many layers beneath, as architecture and culture, mainly showing 'early-Ottoman period (1750-1880) [and] late-Ottoman period (1880-1918)' (Ibid, p. 42), where the structure of the ancient gate had documented some of that, and thus is part of it. For instance, its traditional functions have been formed by the contribution of the cultural and architectural remnants of the previous civilisations since the Neo-Assyrian era until the early-Ottoman period, making the ancient gate a real part of it even in terms of time dimension and regardless of whether it was still showing some of that physically before its demolition in 1979 (see: Section: 3.2.2.2, Chapter 3). Socially, this context has also witnessed a spectrum of various ethnicities and religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islamic) that are all documented in the local traditions of the site previously and which emerged within some of its traditional spaces, such as in the functions that the ancient gate performed (SOITM, 2013). Horses' stables and jails, for instance, which were part of its functional programme, are inherited from those traditions and dissolved in the subsequent Islamic ones. To maintain the rich cultural context of the site, the BG's structure should have involved the main architectural pattern of the site (post-Ottoman) in addition to

consolidating a thorough image of different local traditions that accompanied the old gate. Yet, the superficial addition of the BG at the site with its completely different settings of a ‘modern abstract monumental style’ has ignored that, making it disconnected from the built context of the Citadel (HCECR, 2012a, ICOMOS, 2014).

However, in terms of reinstating the deep history in itself, the fact that the PD is no more than a proposal and has not been completely constructed on the ground may make the achievement of this criterion incomplete, and this is owing to two main reasons. Firstly, as a material reinstatement, the Proposal has been put forward recently in (2012) and although it is intended to be completed in the near future (HCECR, 2012a), it has to go through two stages. In this sense, if the BG is aged less than a few decades, the PD is still in its early birth stages, and thus cannot match the criterion in terms of retrieving the exact spiritual dimension of history. Yet, the current strategy of the revitalisation aims at re-displaying an identical material copy of the construction material of any reconstruction works, where the primacy is given to the PD in this respect. Therefore, reinstating the same material properties in terms of their external appearance as old age and eroded surfaces in order to give them an impression of obsolescence perhaps is important for the retrieval of an authentic expression of the same material that the ancient gate was built from. This is what the Proposal endeavours to prove. ‘Brick masonry with mud mortar, sometimes gauged with lime or gypsum’ are largely used here to achieve this purpose, which perhaps signposts ‘the continuation of this tradition’ (HCECR, 2012c, p. 44). Yet, this is an immaterial reinstatement, since the PD is still merely a proposal, and the accentuation of history as actual spiritual values of the cultural properties through its material properties as a real expression of the original gate rather than merely an impression upon the visitor is perhaps imprecise. If accentuation of the value of history within criterion “b” is mainly through “evoking” history rather than “reinstating” the history of the original material of the ancient gate, criterion “c” broadens the issue to involve the complete cultural significations about the material and immaterial history of the gate. This may demand retrieval of more intangible cultural facts, as “evoking” the history of the ancient gate through its material properties leaves the investigation incomplete. It may also explain why achieving history in criterion (b) does not necessarily result in achieving criterion (c), as "why", "when" and "where" of the latter calls for more qualifying conditions, and thus a realistic retrieval of more cultural properties. Finally, Table 5.1 summarises the results of this test.

Test of Authenticity		The BG	The PD
Criterion a *"authenticity as qualifying conditions"*	**'i'** identity	Not achieved	Achieved
	'ii' use and function	Not achieved	Achieved
	'iii' social value and economics	Not achieved	Mostly achieved
Criterion b *authenticity as a "non-renewable"*		Partly achieved	Achieved
Criterion c *authenticity as a "composite" of various composite*		Slightly achieved	Partly achieved

Table 5.1: Level of achievement of the criteria of authenticity between the BG & the PD

5.2 Defining Integrity

Integrity is defined by the Operational Guidelines 'OG' of UNESCO (2005) as a 'measure of the wholeness and intactness of [a heritage property] and its attributes' (par. 88), where the verification of integrity is conditioned to assess 'the extent to which the property: a) includes all elements necessary to express its OUV; b) is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which conveys the property's significance; c) suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect'. The Burra Charter (1999) highlights the importance of heritage integrity through the emphasis on two basic factors. Firstly, there is a need to maintain heritage physical components and architectural patterns. Secondly, the physical criteria of heritage materials need to be stressed through highlighting the intangibles of the place's setting and combinations. This ultimately promotes the site's continuity over time. Based on this, Stovel (2007) categorises integrity of a heritage property into three aspects: functional, structural and visual integrity. Functional integrity, as (Jokilehto, 2006a) argues, presents an indication as evidence to understand the meaning of the built heritage element. The structural integrity determines the present truth in a heritage property, i.e. 'the elements that survive in today's historical condition from the evolving functions of the past' (p. 2-3). The visual integrity is premised on the visual unity and harmony among the traditional vocabularies of built heritage where Jokilehto points out that it rests on its visual relationship with the site as well as the whole place (ICOMOS, 2008b, p. 44). The National Park Service (2006) defines integrity as a notion that should not be

‘weakened by the intrusion of discordant…element[s] or building[s] that are unrelated to the significance and detract from the visual unity of the place’. Therefore, it is the consequence of actual processes on that heritage element that compose its genuine physical properties (Jokilehto, 2006b).

Andrus and Shrimpton (2002) define integrity as the capability of a heritage property to sustain its significance perpetually. Integrity is sustained through filtering the heritage property from the by-time impurities that distort the genuine physical structure of heritage. The OG stresses the physical attributes of built heritage in defining integrity through linking it more strongly with ‘the history to which it bears witness and from the setting in which it occurs. The moving of all or part of a [structure] cannot be allowed except where it is justified by…paramount importance’ (par. 7). Venice Charter puts dual emphasis on these physical attributes by stating: to critically consider integrity, preserving heritage property should include heritage material “setting” (par.6). In other words, ‘wherever the [physical] traditional setting exists…, no new construction, demolition or modification, which would alter the relation of mass…, must be allowed’. Likewise, the (Annex 4) of the OG shows the notion of integrity that it is also more associated with the material dimensions and adheres to the physical structures of built heritage, though its definition often starts from the ‘intangible to include very tangible’ of built heritage. In fact, this was also the case with authenticity, which sometimes reflects a state of vagueness in terms of how to certify assessment patently (Stovel, 2003). Resolving this vagueness, Stovel (2007) enlarges the demarcation of integrity when affirming that the core idea of integrity of a heritage property is ‘to fully tell the story of why the site is outstanding’ (p. 24). It is recommended that the latter definition of integrity should be activated as a reference by the decision-makers to secure the site’s significance.

Stovel (2007) suggests involving all of the above attributes in acknowledging integrity in a built heritage component, and this is what the study will attempt to do. Concurrently, Jokilehto mentions that ‘”integrity” can be identified in the mutual relationship of the elements or attributes and the whole of which they are part’ (ICOMOS, 2008b, p. 44). Therefore, the cogent methodology in the test of integrity here is perhaps through tracing the above overlapped and segmented definitions of integrity in each one of them in order to achieve a precise analysis. The verification of integrity will be based on the potentials of the BG in displaying evidence authenticating the diverse attributes that are mentioned in the

above definitions. In other words, the BG should be able to define integrity from the material towards the immaterial dimensions of the site.

5.2.1 Test of Integrity

According to the above definitions of integrity, restoring the "original state" of the grand gate entails scrutinising the recent additions and seeking to detect their level of attachment with the gate's historical and cultural values in order to maintain its integrity. This rests on deeply examining the criteria of integrity in the BG but also with reference to the revitalisation's new PD in order to display obvious evidence steering towards a transparent test. Similar to the test of authenticity, to achieve a critical test, integrity, according to Stovel (2003, 2004, and 2007), will also be firstly categorised into three trajectories, which are:

- a) Integrity as "qualifying conditions"
- b) Integrity as a "wholeness and intactness"
- C) Integrity as an "authentic material and spatial evidence"

Secondly, the particular attributes of each trajectory of **a**, **b**, and **c**, which implicitly include the above attributes identified by the different definitions of integrity, will be utilised to test the extent of integrity that the BG can offer to the site. Such a methodology enables a transparent test of both the BG and the PD, thus assessing the primacy between them to represent the site.

a) *Integrity as qualifying conditions*: based on the Declaration of San Antonio ICOMOS (1996), these conditions are identified as: reflection of the true value, [material and completeness], [and] context' (Subsection C. Parts i-v). To ensure a genuine representation of integrity, this array of attributes should be accurately pursued. Otherwise, their feeble manifestation would undoubtedly result in apparent loss of the gate's integrity. The extent that these three attributes are demonstrated within the BG is fundamental to assess its potency in representing the original gate and thus will be examined.

i. *Reflection of the true value*: refers to 'whether the resource remains in the condition of its creation and reflects all its significant history' (ICOMOS, 1996: Subsection C. Parts i-v). As a result of its decision to totally demolish the original gate, the renovation decision to construct the BG has condoned this aspect, which has led to the removal of the potential of

the significant history that the ancient gate has possessed since the Early-Ottoman period in 1750 until its demolition in 1979 (HCECR, 2012c). Neither the physical properties nor the immaterial dimensions of the original gate remained in the condition of their creation. For instance, with regard to the original physical properties, the new 'concrete' material that 'the present modern entrance', or the BG, introduces to the site completely contradicts the traditional language of the built context the ancient gate is part of, which 'is characterised by homogeneity of [] materials and techniques as well as architectural typology and style' that celebrates a very traditional setting of Islamic architecture (Ibid, p. 52). The contemporary concrete style of the BG contradicts this traditional architectural style, and thus abolishes what its rich history 'bears [of] an exceptional testimony to cultural traditions' that is dated back to the Early-Ottoman period of 1750 (Ibid, p. 83).

The revitalisation's new PD, on the other hand, seeks to restore, or more precisely "mimic", the total original gate in its original manifestation of full spaces and elements (HCECR, 2012a), except regarding what the former Head of the Citadel conservation process refers to, (see: Section 4.2.4, p. 209) as a slight modification in some entombed functions that should be altered for modernistic traditional museums (see: figure 4.5 "right"). As part of restoring the true value of the whole site, the new Proposal is aimed at restoring the ancient gate to its original settings, which deteriorated as a result of the interventions of the 1970s-80s, in relation to form, materials and functions, and where specific tools have been put to meet each aspect of these three aspects (Brammah, 2009b; HCECR, 2012c). In particular, the current urban context of the Citadel still 'maintains the full integrity [thus the true value] of the urban form' of the site (HCECR, 2012c, p 88). Therefore, setting these three aspects as an essential aim for the PD assists in retrieving the true value of the ancient gate as part of the endeavour of the recent Erbil Citadel Management Plan of 'bringing the Citadel back to life' (Ibid, p. 88). Further evidence of the endeavour of the PD to achieve this goal comes from the Nomination Report of the Site to the WHL (2012), which states that Erbil Citadel is an intact and integral urban context that resulted from successive developments, which makes the retrieval of the true value of the gate essential and an integral part to the integrity of the whole urban fabric of the site. Whereas the concept of restoration should be appreciated, still the idea of mimicking keeps the mechanism subject to debate of whether it is the optimal way to meet this criterion, which may lead to questioning whether integrity of the gate really implies restoration through mimicking of the original.

ii. *Material and completeness*: refers to 'how much is missing, and what are the recent additions' to the heritage property (Subsection C. Parts i-v). Firstly, based on the Nomination Report of the Property to the WHL (2012), 'the Grand Gate stood in the…most vulnerable part of the perimeter' (p. 51), which may prove its fragile structural condition, and therefore demands a solution. As a solution for this, the BG changed the original material of the original gate into new materials, without taking into consideration the potential of re-exploiting the same original materials of the gate that reflect the authentic traditional spirit. Conversely, it is confirmed that the contemporary addition of new 'materials and colours of the new gate' (or the BG) makes "the contrast" with 'the surrounding architectural context [of] the Citadel façades is evident' (Ibid, p. 52). Secondly, it replaces 'the high symbolic value of the old gate' with a modern symbol of 'tall arched gateway' surrounded by a new architectural configuration of 'small narrow arched windows' (Ibid, p. 52).

Despite the new PD bringing entirely new materials, the Proposal is being planned to match the same traditional spirit of the original gate's material in terms of size, colour and texture (Brammah, 2009a) depending on firstly, reusing the same traditional building materials of those deteriorated residential units on the site that possess a similar set of bricks to the ancient gate. For instance, some historic houses are structurally ruined but still retain authentic traditional materials, which have subsequently been used to construct some "shacks" on the site. In such cases, 'the reuse' of those authentic materials from those shacks is expected (HCECR, 2012c, p. 91). Secondly, given the fact that the reuse of those materials cannot cover the demand for retrieving different units similar to the case of the old gate, some 'proposals for manufacturing brick similar to that in the Citadel to be used [as a] hand-made brick' in the PD are also being considered (Brammah, 2009b, p. 58). In relation to this, 'remarkable efforts are being devoted to [] retrieving the form and aspect of the [gate] before the mid-20th century modifications' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 91). This allows for a concise and precise process of materials' preparation (see: Figure 5.3). In this way, the revitalisation policy works on guaranteeing 'handmade brick kilns[,] traditional lime [and] traditional craft skills' (Ibid, p. 93). It also ensures a safe return to assess the validity of these materials and in regards to this criterion, the UNESCO Guidelines to the site conservation recommend that 'all materials' used should be 'documented' (2014, p. 19), and this is what the plan behind the construction of the PD attempts to do.

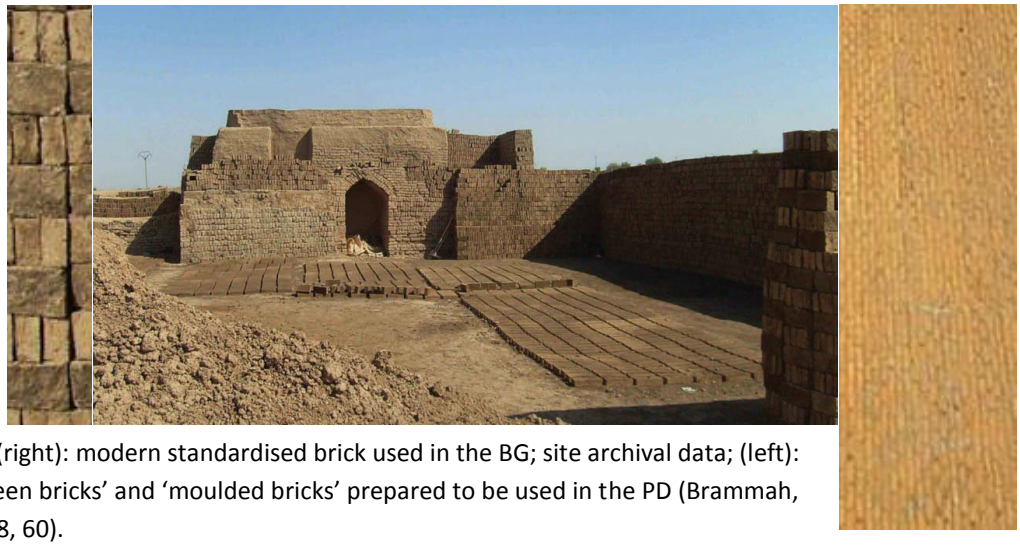


Figure 5.3: (right): modern standardised brick used in the BG; site archival data; (left): 'stacked green bricks' and 'moulded bricks' prepared to be used in the PD (Brammah, 2009b, p. 58, 60).

iii. *Context*: refers to 'whether the context [of the new component] correspond[s] to the original [] periods of significance' that the urban context of the site reflects, 'and whether the component 'enhance[s] or diminish[es]' that (Subsection C. Parts i-v). Apparently, the BG does not reflect any genuine level of correspondence with the original periods of the Citadel's urban context, particularly the Post-Ottoman period that the Citadel's Islamic architecture is attributed to. If history is regarded as one of the most substantial aspects that define the importance of the site, the current urban context of the Citadel is frequently reported as evidencing some intangible impacts of different civilisations and different cultural periods in the manifestation of its architecture. For example, 'physical structure [and] the typology of its urban ensemble', which have survived in the current form of this architecture attest to how the significance of 'the past two hundred years at least' have contributed to defining the urban context of the site (HCECR, 2012c, p. 86). Within this context and from a perspective of construction materials, the current "concrete-framed" gate, or the BG, diminishes, if not completely cancels out this input, evidenced through the contrast between its modern *concrete* setting and the traditional character of the site's Islamic architecture (HCECR, 2012a). Instead of retrieving it, the current gate has cancelled out the role of the 'timber leaves', for example, as a traditional material that characterised the old gate during the Ottoman period, replacing it with what concrete material may perform today (HCECR, 2012b, p. 52). This eliminates any criteria that may bear witness to the authenticity of the material, which is regarded as a fundamental aspect for emphasising the integrity of the gate (Brammah, 2009b).

Drawing an analogy with the PD, it attempts to re-attach the components of this context to each other and return it to its original manifestation, aiming at re-creating the outside image of its façade to be harmonised with the original details of that original period. For instance, on the level of form and function, the Proposal works on the reinstatement of the exact details that the ancient gate has possessed, maintained and developed during the Ottoman periods of the site, which is the most dominating feature in the current urban context of the site, as a fabric and form (HCECR, 2012a). Reinstating the gate to its original assets of form and function during those periods would contribute to achieving a unified and integral setting of the original context of the site. Technically, as a complementary step to the former step, the PD attempts to reflect a state of old age in its exterior façade similar to that which the old gate has reflected (Brammah, 2009b). Therefore, *manufacturing bricks for the specifics of the Citadel*'s phase suggests that 'manufacturing brick similar to that in the Citadel' is not enough to make the Proposal correspond to the context of the Citadel's traditional architecture (Ibid, p. 58). In addition to this important asset, such materials 'will darken with age and exposure to the weather and wind-blown dust' (Ibid, p. 58), which is perhaps an optimal way to make the structure of the PD reflecting a similar context of the site. Finally, based on these three attributes of "reflection of true value, material and completeness and context", it can be said that the integrity of the original gate is somewhat misjudged by the representation of the BG, whereas the new PD, though it is a *prototype* of the original gate, attempts to restore that.

b) Integrity as a "wholeness and intactness": according to the Operational Guidelines 'OG' of UNESCO (2005b), wholeness and intactness are essential components of integrity that enable the property to 'tell fully the story of the site'. The OG states that this entails five basic points. Firstly, 'the physical fabric of the property and/or its significant features should be in good condition'. Second, 'a significant proportion of the elements necessary to convey the totality of the value conveyed by the property should be included' must be listed. Thirdly, 'relationships and dynamic functions essential to their distinctive character should also be maintained'. Fourthly, 'the condition of the property in relation to the threats to its existence, and any risks in the environment surrounding the property' should be considered. Fifthly, 'the impact of deterioration processes [must be] controlled' (Para. 82, 89). In investigating the renovation decision to demolish the original gate in relation to its wholeness and intactness, it might be necessary to scrutinise the condition of the original gate through the first, second

and third points. With regards to the first, the original gate was able to display the good condition of its significant features as spaces, functions and architectural details in both the interior spaces and exterior façade. More than one study has been conducted on the site, such as Brammah (2009a and 2009b), and HCECR (2012a, b and c), which have come to similar conclusions that the perimeter wall, where the ancient gate was, displays an 'iconic' sample for the site as being one of 'the most important features' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 33). In fact, what may enable the wall and the gate to maintain this physical condition is the continuous conservation processes that have been made to the site during the three Ottoman periods. In particular, a restoration process was carried out during the Early-Ottoman period, working on the whole wall, which led to genuine efforts on the structural and architectural parts of its houses and gate (HCECR, 2012c). This has enabled the gate to maintain good structural, architectural and functional conditions, and thus to perform as 'the only one gate…, which connected the entrance to the Citadel with the *bazaar* (*Suq*) and the historic districts of the lower city' (Ibid, p. 31). Secondly, it has maintained its "relationships" with the urban context of the Citadel through its inner function on the site where 'major alleyways fanned in all directions from the gate towards the interior of the Citadel, to reach all parts of the residential quarters' (Ibid, p. 31). Statements of integrity prepared by Huszar and Associates (2012), a group of international experts of heritage conservation, supporting the inscription of the site into the WHL, state that the contributions of those previous conservation processes have led 'the fabric of the urban settlement on the Citadel [to be] largely intact and clearly recognisable' until today (Ibid, p. 88). Considering the ancient gate as part of this fabric, this can also construe the intactness of the gate's significant features to be able to convey the totality of its overall value, consequently its full story as a structure of diverse functions and historical events, before its demolition by the renovation in 1979.

From a perspective of urban morphology, what may add to the *wholeness and intactness* of the ancient gate, as part of the site, is the *progressive response* to the flexible performance of a synthesis of Islamic sociocultural norms during its Ottoman period that have contributed to maintaining the site as a compact and tangled urban fabric (SOITM, 2013) (see: Section 3.2.2). This, on the one hand, means 'the site maintains the full integrity of the urban form and, to a large extent, of its built fabric'. Yet, on the other hand, it confirms that 'no modern construction [should be] built on its slopes or on its top' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 88). However, the intercalation of the new architectural setting of the BG as a fragmented unit of modern

pattern disregards this statement, negating ‘the substantial wholeness of the urban shape of the Citadel’ (Ibid, p. 88), and thus breaking the overlapped “urban context” of the perimeter wall (see: Figure 5.4).



Figure 5.4: the fragmented composition of modern pattern of the BG breaks the compact urban context of the perimeter wall; site archival data

Regarding “dynamic functions essential to the distinctive character”, the massive and multi-functional structure of the original gate, as courtyard, formal governmental offices, jail, guest spaces, commercial shops, a clinic and horse stables, maintains dynamic correlations among its interior spaces and these functions, and particularly the distinctiveness of the grand gate is mainly premised on this synthesis of traditional functions (HCECR, 2012a). As part of its progressive norms that participated in its existence, its adaptable structure enables it to involve new functions besides those ancient ones, such as the reuse of its inner details for new functions, which have substantiated its discernible character over time. For instance, by the middle of the 20th century the niches of the gate started to be ‘used as shops and for storing the wheel used by children during Eid’, in addition, ‘the added top storey, which housed the population office, also served as administrative ‘formal rooms’ later. The whole gate has also ‘served as social housing for poor men’ (HCECR, 2012b, p. 52). Hence, based on these aspects, the original gate was able to *fully tell the story of the site*. However, the renovation decision to demolish the original gate could not maintain these three criteria, and moreover it fails to re-treat and re-present them within its new structure of the BG. ‘The abstract approach [of] design’ of the latter has confined this series of traditional functions to a merely ‘tall arched gateway’, which accommodates ‘small narrow arched windows’ (HCECR, 2012c, p. 52). Yet, the renovation decision justifies this step to a real threat of a possible collapse of the *Tell* due to some water penetration resulting from different causes. In fact, more than one study has recently been conducted on the site tht has confirmed this possible threat, such as the Implementation Action Plan of the revitalisation (2009) as well as a series of formal reports prepared by the HCECR in (2012). These studies also verify that water penetration resulted in threatening the foundations of the perimeter wall including the

original gate which mediates this wall (see: Figure 5.5). Not the foundations, but the impact of this has also reached 'the walls of the buildings on the Tell to a lesser or greater degree, all compromising the structural integrity and bearing capacity of the walls' (Brammah, 2009b, p. 140). Consequently, this risky condition is able to totally destroy the grand gate and then threatens the entire perimeter wall, thus it possibly puts the fourth point within this criterion in favour of the BG. This has also been ascertained through a site visit dedicated to this purpose.



Figure 5.5: The perimeter wall under the threat of collapse of the mound-slope "Tell"; (right): in 1958; (Brammah, 2009b) (left) in 2014; Photo by the Researcher

With regards to the "impact of deterioration" that the original gate suffered and should have been controlled, based on the aboriginals of the site, the original gate was not factually suffering from physical deterioration, but rather a 'light shearing force of the mound-slope it stands upon' reported firstly by the inhabitants who, in return, believe that it 'is not wise to draw up a decision' based on such testimonies (see: Section 4.2.4, p. 199). Consequently, this led the renovation to take such a decision to replace the old gate with the current gate, where the proof of this was mainly visual-based rather than scientific-based evidence. However, the Implementation Action Plan (2009) on the site's revitalisation presents what evidences the risks surrounding the old gate confirming that the *Tell* suffered continuous soil break-down. In this sense, the possibility that the original gate structurally might have witnessed such a threat and suffered from real physical deterioration is expected and supports the renovation decision, but in terms of the accurate identification of the soil collapse rather than the demolition of the original gate. Nevertheless, the HCECR's Nomination Report of the site (2012) has presented some emphatic evidence showing the diverse impacts of the soil collapse on different architectural and structural elements within the built context of the site. For instance, the Report has repeatedly stated in pages (121-127) that the current units of the

site are subject not only to different construction defects but also many structural weaknesses resulted from that soil break-down of the *Tell*, 'the main causes of which appeared to be [] water leakages from the old water supply, drainage and sewerage systems' (p. 124). Thus, the impact of this on the old gate may come into the fore. Accordingly, this also may put the fifth point within this criterion in favour of the renovation decision, regardless of the mechanism of implementing this decision, which lacked judicious scientific justifications when they demolished the original gate.

Linking that to the revitalisation project's PD, it addresses some of these criteria in terms of re-constructing the significant features of the gate (see: figure 5.2 –right-). However, regarding the fifth condition here, the PD does not state a clear methodology of controlling the surrounding deterioration, where the soil break-down may continue to threaten the gate. All that has been made to overcome this threat is the need for *future excavations* on the *Tell* in terms of exploring its cultural layers in case there are still some remnants of evidence of the existence of previous civilisations who have inhabited the site. Further to this, it is necessary to add some structural solutions to the Mound in order to strengthen its soil against any further future threats. Whereas these solutions might be the sole way to control the soil break-down and thus should be appreciated, still its sequence in the timetable of the revitalisation process of the site may show what is different. For instance, the current work does not give similar priority to how to initiate applying adequate solutions on the ground for the gate's infrastructure to stop any future deterioration of the soil break-down and its repercussions and on an equal footing for what has been given to the metadata that is necessary for reconstruction of its structure, such as how to gather full documentation in order to be rebuilt based on its physical assets in addition to how to find the proper masons besides the appropriate materials (Brammah, 2009b; HCECR, 2012c). This perhaps proves that the current focus centres more on the removal of the structure of the current gate and replaces it by the structure of the ancient gate, while those structural solutions are deferred as a second stage, or at least, not included in the timetable of the revitalisation plan currently. Thus, the PD possibly focuses more on the second and third aspects, when it emphasises the tangibles through revitalising the essential functions and spaces of the original gate to include all intangibles based on what can be gathered from the indigenous inhabitants.

c) Integrity as an "authentic material and spatial evidence": following the U. S. World Heritage Tentative List (2006), integrity of the gate should certify 'authentic material and spatial evidence' that should 'remain in sufficient quantity to convey the full significance of the site'. Testing the renovation step to remove the old gate through this condition necessitates investigating whether the latter was really unable to reveal authentic materials that sufficiently remained at the time of its demolition in addition to its capability of demonstrating any spatial evidence from/with the site or even from the traditional urban fabric of the site. Regarding authentic material, the local traditional 'fired brick' has been used as a predominant constructional material for 'the large majority of historic buildings in the Citadel' including the old gate (HCECR, 2012c, p. 44). One of the important aspects of using this traditional material is its availability in the area; 'the importance of brick construction [here] is supported by the existence, not far from the [site]' (Ibid, p. 44). More importantly, it has the potential to be reused after any destruction or restoration that the site has undergone, where in many cases the 'bricks have been reused many times' (Ibid, p. 44). These two indications may prove the authentic material of the old gate and the opportunity to maintain its use within any future conservation process for the site, where the renovation decision did not embed such potential into the considerations of remedy of the old gate before its demolition.

Pertaining to the spatial evidence, the involvement of different historical periods, as material settings and immaterial cultures in the chronology of the old gate has been demonstrated by more than one study on the site. For instance, the gate has proved its genuine relationship with the urban fabric of the site in terms of "materials", "colours" and "approach of design", which enabled it to match the surrounding architectural context of the Citadel's heritage (HCECR, 2012c). As a spatial-urban immaterial evidence, the gate has 'acted as hinge between the upper town (the Citadel) and the lower city (the Suq)' during the Middle and Late-Ottoman periods of the site due to different daily commercial transactions (Ibid, p. 31). What strengthened the role of the "hinge" is its dominant control on the *three* main alleys of the site during these periods, substantiating the link between the urban routes of the site and those within the lower city, thus monitoring the pedestrians' flow from and to the site. On the other side, the BG could not demonstrate any of these conditions of spatial evidence due to its abstract and segmented architecture of 'disconnected sections of wall' of a concrete-based core wrapped with standardised brick, which firstly is incompatible with the ancient brick of

the 100 residential units of the perimeter wall. Secondly, its 'modern structure' features a new 'monumental style' on the site, which creates a kind of negative dominance for the BG on the surrounding built context, and thus weakens its spatial correlation with the site (Ibid, pp. 52, 88).

Nevertheless, the new PD also lacks the same authentic materials, as it does not retrieve the exact demolished materials in themselves, and therefore its contribution in this regard is represented by *copying* the exact physical characteristics of these authentic materials that are prepared specifically for this issue (Brammah, 2009b). In addition, it attempts to *mimic* the exact spatial composition of the original gate, including its spatial relationship with the perimeter wall as a direct symbol which indicates this spatial evidence of the original gate (see: Figure 5.6). Nevertheless, what may prevent the Proposal from complete incarnation of such features is, on the one hand, the fact that the renovation decision to demolish the original gate did not commit to what has been enacted in this respect of different heritage norms, which state that any conservation process in any heritage component should 'not hinder the possibility of later access to all evidence incorporated in the [component]' (UNESCO, 2014, p. 19). This is owing to the full removal of the ancient gate. On the other hand, though the Proposal presents genuine attempts to achieve these two conditions, it faces some challenges in terms of how to prove the same and exact traditional materials. Yet, still its contribution as a spatial evidence is innovative. The Proposal tracks a similar compositional language between its masses, spaces and elements to provide ultimately a novel spatial evidence of the ancient gate. Additionally, it works on re-displaying the same properties of traditional materials of the old gate in terms of *colour*, *texture* and old *age*. This is mainly through the use of 'a number of traditional clamp kilns in the suburbs of Erbil', which offer some contemporary techniques that may contribute to achieving this goal (HCECR, 2012c, p. 44). Yet, the fact that most of these materials are remanufactured makes achievement of the condition of "authentic material" questionable. Thus, if the "structural integrity" works on determining the *present truth* in a heritage property through 'the elements that survive in today's historical condition from the evolving functions of the past' (Jokilehto, 2006b, p. 2-3), the BG ignored this aspect by the total removal of the authentic material and the spatial evidence of the original gate, whilst the contribution of the PD also partly touches the core of this criterion. Finally, Table 5.2 summarises the results of this test.



Figure 5.6: 'manufacturing bricks for the specifics of the [PD as] handmade bricks' (Huszar, 2009b, p. 60, 64).

Test of Integrity		The BG	The PD
Criterion a *"integrity as qualifying conditions"*	**'i'** reflection of the true value	Not achieved	Mostly achieved
	'ii' material and completeness	Not achieved	Achieved
	'iii' context	Not achieved	Achieved
Criterion b *integrity as a "wholeness and intactness"*		Slightly achieved	Mostly achieved
Criterion c *Integrity as an "authentic material and spatial evidence"*		Not achieved	Partly achieved

Table 5.2: Level of achievement of the criteria of integrity between the BG & the PD

5.3 Defining Outstanding Universal Value 'OUV'

The Operational Guidelines 'OG' for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (2012) defines OUV as the 'cultural…significance, which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations' of a heritage property (Article 49). Regardless of whether the definition of heritage's outstanding values is associated with the physical components or the immaterial dimensions of built heritage, some studies set the physical dimensions of built heritage as a starting point in stating OUV, and then tailor the findings with the immaterial dimensions also. For instance, it is indicated that OUV can be defined through a "typological value" of built heritage, which should be 'representative of a [component] that risks disappearance' (ICOMOS, 2008b, p.

57). Jokilehto (2008) associates the definition of OUV with the deep historical dimension of a heritage property. In other words, to have an OUV, a heritage property should be 'a piece of the history of a community [that]…happens "over a span of time within a cultural area", therefore within the framework of history and certain historical epochs' (p. 8). These two examples show how the definition of OUV emerges firstly within the material components of built heritage and then evolves towards its immaterial dimensions. Likewise, testing the OUV of the grand gate will also follow such an approach through focusing on the physical components of the BG and to what extent they trigger immaterial dimensions reflected upon the social and cultural structures of the site.

Point "7f" from the Preamble of the Kazan World Heritage Meeting (2005) shows that the criteria of OUV are generally evolvable over time based on different 'perceptions and interpretations of heritage'. In light of that, the definition of OUV became overlapped with the ambient circumstances of different sociocultural factors surrounding heritage environments, and particularly those factors that Jokilehto (2006b) assures are inescapable. Such influences drive the definition of OUV to play over limits of its pure cultural themes that presumably should be stemming from the site itself rather than its surrounding circumstances, making it also constructive and similar to its counterpart of authenticity. This perhaps compels the involvement of diverse criteria and testimonials triggered by heritage experts or international conventions to this test.

5.3.1 Test of OUV

The test of OUV will be achieved based on several main stages, centred on some elaborate criteria extracted from the World Heritage Conventions and Charters in addition to some norms elicited by heritage specialists. They are detailed below.

The OG indicates some criteria that evaluate OUV in built heritage. According to these Guidelines, for the BG to display an OUV for the site it should represent i) masterpiece, ii) important interchange of values, iii) exceptional testimony to a civilisation, iv) a type of construction or site, and v) traditional land-use (UNESCO, 2012, Article 77). Testing the BG through these criteria reveals its insufficiency to represent "i" and "iii" among them as it lacks the true evidence based on more than an indication. For instance, its short time on the site for less than 40 years may weaken its potential as a masterpiece of its built heritage, or as

an exceptional testimony to the different periods of civilisations of the Citadel owing to the fact that it is unable to attest to even the Post-Ottoman period of the site from 1880 to 1918. More importantly, to act as a masterpiece on the site, if not better, it should possess at least a similar position of the old gate. While the fact that the latter has witnessed the three Ottoman periods of the site since 1770, including their diverse sociocultural repercussions, which it has flexibly responded to and reflected in its inner spaces and outside façade in a progressive manner. For instance, 'the added top story' as well as those traditional 'niches', which were both added during the Early-Ottoman period –at the beginning and middle of 18th century-, have accommodated two different functions that substantiate the Ottoman style of the ancient gate (HCECR, 2012c, p. 52). Yet, both of them have adaptively assimilated completely new functions that some political-cultural aftermaths have imposed on the site and the Islamic norms that rule the site have maintained them for security, and then humane measures, which have become an integral part of its cultural values. Moreover, the BG is empty of credentials to what may enable it to celebrate a similar cultural status of the old gate at the site, and thus to be truly considered an exceptional testimony to the different civilisations of the site, as it is unable to document any material or immaterial sign that may attest to an exceptional civilisation of the site.

This may also substantiate to a certain level the achievement of criterion "ii" in the case of the old gate, where the BG should aim at a similar achievement in order to maintain its current position on the site. The former has, at least, witnessed the three Ottoman periods, which have introduced to the site and maintained numerous traditions, conventions and complementary cultures that may document important cultural values as part of the cultural history of the site. For instance, the end of the Abbasside era by the Mongols and their siege of the site under the leadership of Hulagu, the diverse historical characters who have either ruled the site and the area or visited the Citadel during the three Ottoman periods (SOITM, 2013). In addition, the ancient gate was part of a constant process of cultural building 'of addition and transformation [] influenced by a combination of previous urban layouts [] providing evidence for the [cultural] reconstruction of the events that shaped its form' during those periods (HCECR, 2012c, p. 113), where the current gate was insufficient to approve a similar documentation of such historical values. However, the BG is probably still able, to a certain level, to represent criterion "ii" in terms of displaying an important interchange of values. It displays evidence marking it an important interchange of values, as it witnessed two

essential periods that testified to some historical political events at the site, acting as a transitional stage between them, which is *the rise and fall of Saddam*. In particular, the insertion of the BG to the site has been referred to in more than one study as part of *deliberate* interventions on the site by that political regime (Brammah, 2009b; HCECR, 2012c). This is an explicit acknowledgement of the cultural link between the gate and that regime, and especially this link is also acknowledged by the local community, which some consider as 'one of the political residues' of this regime, while the issue of designing the gate in Baghdad is deemed a witness of this (see: Section 4.2.3, p. 192/3).

In terms of criterion "iv", the BG is repeatedly referred to as a *new type of construction*, which gains its distinction through its design style, construction material and even its colours, regardless of whether it was an affirmative or passive distinction. As a design style, the gate is seen as bringing to the site 'a modern abstract monumental style' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 52), and this is mainly according to its fragmented structure of moderately scattered walls in a linear shape on the edge of the *Tell*. What strengthens this monumental style is the symmetrical composition of its main wall through firstly the manner of locating the main 'arched gateway' inside it, making it 'slightly taller' than the rest of the masses, which has given more emphasis on this symmetrical composition. As a construction material, the 'concrete' substance, which forms the predominant body of the BG, may confirm its difference from the traditional materials, as "brick masonry", "mud mortar" and kind of traditional local "gypsum" of the site. The modern technique used in covering this concrete body with "brick" comes to underpinning the difference through the clear faces and angles that it leaves on the brick, which give an indication that the latter is warping a concrete core beneath. Moreover, regardless of its more regular dimensions, what may buttress this sense of difference is the light golden colour of the new brick, which is easily recognised from 'the golden-brown colour of the brick surfaces' that cover most of the residential units of the site (Ibid, p. 37). The gathered data bears witness that the BG reflects a distinct type of construction that is completely different from the local architectural vocabularies of the perimeter wall and the site, which imitates the Babylonian architecture and grants it its local name "the Babylonian Gate" for the last three decades (see: Section 4.2.4, p. 201). However, although it abbreviates some of those complementary functions, the BG still maintains a similar *traditional use* of the old gate in terms of being the main entrance of the site, which

still links its main three alleyways with the surrounding urban life of the lower *Suq* (HCECR, 2008).

Given the fact that the PD aims at physical retrieval of the ancient gate, including its diverse details and elements, the latter obviously represents a masterpiece, important interchange of values and exceptional testimony of a civilisation, and this is verified in many pieces of evidence and testaments (Al-Yaqoobi et al., 2012; Brammah, 2009a and 2009b; HECER, 2008, 2012a and 2012c). For instance, through its historical evolution, the gate has witnessed pre-Islamic and Islamic civilisations, which if its structure has undergone some changes and modifications based on what these civilisations imposed, it therefore can evidence its important interchange of values. While its structure of 1970s, architecturally, physically and functionally, bears witness to the three Islamic Ottoman periods, which proves its exceptional testimony of Islamic culture and architecture, it also preserved some pre-Islamic cultures through the progressive growth of its structure as a progressive response to the surrounding changes, and hence, this may suggest it as a genuine masterpiece of the Citadel's traditional architecture (Brammah, 2009b; HCECR, 2012c). Within this context, the research cannot dis/prove that the value of these conditions is (or not) inherent in the ancient materials of the old gate in themselves rather in the historical events, diverse cultures and social traditions that those materials have witnessed, and thus became part of them. According to Professor Laurajane Smith, who is specialist of heritage studies and here comments have contributed to this research, in some cases it is hard to impose a heritage value on a heritage component due to the intactness of its materials, and vice versa. It is irrational to reject the existence of that value being that component that has undergone some conservation works while its construction materials have witnessed some interventions as a consequence. Therefore, on the one hand, this makes the PD truly achieve this series of criteria, particularly if we acknowledge the fact that the Proposal retrieves an exact physical and functional copy of those materials of the gate. Yet, the fact that these materials are no more than a copy of the original materials perhaps leaves the achievement of this series of criteria debatable somewhat.

Another series of criteria inferred from ICOMOS (2008b) suggest that the BG, to present an OUV for the site, should be (p. 8):

i. *'Of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history':* it refers to "old age value" or "commemorative value" that the heritage component, to have an OUV, should be 'of great antiquity' which also denotes some historical dimensions of the property. What weakens the BG from achieving this criterion is the fact that its erection on the site is for less than 40 years, which apparently cancels out the dimension of history when compared to the age of the Citadel that extends back 6000 years (MacGinnis, 2009). Brammah (2009b) and HCECR (2012, p. 113) report that this unique feature is an 'outstanding universal value' for the site, per se, which ultimately grants the ancient gate a similar value, and thus a similar historical dimension as being a substantial material part of the site that acts for thousands of years as a main gate and a sole entrance to the site. Consequently, if compared to the short age of the BG on the site, it may limit the latter from possessing such historical potential. As a commemorative value, this deep and rich history makes the ancient gate 'powerful [] and strong in the memory of its…inhabitants and of the citizens of Erbil' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 113). Being part of their 'stories, feelings and relationships' (UNESCO Doha, 2014, p. 189) brings the commemorative value of the grand gate to the fore, which on the other hand may reduce the opportunity of the current gate from creating or maintaining a similar level of commemorative value among them, especially if the revitalisation plan aims to a complete removal of its modern structure from the site.

This from another perspective makes the PD more sufficient to meet this criterion, particularly 'Erbil's citizens have a strong sense of belonging to the Citadel' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 93). Thus, retrieving the physical properties of the ancient gate would activate its commemorative value among the locals again.. More importantly, it is also noted that re-establishing a similar relationship between the local community of the site and the removed gate would assist in re-establishing a similar cultural association between them. Hence, this 'contributes to keep[ing] alive a sense of belonging' within the local community with their home and their 'interest towards the conservation of the site' (Ibid, p. 93). The only aspect that may raise controversy here is that the Proposal is still on paper, while restoring the commemorative value of the original gate may require that the Proposal demonstrates a similar feature of old age value of the ancient gate. This should at least be inherent in the materials of the Proposal, if its construction, being new on site, cannot demonstrate that.

ii. *'Its homogeneity [with] the [site], are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history'*: firstly, as material homogeneity, the current gate is referred to by more than one study on the site as a modern component that negates the harmony of the urban context of the site as a traditional consistent fabric, an aspect that ICOMOS has also endorsed. More importantly, the ancient gate that was replaced by this gate had maintained an obvious homogeneity with the Ottoman-period urban fabric of the site owing to the fact that its historical chronology has been exposed to a similar synthesis of Islamic norms during and after this period. In particular, in 1745 the main venues, clusters and components of the site were reconstructed after the urban decay of a siege's aftermath according to these norms ordered by Ottoman Sultan Mourad I, where 'the grand gate' was the predominant element involved in this reconstruction process from the perimeter (HCECR, 2012d, p. 1). What gave the gate and the site a sense of unified homogeneity is the predetermined aim of the Sultan in order to seem like a unified urban venue that is deeply interrelated to each other and thus reflecting a defensive look for the site. Hence, developing the urban and architectural vocabularies of the settlement through a similar synthesis of urban and architectural norms has tailored the architectural setting of the gate with the urban configuration of the site making the material homogeneity of the former with the site 'clearly legible'.

This characteristic has weakened the new birth of the current gate after 1979, and particularly in the view of some aboriginals of the site, for many reasons that prove its insufficiency to produce evidence on its "construction material", "design approach" and "architectural language" whereby it may reinforce its physical homogeneity with the deep history-based assets of the site (HCECR, 2012c). In regard to its relation with the urban form of the site, before the demolition of the ancient gate, the latter performed as a material part of the urban fabric of the site, which was demonstrating a genuine homogeneity, as a form and function, extending from the gate towards the perimeter. For instance, the ancient gate was the starting point of the 'maze of alleys' that radiate from the gate towards the perimeter wall passing through the residential fabric of the site, which created a state of unity, visually and dynamically, within the urban fabric of the site, reflecting one integral urban form (Ibid, p. 113). Mostly, this has resulted from the functional zoning of its traditional spaces, which have largely sanctioned the current design of the main alleyways in the urban fabric of the site. The harmony of urban meanders it creates within the urban form of the site has driven different studies to refer to its urban context as a harmonious tree (HCECR, 2008).

Regardless of the evidence for whether the BG really bears a Babylonian tinge of architecture, its modern "monumental style" makes it completely detached from the origins of the site, as the Citadel's roots, as urban assets, are Assyrian (SOITM, 2013). The Citadel's current urban form is 'a rare witness to an organically evolved *Tell* settlement, continuously remodelled on the traces of previous layouts' that extend back to those Assyrian assets (HCECR, 2012c, p. 113). Thus, its current urban fabric has undergone a continuous process of 'transformations' and 'adaptation', which ultimately renders the homogenous 'permanence' of its urban form. Accordingly, it bears witness to physical and cultural accumulated layers, which have been maintained by a similar dossier of Islamic norms to grant the site its current material and immaterial homogeneity (see: Section 3.2.2.2, Chapter 3). As part of its urban fabric, this increases the historical fissure between the ancient gate, and the current gate, as a modern monumental style imposed on this form, which breaks its consistent architectural language. The latter's style, in terms of its materials of concrete and cement mortar wrapped by standardised brick, for instance, delinks the material consistency of the perimeter, which creates a gap between the past and the present of its accumulated urban form during the Ottoman periods of the site, which perpetuates 'its [unique] links with the present' materially and immaterially (Brammah, 2009b, p. 93).

What may strengthen this inference is what the locals, whose views are necessary for assessment of such issues as an alive part of the site (Ibid, p. 22-23), narrate regarding the physical link between the current gate and the site that it is dissonant visually, while this is mostly considered as prerequisite for OUV (Stovel, 2007). For instance, some of the locals see the current gate as 'an artificial part', which is 'forcibly added' to the Citadel that left a clear inconsistency with the residential units of the perimeter wall, visually and historically (see: Section 4.2.2, p. 174). On the contrary, the ancient gate is considered an extension for the outside walls of the hundred houses that make up the perimeter wall of the Citadel and together reflect a correlated structure of familiar materials and local traditional architectural language (HCECR, 2012a). Hence, it coincides with the Citadel's age (see: Figure 5.7), making the PD, as a replica of the original gate, a new original copy of that extension, which re-harmonises the traditional architectural language of the perimeter wall once more. Perhaps, in a similar reading, the Proposal receives some endorsement by the inhabitants of the site, who firstly consider it 're-links' the traditional units of the perimeter, presenting a visual solution for the perimeter. In addition, the 'identical copy' of the ancient gate enables it to re-

associate the gate with ‘the real past’ of the traditional built context of the site once more (see: Section 4.2.2, p. 173).

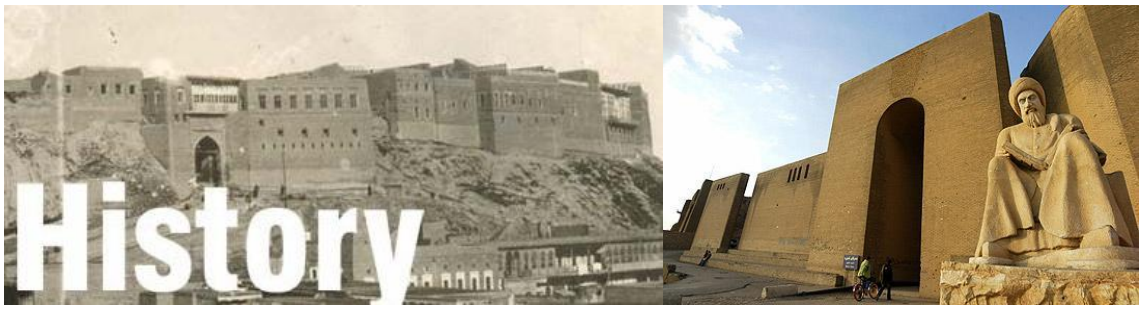


Figure 5.7: the linear wall of the BG is miscorrelated with the perimeter wall (right); the traditional language of the original gate tailored with the perimeter wall’s traditional language (left); site archival data

iii. *Referring to ‘significant stages in [the site] history’*: for ICOMOS (2008b), for a heritage property to have an OUV it should be ‘associated with and essential to the understanding of globally significant persons’, which might reflect some political-cultural dimensions of the site. Though the original gate depicts some historical political memories, which the PD aims to retrieve through reconstruction of that gate's physical structure, perhaps the BG also has a similar opportunity to reflect such political-cultural dimensions. If reconstruction of the ancient gate recalls those deep historical events associated with some historical symbols who had some links with the site, such as the entry and stay of Alexander the Great on the site, the siege of Hulagu as well as the kingship of the Ottoman Sultan Mohammed I (HCECR, 2012a) who ordered the re-construction of this gate in 1745. The BG is also noted by some reports and studies upon the site that it is associated with the former Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein, whose name is probably linked to the modern history of wars particularly in the Middle East. If we arguably acquiesced that its erection is a consequence of the renovation process, where the latter is politically motivated by the former Iraqi Regime (Brammah, 2009b), the BG can indicate a notable political symbol of modern political history of the site, recording such political implications “of a globally significant person” of that period to the next generations of the site and the global visitors. What may bring the discourse about this political implication to a considerable level of reliability is the insistence on the relationship between ‘the demolition of the historical south gate [] and the Saddam-Hussein regime’ (Ibid, p. 68). For instance, UNESCO-Doha (2014, p. 190) has certainly adopted the political implications of this system on the site, one of which is the

demolition of the old gate and its replacement with the current gate, which regardless of its immediate denotation, may make itself an explicit connotation of that regime. Furthermore, the locals have also endorsed such discourse confirming that the gate is a 'sign that reminds' them of that regime (see: Section 4.2.3, p. 192).

iv. *Referring to 'the association with [] historical [] traditions, which are part of the history of a place'*: Initially, the Citadel is repeatedly perceived as a place of robust traditions, socially and culturally, owing to its unique feature of being continuously inhabited throughout millennia (SOITM, 2013), and part of this is the traditional functions that the ancient gate produced. The latter has adapted different social functions to its inner spaces during and after the Ottoman period based on what the social life of the site demands, in addition to those developed since the erection of the gate during the pre-Islamic period (HCECR, 2012c). Hence, the deep and rich sociocultural history that both the gate and the site have shared over centuries, on the one hand, can be set as a key reason behind that, yet this aspect might be the same reason that limits the BG from demonstrating similar assets on the site, on the other. For instance, (some) of its traditional spaces and functions, such as formal governmental offices, commercial shops and clinics have developed since the early-Ottoman period until more recently (HCECR, 2012a), establishing a certain level of association with the local community of the site, who in return can be put as a witness of its association with them. The roots of this association have evolved through the daily constant use of such spaces during, and possibly before the early-Ottoman and late-Ottoman periods (HCECR, 2008, 2012c). During the post-Ottoman period and afterwards they have been modified into new functions due to some imperative economic changes and new societal-cultural measures which emerged as a consequence of the surrounding environmental circumstances to act as 'social housing for poor men', while its niches (traditional interior details) have served as 'shops and for storing' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 52). Besides the gate's traditional permanent use as a sole entrance that links and controls the pedestrians' circulation from/to the site (HCECR, 2012a, p. 1), such functions have survived as historical traditions to be inherent in its structure until its demolition in the 1970s.

In contrast, the current gate has not been able to absorb this group of functions from the ancient gate within its current structure, which may enable it to maintain a similar potential of sociocultural association with the site, at least from this perspective. After this decision, the current gate emerged to reduce this series of spaces to a merely sectioned wall of an

appointed arch and backyard that is currently left as an empty area, thus cancelling out all of these traditions inherent in the long history of their use (see: figure 5.7 -right-). Moreover, architecturally its abstract segmented walls have cut the roots of association with the Ottoman architectural assets that the ancient gate was presenting. The latter has shown a deep historical association with the Citadel in terms of its Islamic Ottoman architectural language that shares different traditional details with the site such as 'the decorative brick band and the deep niches on either sides' of its interior spaces and exterior façades, many of which have been adapted from the previous architecture of those pre-Islamic civilisations (Ibid, p. 1), underpinning the aspect of association. In addition, the traditional use of 'timber leaves' was mutual between the gate and diverse medium and large arches in many notable houses in the three traditional neighbourhoods of the site. All of that, besides some other decorative elements, 'are outstanding examples of [] building traditions' that have mutually defined the site including its ancient gate to be part of its traditional history (HCECR, 2012c, p. 86), where the maps and façades of the PD are carefully drawn to reinstate such associations, though the site still lacks its original social structure due to the step of evacuation, which should be part of and a complementary step towards reviving this association.

The third series, which is inferred from the Recommendations for Criteria for Including Cultural Heritage Properties in the World Heritage List (2008), suggest testing OUV through three criteria "i", "ii" and "iii" (p. 59) where to achieve critical tests on the BG, these criteria are referred to within the original gate firstly.

i. *The criterion of "influence":* one of the basic aspects for a property to have an OUV is 'the "influence" that [the] property has exercised over time' on the site or the entire place where it lies (ICOMOS, 2008b, p. 59). Over history of the site, the ancient gate has exercised different symbolic and functional influences on the urban and social structures of the site, which principally reveals its permanency. Although Erbil Citadel does not possess an actual fortified wall similar to many citadels in the Middle East, symbolically and mutually with the *Tell*, its ancient gate has granted the site a unique sense of a defensive look, which buttresses its symbolism as a fortified Citadel. Being the sole entrance for the site besides its location 'on top of an artificial mound [of 28 meters height], circumscribed by a circle of perimeter houses [reinforced by] the special configuration of the Citadel enclosure', the gate has acquired more symbolic status to be targeted as a focal point of the site, particularly during wars and military sieges (HCECR, 2012c, p. 87).

Besides its symbolic importance, what has increased the gate's influence on the site is its location that corresponds with the direction of *Qibla* (prayer direction of Muslims) of the three traditional mosques of the Citadel, which is particularly strongly linked with Affandi's Mosque through one of the main alleys of the site. Possessing such a symbolic link with the central Mosque of the settlement has attracted other people from the lower *Suq* to attend the prayer, especially during the early-and-late-Ottoman periods where mosques, *madrasa(s)* "schools" and other cultural facilities have not been distributed to the *Suq* yet (HCECR, 2008). Many of their families, based on 'Friday prayers', have continued 'renew[ing] their link with the Citadel on a weekly basis' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 93). Whereas this aspect may also contribute to its functional influence, the ancient gate has possessed a central role in linking the site with the lower city, thus organising and controlling the entry/exit from/to the site for about more than two centuries, since 1743 and possibly earlier (HCECR, 2012c). Evoking the emphasis that some Islamic urban norms call for (see: Section 3.2.2.2, Chapter 3), this role substantially assists in maintaining the Islamic conventions of the neighbourhood of the Citadel's social fabric, including different security factors that prevent intruders from illegal entry (Al-Yaqoobi et al., 2012). Being 'a maze of alleys and cul-de-sacs' extending towards the rest of the urban fabric of the Citadel during its three Ottoman periods has added another legible functional influence to the gate (HCECR, 2012b, p. 9).

Accordingly, the PD attempts to contribute to the reactivation of such an influence, functionally and symbolically, that appears to have been lost after replacing that portal with the current gate through the careful re-delineation of those traditional functions, spaces and other architectural characteristics and in accordance with their original setting, as far as possible. Regardless of the demolition of the ancient gate, what may assist this reactivation is the fixed location of many of those urban structures within the urban map of the built context, which still possess their original positions in the site, such as the location of the Affandi's Mosque, the main alley that links the latter with the gate as well as the original location of the gate. This potential simply implies that the symbolic and functional values of those structures are still concealed underneath and in-between their current architectural layers, but require reactivation, which is contingent on to what extent those ancient spaces and functions of the old gate will be retrieved. Presumably, this is self-evident for the Proposal based on what different reports and studies have confirmed in this regard, such as Brammah, (2009b) and HCECR (2012a, 2012c), which also receives a moderate range of acceptance locally. For

instance, its form-based consistency with the 'original physical features' of the ancient gate that reinstates its 'original design' and 'spaces' is considered as a proper material-cultural 'connector' with that gate (see: Section 4.2.3, p. 185/6).

Comparing that to the BG, the latter leaves an adverse influence locally, particularly on some of those aboriginals of the site, who, for instance, attribute this to 'its detachment' from the site's traditionalism, and thus 'unrelated to the Citadel' (see: Section 4.2.4, p. 199/200). After assessing some of its functional and visual impacts on the built context of the site, the Report on "Reinstatement of the Grand Gate" states that the latter has exercised 'an overwhelming' influence on the urban fabric, making its physical structure 'inappropriate' (2012, p. 1) to the cultural history of the site. Some indigenous people of the site as well as some local experts of heritage conservation have approved the validity of such an assessment based on some 'consultations' that have been conducted with them through a field study in 2012, which may objectify the transparency of the Report. Furthermore, some global experts of heritage as members of ICOMOS who have participated in evaluating transparency of the Report in (2014) did not object the outcome of this assessment, arguing for its validity, and hence attributing this passive influence to its dissonant language as materials and design. Indeed, 'the abstract approach in its design' discards those symbolic dimensions that the ancient gate has bestowed on the site, and thus to be 'in contradiction with the spirit of the place' (HCECR, 2012c, p.52). Its approach makes 'its architecture give an impression of easy "permeability" of the access to the Citadel, against the sense of protection that the site inspired in the past' during the erection of its grand gate (Ibid, p.52). All of this makes the current gate standing insufficient to demonstrate a similar level of influence on the site that the ancient gate possessed.

ii. *The criterion of "universal":* to have an OUV, the property should have a "universal" value that should surpass to the extent that is 'being "common" to all' people of the place. "Common" refers to the 'themes that are shared [through] cultures and which each culture [] will respond in a way that is specific to it' (ICOMOS, 2008b, p. 48). To achieve an adequate understanding of this criterion, the OG defines OUV as a 'cultural [] significance which is so exceptional' (2005, Para. 49), while "exceptional" refers to a heritage property or its components that should be of "common importance" or quality. Hence, 'to be exceptional [it] should be understood to mean: "to surpass others in qualities"' (ICOMOS, 2008b, p. 14). Therefore, demonstrating to what extent the BG may achieve of this criterion requires

filtering it through “exceptional” and “common importance” in order to reach what it may prove that it is “universal”, which may demand accentuating these themes within the ancient gate firstly, and then revealing how the current gate has treated them.

Initially, according to UNESCO Doha (2014), what makes Erbil Citadel well-known globally is that it is ‘a rare surviving example of an urban ancient settlement which developed on an archaeological *Tell*, following layer by layer’ an organic growth of urban fabric, ‘influenced by a combination of previous urban layouts and successive architectural and urban elements, in a continuous process of addition and transformation’ that started 6000 years ago (p. 189). Brammah (2009a) also affirms this fact, stating that Erbil Citadel is an unparalleled heritage site in the whole of Mesopotamia owing to its intact archaeological *Tell* that has preserved an intact urban form on its top for millennia, making the site an ‘“outstanding universal value for the whole of humankind”, the touchstone of World Heritage values’ (Ibid, p. 96). Within this context, the gate has been repeatedly deemed a genuine physical part of the urban fabric of the site, and both of them have undergone similar physical modifications resulting from this process of addition and transformation, where those adaptations during the three Ottoman periods may stand as a witness of this. Apparently, this makes the old gate of the Citadel an inseparable part of this outstanding global value of the site. In regard to the perimeter wall, the gate has also been referred to as a physical link that chains its residential units to each other, and thus as a genuine part of ‘the imposing character of the uninterrupted line of brick walls’ of diverse brick ornaments displayed by the outside walls of its units (HCECR, 2012b, p. 9). This feature makes the site ‘the most dramatic urban landscape in the Middle East’ (Ibid, p. 9), making its perimeter, and thus the ancient gate, an exceptional feature in this regard.

These two exceptional features make the Citadel surpass other surrounding citadels, which globally made the site universal; whilst on a local level, it has become of common importance to the local community of the site (Brammah, 2009a). Moreover, in addition to these features, the deep traditional series of functions that the old gate has maintained for more than two centuries is another outstanding value of the gate through which it is also deemed exceptional as ‘both the practical and symbolic entrance to the Citadel’ (HCECR, 2012b, p. 53). The insertion of the BG, on the other hand, instead of maintaining such exceptional features has firstly resulted in breaking the intactness of the uninterrupted chain of the architectural features of the perimeter. Self-perpetuation of the *Tell* has led to maintaining intactness of

these features for about the last three centuries through which the perimeter has acquired its exceptional value. The continuity of the wall's decorated brickwork is now 'encroached by modern constructions' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 86) of 'a concrete core faced in brick [which] is out-of-keeping with' this series of exceptional features of the Citadel's built context and thus 'has no relation to its architecture' (Ibid, p. 53). More importantly, the recent "encroachment" of the BG has 'affected in part the integrity of the site' through eliminating the symbolic roots of that gate when it imposed a 'modern structure' on the site, which instead of supporting them, has obliterated the traditional symbolic and functional aspects for which the ancient gate might have possibly been deemed "universal" (Ibid, p. 88, 52).

For instance, the latter did not consider the exceptional value of the long age of the traditional brickworks of the perimeter in terms of how to maintain and become part of it, which is therefore perceived 'as a negative symbol' locally (HCECR, 2012b, p. 53). Functionally, the BG has hugely reduced the series of traditional functions that the ancient gate has perpetuated, replacing and condensing them into a merely normal "gateway" to the site. The site suffered some damage that led to 'the loss of fabric which occurred in the second half of the 20th century' (Brammah, 2009b, p. 96), which led the renovation decision to ignore retrieval of both of these symbolic and functional values of the ancient gate. However, a similar study on the site has shown that the whole urban fabric of the Citadel 'still bears witness to an urban culture of great value' (Ibid, p. 96), which should make retrieval of these values something imperative for the renovation in order to maintain the outstanding value of the site. Yet, the mechanism of insertion of the BG into the site has come to deal with the site as if it was empty from construction and vacant from such values, making the statement that the BG 'must be removed' from the site justifiable and at least from this perspective (HCECR, 2012b, p. 53).

In this sense, any attempt towards retrieval of the exceptional value that the old gate possessed should be firstly through re-tailoring the gate as part of the perimeter wall once more, which might be through returning its physical assets (starting from its simple architectural details -such as the inner niches and exterior brickworks- to those major spaces -such as the governmental offices, guest spaces, commercial shops and clinic) to their original settings. Equally important to the previous aspect, bestowing a character of the long past of the ancient gate should accompany the retrieval of these physical assets, which may require specific tools through which a sense of belonging to the deep history of the site can be re-

created. In particular, the outside façade of the Proposal should reflect the visual impact of the long history of the site. This at least may assist in evoking the effects of different Islamic periods on the architecture of the ancient gate, as a façade and material, which is also of common importance for the locals, and hence responds to some local demands that see the necessity of creating a similarity of age between the Proposal and the ancient gate through the technique of the use of materials (see: Section 4.2.3, p. 189). According to Brammah (2009b), what may give the PD a façade-based potential with such a characteristic is the precise utilisation of some modern techniques, prepared only for manufacturing specific construction materials of 'brick masonry with mud mortar' that bestow a sense of "antiquity" on its outside form (Ibid, p. 44). Embedded in this technique, the Proposal will also restore other façade-related complementary features of the ancient gate, particularly those 'buff-coloured' areas, including what they incorporate of scattered spots of 'some red bricks' that were conventional for the aboriginal inhabitants (Ibid, p. 58).

iii. *The criterion of "uniqueness":* According to the ICCROM Report (1976), OUV should manifest a historical value that indicates 'the importance of [] historical testimony that is represented by the work', which shows a kind of "uniqueness" or extreme rarity and "novelty" (ICOMOS, 2008b, p. 11). Initially, it might be useful to mention that there is a subtle correlation between this criterion (uniqueness) and the previous one (exceptional), which somewhat makes it hard to completely separate between them. However, what may grant the ancient gate a state of uniqueness in the site, what the BG and/or the PD should maintain, is a series of 'unique features' revealed by Erbil Citadel Conservation Guidelines and other international studies on the site that denote the uniqueness of the Citadel in general and the gate in particular (UNESCO, 2014, p. 5). For instance, the urban fabric of the site displays an 'uninterrupted occupation' of 6000 years, which firstly makes 'it one of the oldest urban settlements in the world' (Ibid, p. 5). Secondly, it grants some of its fundamental components a similar level of uniqueness due to their continuous presence, as form and function, during this long period, where the ancient gate is certainly one of these components for its continuous rich cultural history. The ancient gate has resisted different sieges and deteriorations, including their physical and cultural repercussions, which for instance have led to the replacement of the original perimeter wall of the site by the current one several centuries ago (HCECR, 2012c). However, 'the grand gate' was the only component from the original perimeter that was able to re-stand on the site once more after 1745 while the rest

‘was replaced by the present perimeter’ (HCECR, 2012d, p. 1), sharing an obvious link with the physical continuity of the archaeological *Tell* from the past to the present. Within this context, if ‘what makes Erbil Citadel unique is its links with the present’ (Brammah, 2009b, p.93), the ancient gate should be put as one of these links to the site, as part of its uniqueness. What may increase this uniqueness is what MacGinnis (2009) states in this regard that Erbil Citadel is perhaps the only site that ‘has produced a complete sequence of stratified material stretching from the modern age back to the dawn of time’, ascertaining that ‘Erbil’ including its ancient gate is truly unique’ (p. 14).

Brammah (2009b) notes that the physical continuity of the *Tell* as well as the uninterrupted occupation of the urban fabric were the main source for the diverse ‘archaeological’, ‘historical’, ‘architectural’ and ‘sociological and current values’ of the site (p. 93-96), which together makes ‘Erbil Citadel [] a unique survival of an ancient city’. This creates the historical testimony of uniqueness of its authentic structures that verified their deep history within the site, such as the original gate that its chronology shows rich historical-cultural proceedings of a sequence of events as a vital part of the site. Secondly, it makes the urban fabric of the site an evident historical ‘symbol of [] development of human culture and urban civilisation’ in Mesopotamia and the Middle East (Ibid, p. 5), which may grant the ancient gate a surpassed *novelty* in this respect. In contrast, besides its modern history, some references state that the BG has been inserted into the site as a result as an imposed response to a series of recent ‘damage[s] and demolition[s]’ that occurred ‘within the last 50 years’ to the site, which have necessitated some urgent interventions (Brammah, 2009a, p. 68). Such interventions did not evoke the fact that those diverse historical and cultural values will establish an irreplaceable historical testimony to the site and thus be part of its uniqueness and novelty in the near future. Instead, their focus was mainly on maintaining physicality and services of the site intact through adding a new modern construction mainly concentrated on ‘the slope of the mound’ where the current gate was. Initially, awareness of the significance of these values should principally emanate from the aboriginals of the site, whereas Michael Brammah attributes the absence of awareness of these values to the migration of many of those notable families of the site before and during that period of the 1950s, ‘as the result of social and economic changes’ that the site suffered (Ibid, p. 68). As a consequence, the solution that the current gate has provided was controversially focused on producing some structural solutions for what has arguably been stated as the soil break-down of the mound,

whilst the above characteristics of uniqueness, novelty and historical testimony were not the core reasons behind the erection of the BG.

The replica of the PD works on re-establishing these characteristics of the original gate through reproducing its unique features to their original visual-material settings. For instance, some archaeological and historical values are partly maintained by the persistence of the *Tell* and the intactness of the urban context of the site, but the removal of the physical structure of the ancient gate had partly concealed them. Therefore, the Proposal attempts to re-present this structure, and mostly based on a similar copy of its material and functional assets. Hence, it contributes to bridging the gap that resulted from the obtrusion of the structure of the current gate to the traditional urban facade of the perimeter wall, and instead relinks the continuity of these characteristics again. In so doing, the Proposal proves its *authenticity of design* that will supersede the current gate not only in terms of restoring those physical dimensions of the ancient gate, but in terms of its immaterial performance as a potential for evoking its antiquated meanings and values also. Based on a study on the "Outputs of the Project" of the revitalisation, this is deemed essential for perpetuating *authenticity of setting* of the perimeter wall, materially and immaterially, which therefore evidences the novelty of the Proposal. Whereas the site aims to possess a significant cultural status globally that may support its tourist aim, continuity of the existence of the BG works on damming such potential, as its material setting eradicates any potential that may come from its immaterial performance that reinforces this aim. Hence, instead of reinforcing the cultural status of the site globally, this may lead to its removal from the WHL similar to a ‘site in Oman [that] was delisted in 2007 and Dresden [which] was also threatened with deletion from the List in 2009’ (Brammah, 2009b, p. 90), due to a similar superficial intervention of the BG. Thus, this may prove the innovation of the Proposal, giving more evidence for its novelty. Finally, Table 5.3 summarises the results of this test.

Test of OUV		The BG	The PD
Series 1 *Criteria inferred from the OG, UNESCO, 2012*	'i' masterpiece	Not achieved	Achieved
	'ii' important interchange of values	Achieved	Not achieved
	'iii' exceptional testimony to a civilisation	Not achieved	Achieved
	'iv' a type of construction	Achieved	Achieved
	'v' traditional land-use	Not achieved	Achieved
Series 2 *Criteria inferred from UNESCO, 2008*	'i' of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history	Not achieved	Partly achieved
	'ii' their homogeneity with the place	Not achieved	Achieved
	'iii' referring to significant stages in [the site] history	Achieved	Achieved
	'iv' referring to the association with historical traditions	Not achieved	Achieved
Series 3 *Criteria inferred from UNESCO, 2008*	'i' the criterion of "influence"	Not achieved	Achieved
	'ii' the criterion of "universal"	Not achieved	Achieved
	'iii' the criterion of "uniqueness"	Not achieved	Achieved

Table 5.3: Level of achievement of the criteria of OUV between the BG & the PD

5.4 Defining Cultural Significance

Multiple are those definitions through which cultural significance is defined. However, the research aims to keep the definition of this heritage term linked to the key issues that the BG's decision may include. Cultural significance means 'the aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations' of built heritage (ICOMOS, 1999). Similarities are evident across a wide range of studies, considering integrity and authenticity of the "qualifying conditions" to assess a heritage property's actual representation of the site; whereas the level of representation denotes the level of cultural significance of the property (Stovel, 2004, 2007, Rowny, 2004). In this sense, any confusion or "conundrums" while preserving these conditions undoubtedly weakens the heritage cultural significance to become liable to transience. The level of cultural significance is also defined retrospectively when considered as a basic factor to assess authenticity and OUV due to some cultural values, such as spiritual, aesthetic, social and historic values. This indicates a reciprocal relationship between these conditions and the heritage cultural significance to be

seen as integral to each other. Therefore, the level of significance has a vital role in demonstrating the level of authenticity, integrity and OUV, and thus will also be examined within the BG and with reference to the PD aiming at revealing to what extent the BG has a cultural representation for the site. This can be achieved through investigating 'whether the level of significance of the [gate]' steers it to be 'assessed…[as] a representative or [accidental] component' for the site (Kerr, 2013, p. 16). A representative component makes it with complete cultural significance of the site, while considering it as an accidental component curbs it to be an aesthetic significance for the site only.

5.4.1 Test of Cultural Significance

To ensure an obvious test, some essential criteria set by Kerr (2013), and after reviewing some ICOMOS Charters, will be followed here. To achieve a precise investigation, these criteria will be categorised into three main series. According to the first series, the BG can be defined as a more-important or less-important component, which can be determined through the level of significance whether it has been assessed as a representative or accidental component for the site. This should be based on the following (Ibid, p. 17):

i. *'The level of importance of the associate [component]' to the locals:* the views of the local community have split around themselves regarding this criterion, assessing the BG as detached from the *genius loci* of the site by some of them, but attached to by some others. This split is predicated upon the aforementioned cultural and historical reasons, which are multiple. However, the search here should be for the evidence that can substantiate the attachment/detachment of the BG from the site. As a consequence, the need is to question 'the extent to which evidence of the [attachment] survives, either in physical evidence of the [BG], or as evidence of the impact of the [BG] on [the site]' (Kerr, 2013, p. 17).

Regardless of the fact that they all are prepared by the site's authorities, which may leave their objectivity subject for debate, according to a series of reports on the site, such as HCECR, (2012a and 2012c) and Brammah (2009a and 2012b), the BG is unable to display any of these two evidences. As a physical evidence, the construction of the current gate has been initiated after a full demolition of the ancient gate, while the notion of reuse the original material of the latter in the construction of the former, which may show some physical association with the site, has been completely forgotten for a new process of "speculative

restoration". Consequently, this has led to a state of *alienation* created by the form and composition of the current gate, as spatial relations and materials, which contradict the traditional local architectural language of the site. For instance, it is strongly recommended that 'speculative restoration' on any deteriorated structure of the site 'should be avoided', and hence 'any restoration of missing elements should be fully justified by documentation' of these elements before initiating the work (Brammah, 2009b, p. 34). This may allow an actual attachment through perpetuation of some material evidence of the ancient gate and thus the site, where the BG is missing currently. What may actualise this discourse is what some literature on the site has demonstrated in this regard that the current gate has introduced to the site new concrete material of modern brick through a contemporary style of an abstract form to be discernible, or "detached" enough from the residential units of the perimeter (Novacek et al, 2008, SOITM, 2013).

Although some of these references, as a negative immaterial impact of the BG on the site, attempt to attach its cultural implications to the former political regime of Saddam Hussein as evidence showing its detachment from the site, still the material and the architectural style of the gate are a more satisfactory evidence to this criterion. Whilst, one of the missing tools to establish this evidence, and thus maintaining a positive impact with the site, is a setup of specific 'conservation techniques' (Brammah, 2009b, p. 34) that enable demonstrating 'the evocative quality' that the BG may create to the Citadel (Kerr, 2013, p. 17). Brammah assigns this to the lack of engagement of the local people of the site who should be more aware of such a quality, who in return, many of them have confirmed their disengagement, particularly those indigenous professionals (see: Section 3.3, Chapter 3). Nevertheless, what may weaken demonstration of this quality is the short history of the BG as well as its differentiated connotation from the traditional formative language of the site and thus to have no association with its current urban context. However, the identical series of spaces matched with the original gate that the PD evokes creates a state of mutual connotation between the latter and the perimeter wall, qualifying it to achieve such evocative quality. In addition to being material testament evidencing the survival of the original settings of the ancient gate in the PD, this also supports the Proposal to evidence its affirmative impact on the built context of the site, visually and culturally, particularly the "inference" of this receives a confirmation from the local community (see: Section 4.2.4, p. 203).

ii. *'The level of intimacy and duration of the association':* Firstly, the fact that the ancient gate was the only gate for the site during its pre-Islamic eras and then the Islamic periods and till the second half of the post-Ottoman period per se is a witness of its long duration in the site (HCECR, 2012c), and thus enough to grant the ancient gate a clear level of intimacy with the site including its inhabitants. Comparing this to the BG, the latter has been added to the site after the recent 'mid-20th-century changes' (Brammah, 2009a, p. 119), making it unable to prove such a period of duration. Consequently it does not qualify it to create real correlation with both the site and its indigenous social structure during this period, whereas, the ancient gate, as part of the urban structure of the site, is still 'strong in the memory of [the] inhabitants and of the citizens of Erbil' (UNESCO Doha, 2014, p. 189), and hence it possesses a robust association with the live social structure of the site. Therefore, the current gate should found, and at least, a similar level of memory locally. Whereas, and in addition to different 'historical events it has witnessed…, the stories, feelings and relationships that the inhabitants [] still have' with the ancient gate also boost this memory (Ibid, p. 189), which clearly weakens the current gate from achieving and maintaining a concrete level of intimacy with the inhabitants of the Citadel, in particular, and the locals of Erbil, in general. Evidence on this may come from the recent call of some of them for 'reconstruction [of the old gate] after demolition of the present [gate] (HCECR, 2012c, p. 52). Whilst, for those young locals from the traditional *Suq* surrounding the site, three decades of mutual "memories" and "sympathy" have enabled the BG from creating a state of intimation with them (see: Section 4.2.2, p. 176/7). Nonetheless, if the BG is aged less than 40 years and considered detached from the site, the PD is still in its early stages of birth and does not have any duration of association with the site on the ground, though it receives a considerable level of intimacy from the local community. Though it seems perplexing, its intimacy with the local community is built on its imitation of the original gate through tracing its complete details and spaces, proportions and traditional expressions, acting as a 'reminder' of its values, which therefore brings the gate into being again including its deep period of rapport with the place (see: Section 4.2.2, p. 173). The PD draws upon its presence through evoking a state of collective memory of the local community about the gate, which is still *strong* in their memory as being an authentic part of the Citadel's built context (HCECR, 2012c). Therefore, once the PD is fully implemented, it is expected that it will immediately restore the strong association with the place as a physical and social environment.

The second series of attributes are extracted from the Burra Charter of Australia (1999) that should have been forward-thinking in assessing the level of significance of the BG as an architectural component within the site that according to (Kerr, 2013, p. 17), should be based on:

i. *'What [level] of unity has the [component] in scale, form, materials, texture, and colour' to the site?* Except "colour", which is light-golden, that the current gate may partly echo 'the golden-brown' colour of the old local brick of the residential units of the site (HCECR, 2012c, p. 37), the BG is empty from such meanings of unity. In relation to form, it is referred to, by some studies made on the site between 2009 to 2012 and even afterwards, that the BG distorts the local traditional architecture of the Citadel's built context with new language of 'architecture', which its form is 'composed of a series of disconnected sections of wall, interrupted by vertical breaches, with small narrow arched windows' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 52). Locally, many of the aboriginals of the site agree on this definition of the gate, who also believe that its architecture demonstrates 'a modern longitudinal wall of 2D linear composition…which seems as if it was a kind of sculpting' (see: Section 4.2.4, p. 201). Within this context, its 'concrete core' gives a clear testimony of the contradiction of materials between the traditional 'fired brick masonry with mud mortar' of the built fabric of the site and the current gate, particularly the former reflects a state of erosion and decay over most of the traditional walls of the site (HCECR, 2012c, p.44, 52). While, wrapping the core of the BG with modern and standardised brick, which 'is out-of-keeping with the historic character of the Citadel' in terms of its eroded brick also reflects the non-unity of texture with the latter (HCECR, 2012b, p. 53). This series of inconsistent attributes that the BG circulates, and according to Kerr (2013), leaves the site in a state of disorder, which may prove the extent that the contrasting BG is 'intrusive and disruptive' for the site (p. 17).

Based on its formalist assessment locally, for instance, some of the indigenous inhabitants of the site see the BG 'a clear intrusive of a discordant element, which is detached from the traditional language of the perimeter wall of the Citadel [and thus] visually distorting its unity' (see: Section: 4.2.4, p. 206). It is regarded 'intercalated to its architectural context' for its contradictory visual controversial relationship. This, on the other hand, may interpret the wide acceptance of the PD, which attempts to resolve this controversy through treating the gate visually, functionally and materialistically. Regardless of the simple modification of some traditional symbolic functions, the PD endeavours to retrieve these four attributes

through reinstating the original qualifications and properties of the original gate. It restores exactly the same *form, identical materials, texture and details, and colour* which are prepared specifically for this matter (Brammah, 2009b). Its texture and colour, for instance, which perhaps are the most sensitive two aspects that require precise solutions to give a sense of obsolescence of the ancient gate, have been largely achieved thanks to the contemporary techniques provided by some specific material factories. For example, 'the hand-made bricks made at Bryan' offer 'a good match with' the original local brick that was wrapping the body of the ancient gate (Ibid, p. 58). This consequently negates the need to scrutinise the extent that the BG has 'a relationship between its parts and the setting, which reinforces the quality of both' (Kerr, 2013, p. 17). This is based on its discordant architectural structure for the same reasons above, namely its longitudinal solid wall as well as its concrete structure, enfolded by standardised modern brick (HCECR, 2012b).

The third set of attributes is based on some aesthetic, historic, social and spiritual values that are abstracted from "Version 1" of Understanding and Assessing Cultural Significance of ICOMOS (2013b), where each value will be separately investigated:

a) Aesthetic value: it refers to 'the sensory and perceptual experience' of the component, which is defined through the individuals' attitudes towards diverse cultural associations inspired from this value, such as (Ibid, p. 3):

i. *'Is the [component] distinctive within the setting or a prominent visual landmark?'* The BG is conspicuous in the site and reflects a prominent visual landmark, 'evok[ing] strong feeling [and] special meanings' (Ibid, p. 3). Regardless of whether it can be named Babylonian architectural style, it 'display[s] particular [] characteristics of an identified style' (Ibid, p. 3), which is clearly distinguished from the traditional surroundings of the site. This, simply, increases its individuality within the outer wall of the Citadel, as its 'modern monumental style' breaks the physical continuity of the wall, represented by the harmonious architectural language of its continuous houses (HCECR, 2012c). Whilst, the visual hierarchy of its solid walls, grading from the tall to the taller (from its two sides towards the centre), has increased its prominence, particularly its main *arched gateway* is firstly located in the central segment, which is 'slightly taller' than the rest of the walls (Ibid, 52), located in front of them, and embraced by almost symmetrical composition of small narrow top slots on both sides of the gate (see: Figure 5.7). Locally, for some of the stakeholders of the traditional *Suq*

surrounding the site, this has meant to increase the potential of the BG as a distinctive visual landmark due to its difference of form, which makes its 'dominant' on the perimeter wall (see: Section, 4.2.2, p. 177).

Yet, achievement, and in Kerr's words, of such 'special meanings' of distinctive and prominent landmark from visual perspective is incomplete. Rather, it requires perceptual attainment of having 'qualities' making them 'inspirational' (Ibid, p. 3), and in terms of their affirmative potential to the site. Whereas, these meanings are understood by many to undermine the authentic meanings of the original gate, making the say that the BG fully achieved this criterion contentious. Although its distinction is almost obvious, it still imposes on the perimeter wall unfamiliar details of design approach, material and modernity, and therefore, contradicts the traditional architectural language and consequently, the visual urban setting of the site. In addition, the original gate denotes an Ottoman style, and thus to be stemming from the heart of the site being the overall urban and architectural style of the Citadel currently is preserved and developed through a synthesis of Islamic sociocultural and urban norms during its three Ottoman periods, which is completely different from the abstract monumental style of the current gate (HCECR, 2012b). This, perhaps, lessens the potential of the latter as "inspirational" that can really be incorporated in a perceptive process towards boosting the cultural qualities of the site. In contrary, some recent studies report that it leaves 'an overwhelming feeling' on the viewer, and thus acting 'as a negative symbol' for the site (Ibid, p. 53).

Comparing that to the PD, its architecture does not come with new physical distinction when redisplays the ancient gate, but rather evoking some deep historical meanings that are inherent in the collective memory of the indigenous people of the site through symbolic functions. This, in fact, also makes the contribution of the Proposal argumentative regarding attaining this criterion. Restoring the past implies reinstating some ancient settings that were existent before, but does their re-construction in the site once more also can bring distinction in itself? Yet, restoration of some bygone cultural meanings of the ancient gate may re-create a profound feeling among both the aboriginals of the Citadel and the city about the robust cultural relation of the latter with the site and the *Suq*, which was multifaceted functionally, socially, symbolically and organisationally (HCECR, 2012c). In particular, the contemporary abstract form of the BG has removed any 'historic evidence' that perpetuates this relation presently, resulted in non-'respect for the [] historical integrity' and thus historical meanings

of the gate (UNESCO, 2014, p. 19). This is part of the criteria of the UNESCO Guidelines towards conservation of the Citadel for which the PD, through its material assets, attempts to restore historical integrity of the gate once more and hence its immaterial assets where those historical meanings are part of. Consequently, if this characteristic makes the physical structure of the Proposal inspirational, it may bring its material and immaterial assets to a certain level of distinction.

b) *Historic value:* this value is used to test the extent of the cultural significance of the component for the site through a series of criteria, as (Kerr, 2013, p. 3):

i. *'Is the [component] associated with an important event…in history?'* Despite its short age in the site, the BG documents a specific political event within the life story of the Citadel that bears witness of this period. It is the rise and fall of the former Iraqi regime. Whilst, what makes it more associated with this event is the diverse testimonies from the local community and other local and global reports on the site that assign that regime behind the erection of the gate in the site. For instance, the "Report on Activities and Outputs of the Project" of the revitalisation (2009) affirms that the recent emergence of the BG within the historical urban context of the settlement comes as part of a series of 'changes' on the site as 'deliberate demolitions undertaken during the period of Saddam-Hussein regime', including 'the construction of the central road…the reconstruction in concrete of the central mosque' (Ibid, p. 68). While as part of these changes, and more importantly, is the issue of 'the demolition of the historic south gate' (Ibid, p. 68), and hence the construction of the concrete-based core of the current modern structure of the BG, which is although something sensitive, it perhaps justifiable. It obtains its justification, from similar, if not more sensitive, interventions within a more important heritage site, which is Babylon. The latter has also been intervened during the period of Saddam Hussein in the 1980s thus after the demolition of the gate. Yet, a study conducted on this specific issue by Jasim et al (2018), has revealed that the aim of the intervention in Babylon's built heritage is more explicit here. It is to 'embedding in the site some symbols that denote the Iraqi political regime represented by the character of Saddam Hussein. This was "as part of a politicised-construction program" on the site, which has subsequently resulted in "the great detriment of the site, and thus the exclusion of Babylon from the WHL' (Ibid, p. 87). Regardless of this exclusion, given the direct relationship between Babylon and that regime during this conservation process, this may give more

reasoning to say that the BG's structure may document some implications belonging to the rise and fall of that regime.

Perhaps, what grants the BG a kind of primacy to meet this criterion is the complete physical survival of its masses from the 1970s until today, which 'for any place the significance will be greater where the evidence of the association or event survives at the place…where the setting is substantially intact' (Kerr, 2013, p. 3). Whereas, manifold reasons may lessen the value of this event locally, consequently the position of the BG in the site. Firstly, the correlation of this event is more related to the modern history of the site in addition to the poor reputation of this regime locally resulted from its diverse political effects that immortalised its political ruthlessness. Furthermore, locally, some voices of the indigenous people of the site do not stop comparing the BG with its old counterpart: the original gate. The latter is undoubtedly associated with a series of historical events, culturally and politically, and each event has left a trace on the lifespan of the gate, starting from the Mongol siege and ending with the political period of the "Ottoman Sultan Mohammed I" (HCECR, 2012a, 2012b, SOITM, 2013). For instance, the pointed Arch and the two flanking masses on both sides of the Arch document the periods of siege and the Islamic conquering periods to the east (see: Figure 5.8). If it is hard to assume that the immaterial relics are not inherent in those removed material parts of the gate in themselves, but rather in what has accompanied them of events and in what they have witnessed of cultural stories of the site. This can be exemplified in the evolution of the physical-cultural story of the site. Though the urban structure of the site has witnessed different civilisations, deteriorations, sieges and wars (Novacek et al, 2008), which led to 'continuously reshaping the settlement, in a process of rebuilding structures', its current built context still displays 'an exceptional representation of an [intact] culture of [uninterruptedly] accumulating layers' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 87). This may evidence the continuation and progression of cultures of the site, though the physical persistence of the site is interrupted. This, on the one hand, makes the identical copy of the Proposal that portrays the physical features of the ancient gate possesses an actual opportunity to attain this criterion. Therefore, such a comparison lessens the historic value of the BG for the expense of the PD, otherwise the modern political event that the BG records is enough to enable it achieving this criterion.



Figure 5.8: (right): the pointed Arch and the flanking masses are depicted in a manuscript painting during the Mongol siege in 1258; (left): the same pointed Arch and the two flanking masses survived in the original gate during the 1930s; (HCECR, 2012b, p. 44, 52).

ii. *'Is the [component] important in showing patterns in the development of history locally?*' To investigate the achievement of this criterion, it might be important to scrutinise it from two sides, as form and function; and more importantly is to pursue the progression of both of these two aspects in the case of the original gate firstly. This, in fact, enables assessing to what extent such aspects have been considered in the renovation decision, and thus maintained by the current gate, and then comparing that to the case of the PD. On the level of form and during the pre-Islamic periods, the ancient gate has presented a genuine paradigm of the concept of fortification, and this is due to what the outside form of the gate has bestowed to the Citadel as a fortified site. In specific, its huge singular gate as well as its central location in the perimeter wall has granted the gate more visual dominance, and thus reflected high sense of fortification, which is the most common pattern of gates of the Middle East citadels during that period. On the level of function and however, what can be regarded as exclusive to that gate is its difference with what many gates of the surrounding citadels possess of specific architectural details that boost their functional defences against the surrounding threats, such as the gate of Aleppo Citadel (HCECR, 2008, Novacek et al, 2008, SOITM, 2013). Whereas, the latter shows two main parts mostly separate from each other, the former indicates one compact structure of overlapped masses and components, which has developed through a series of modifications on its function, thus on its form, and hence grant its architectural pattern an added value within the perimeter wall. Thus, besides its fortification function, it demonstrates some humanitarian and medical functions that enrich the inner function of the site to be mostly independent from the surroundings thanks to the Islamic norms that granted it a progressive nature, which enabled it from including such

functions into its structure by time (HCECR, 2008, 2012c). Being it reproduces the same material settings of the ancient gate, as form and function, location and orientation, and texture and colour, including those timber and lime, and hand-made brick of buffcoloured and dilapidated red colours (Brammah, 2009b, HCECR, 2012c), the Proposal presents an original paradigm of those patterns that the ancient gate had presented. In particular, its current setting shows a rich pattern of Islamic Ottoman architectural style, which extends back to involve different architectural epochs that the Citadel has witnessed and perhaps till the Neo-Assyrian period.

Within this context, the renovation decision to demolish that gate has cancelled all of these characteristics that stand behind its particular architectural pattern. Whereas, the BG could not maintain this pattern, nor was it efficient to re-display it through its current architecture. Therefore, it is considered that it shows a different pattern of differentiated architectural form, which made it irrelevant locally. It presents new pattern of a portioned wall that is contrary to the compact structure of the old gate, and thus completely contradicts the defensive look that the ancient gate has long possessed with the site. On the level of function, it clearly limits the original pattern of the traditional functions of the original gate, particularly those inherited from the Ottoman period to a circular arch, while the space of those functions has been left as an empty area blocked by the linear wall of the BG (HCECR, 2012a, SOITM, 2013). Hence, it does not contribute to rooting and developing the original pattern that the ancient gate has founded before Islam, and has been maintained and developed through the Ottoman period of the site. Instead, it introduces a new architectural pattern to the site, which creates a gap in its local history that may disconnect it to that history.

c) *Social and spiritual value*: this value is used to test the extent of 'the associations that the component has for [the] community...and...the cultural meanings that it holds for them', and as follows (Kerr, 2013, p. 4):

i. *'Is the [component] important to [the local] community…because of [specific] meanings developed from long use?'* Some of the locals sees the BG bears some cultural meanings, which gives it a kind of cultural significance, though they do not mention what kind of meanings exactly, but perhaps what they retain of some 'memories with the gate' since its erection in the 1970s makes it familiar for them (see: Section 4.2.2, p. 176).

However, this short existence on the site does not factually embody these meanings particularly if we compare it to the last three centuries where the original gate was erecting. Furthermore, these memories do not live up to be materially part of 'intangible values and meanings embodied in [the BG]' as they are tied to a small sample among the locals, and thus cannot really 'give it importance in the [] traditional knowledge' of the local community (Kerr, 2013, p. 4). Therefore, they are unable to evoke their 'emotional responses' towards its meanings (Ibid, p. 4). In addition, its short existence did not witness the deep history of the site, and therefore it can be seen as an empty 'repository of [traditional] knowledge' for the majority of the audience (Ibid, p. 4). Thus, its superficial coexistence with the site results in its insufficiency in verifying some cultural meanings making the BG also lacking in "spiritual value", which is paramount in proving the cultural significance of a built heritage's component.

From a perspective of long use, thus long history, what may weaken the current gate from establishing such meanings for the local community is what the old gate has proved in this regard. The latter has maintained its traditional use as a sole entrance for the site for many centuries, which organises 'a maze of alleys and cul-de-sacs' fanned in all directions from its main arch towards all parts of the site, showing a legible example of Islamic heritage component (UNESCO Doha, 2014, p. 189). While, its architectural structure with mostly steady form has partly dictated the compliance of transformations of its outer add-ons, and simultaneously, has permitted the adaptation to changing functions throughout those centuries (UNESCO Doha, 2014). This solidifies its cultural and spiritual values among the local community of the site as a local symbol attained by these two historical features, which at the local level of the site, it is regarded part of 'symbolic and identity value' for the inhabitants, particularly those aboriginals (UNESCO Guidelines, 2014, p. 166). Here, as part of the urban growth of the site, the fact that the ancient gate was a unique survival of an ancient urban heritage maintained through constant additions of cultural layers has led the immaterial culture of each layer to leave its contribution as a physical addition on the gate, inscribed on its architecture of both the interior space and the exterior façade. Thus, one of the impacts of this materially-immaterially progressive dimension is that it cements the spiritual value of the gate as a symbol of the site, which increases its cultural meanings locally, and thus its associations with the inhabitants.

The latter considers the Citadel '"headless" without its previous gate', which is a clear reference to 'the high symbolic value of the grand gate' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 52). Parallel this to the BG, the latter does not possess real social value locally owing to the fact that its new design and settings abolish its symbolism as a local landmark for the Citadel due to its lack of association with the historical dimension of the Citadel's architecture. In this sense, it does not, or cannot substantiate true levels of significance 'as part of community identity' (Kerr, 2013, p. 4), of the site for two reasons. Firstly, its architectural language symbolises to another architectural pattern as well as its methodology of shortening the traditional spaces and functions of the original gate to be confined to a longitudinal solid wall having completely abolished its representation for the local identity of the site. In contrast, being it works on restoring many of the original meanings of the site, the PD gains a notable spiritual value locally, making it more important to the public. Through its diverse form-based potential, firstly, the Proposal invokes the rich history of the ancient gate into being again, and therefore it re-associates the locals with the original gate as an ancient symbol of the site, consequently, as part of their traditional identity. 'The site maintains the full integrity of the urban form and, to a large extent, of its built fabric' (HCECR, 2012c, p. 88), where its cultural history is part of. To maintain the latter, some local voices see re-presentation of the authentic history of the gate necessary, and part of it is the removal of the 'new restorations [after] the 1970s-80s', where the modern structure of the BG is part of (Ibid, p. 88). For example, some 'stakeholders and civil society have demanded…reconstruction [of the ancient gate] after demolition of the present construction' (the BG) (Ibid, p. 52). Thus, this perhaps evidences the proper endeavour of the PD in re-presenting those archaic cultural meanings of the ancient gate which are complementary for the cultural story of the site, from the one side, and therefore cements its importance among the locals, from the other side. Some of the aboriginals confirm its importance in showing 'more genuine considerations in dealing with the real history' of the gate (see: Section 4.2.3, p. 186).

ii. *'Do[es] the spiritual value of the [component]…inspire creative works?*' Given the fact that the views of the local community are seen part of assessment of the spiritual value in the above "c" criterion, perhaps it makes the involvement of their views here is part of the investigation of this criterion. According to the inhabitants, the form settings of the BG inspire Babylonian architecture, and therefore as a creative work is inspirational, but the dilemma arises when this creative work collides with another innovative work or is cultivated

in an environment different from, or does not bear the attributes of its local environment. Hence, 'its detachment from the site's local traditionalism' may cancel the value of this inspiration, which instead 'should present an authentic form, originating from the local cultural traditions of the place' (see: Section 4.2.4, p. 200, 207). In other words, the BG stands alone in a site fully denoting an Ottoman Islamic urban setting in addition to its deep history denoting Assyrian urban civilisation (HCECR, 2012c, Brammah, 2009b). Its creativity is cultivated in an inappropriate place, which resulted in introducing new "form" and "style" to the traditional form and style of the Citadel's architecture. Whereas, though the level of inspiration of the PD is more realised for the locals, it is still controversial to adopt the say of its innovation of inspiration of a creative work. More precisely, the Proposal does not show a genuine meaning of inspiration of the old gate. To do so, the former should put forward the design settings of the latter as a source of inspiration in terms of how it has succeeded in proving its validity against different cultural-environmental circumstances. Yet, the Proposal does nothing but reinstating the current setting of the gate to its ancient creative setting. Finally, Table 5.4 summarises the results of this test.

Test of Cultural Significance		**The BG**	**The PD**
Series 1: *Criteria inferred from Kerr, 2013*	**'i'** the level of importance of the associate component	Not achieved	Achieved
	'ii' the level of intimacy and duration of the association	Partly achieved	Achieved
Series 2: *Criteria inferred from the Burra Charter, 1999*	**'i'** the level of unity of the component with the site	Slightly achieved	Achieved
Series 3: *Criteria inferred from the ICOMOS Charter, Version 1, 2013b*	**Aesthetic value:** **'i'** the distinction of the component within the site setting	Slightly achieved	Achieved
	Historic value: **'i'** the correlation of the component with an important event in the site's history	Achieved	Achieved
	'ii' the importance of the component in showing patterns in the site's history	Partly achieved	Achieved
	Social and spiritual value: **'i'** the importance of the component to the local community	Not achieved	Achieved
	'ii' inspiration of creative works and the spiritual value of the component	Slightly achieved	Slightly achieved

Table 5.4: Level of achievement of the criteria of cultural significance between the BG & the PD

CHAPTER SIX:

DISCUSSIONS & CONCLUSIONS

On the Four Tests of the Gate

6.1 Discussion on the Test of Authenticity

Regardless of the extent to which the material and immaterial repercussions of the current gate are consistent with the notion of authenticity at the time it was at the site, based on the above authenticity investigation, temporal dimension is important when attempting to explore the gate through this concept. Though the gate had different influences on the Citadel's urban heritage, materially and immaterially, considering the worth of the time factor in investigating the continuity of the BG on the site is important. It may lead towards reconsideration of how to deal with some of its cultural impacts, which are currently believed to be negatively impacting the authenticity of the site. More importantly, fulfilling this investigation should comply with the concept of "progressive authenticity", owing to the different merits involved (Von and Bertilsson, 1995). Perhaps, well-consideration of the BG through this concept makes it stand to support the latter, or even calls for looking at its authenticity issue from another perspective. Dealing with the cultural impacts of the BG through this concept means that authenticity should not only consider the place that it lies in, but the time period that it represents also, now and in the future (Nezhad et al., 2015). Although some additions to some heritage sites were initially perceived as negative (as part of the wider impacts of cultural and non-cultural conflicts surrounding these sites), over time they started to demonstrate a new cultural standing within these sites as part of their cultural history. The existence of some components in the current urban context of Erbil Citadel is perhaps at the heart of this discourse, as its perimeter wall for example (HCECR, 2012c).

According to Al-Yaqoobi et al. (2012), HCECR (2008, 2012c), the wall firstly emerged as a normal defensive wall surrounding the site during its early epochs similar to many citadels in the Middle East. Yet, during its early-Ottoman period, the site was modified to the current setting as a composition of particular houses as a consequence of different stages of wars and sieges before that period. Despite accommodating a new housing function for the site, it led to the removal of the original wall, which has long given a defensive look to the site over centuries, along with its inability to maintain a similar level of defensive look. Presumably, according to Brammah (2009b), this should lead to lessening the "authenticity of setting" of the built heritage of the site, and therefore may have entailed the removal of the current wall similar to the decision against the erection of the current gate. However, since that period and beyond, the wall started to establish a distinctly cultural standing locally for diverse material

and immaterial properties that are so integrated in its structure to the extent that have currently come to be used as a *symbol* for the site (Al-Yaqoobi et al., 2012; HCECR, 2012c). Thus, what can be inferred here is that some additions to the built heritage may lead to some immediate material and immaterial consequences on its urban context, yet the same additions are possibly able to demonstrate some cultural potential subsequently, and thus to be considered cultural merits for the site. Thence, in the same way they have lessened its authenticity, they may lead to solidifying this concept based on new cultural properties, which may be the case of the BG. Despite the increasing role given to the intangible dimensions involved more efficiently in assessing heritage authenticity, still the reference to deduce them through the material dimensions is an old tradition, which might be an incomplete reference, particularly if this is based on some immediate temporal indications. In such cases, the lifespan of the material dimensions should be expanded to assimilate some inevitable changes compliantly, where Von and Bertilsson (1995) attribute this to the fact that authenticity should not always be completely concerned with what is original, but rather tackled as a 'progressive authenticity' to permit the time dimension from founding its role within the built heritage, thus demonstrating new potential for authenticating its components.

Otherwise, authenticity will be an obstructed term that does not allow for any new layers of culture to be involved in the built context of heritage, and thus would lead to leaving a cultural gap related to the present role of the cultural environment in the built heritage. This can be regarded as moving away from the genuine meaning of authenticity. Authenticity is therefore a progressive notion, or constructive. It is adaptive and adaptable at the same time. It absorbs the historical change, whilst meanwhile excluding the ostensible, but this may entail a more temporal dimension for a more accurate reading. This perhaps gives more justification to the continuation of the BG on the site. Yet, the fact that the physical structure of built heritage is subject to filtration over time keeps the BG open to a continuous assessment, while the 'original intentions' behind its emergence on the site as a gate, including its cultural story, should be 'retained' more open (Ibid, p. 3). Embedded in this is what the temporal dimension of this story can add to the theme of authenticity of the site, which in return contributes to re-shaping this theme based on its potential to demonstrate new latent indications.

Through the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994), it is also suggested that any criteria used to test authenticity of the BG can possibly be subject to modification over time. Thus, to

match the continuous change of the Citadel's urban context over history, 'it is [] not possible to base judgements of…authenticity within fixed criteria' when testing any of its components (p. 3). This perhaps enables expanding the immaterial base of the gate when exposed to the assessment of authenticity, seeking more historical-cultural data that enable embedment of new conditions and indications to the criteria of authenticity, and thus a more transparent vision towards its existence on the site. Secondly, the Declaration of ICOMOS on the Reconstruction of Monuments Destroyed by War (1982) also evokes the time dimension of the political repercussions behind the existence of the current gate as an immaterial indication that may need to partake as a complementary asset in defining the authenticity of the gate. Although their material impacts may not correspond to the physical criteria of authenticity, their immaterial connotations insufficient for demonstrating an immediate historical contribution during their occurrence, the growing cultural standing of these political repercussions may have broader effects on the entire place over time to become part of its new cultural image. Hence, this may act as a new potential qualifying the BG to impose a new cultural layer on the historical cultural image of the perimeter wall, and thus its authenticity of setting perhaps will be subject for more debate, and perhaps re-definition.

The Declaration recommends respecting the inevitable historical impacts that resulted from determined political conflicts and their aftermath on built heritage. For instance, in the restoration of built heritage destroyed by such conflicts 'special care should be taken that the historic development up to the present time' can be traced, which may deliver new meanings that add to, or facilitate a redefinition of its authenticity as a composite. Instead of being tied to a specific historical epoch, thereafter it should include different periods of the local history within the chronology of the site, which the BG is part of. The potential of the temporal dimension through which the latter can add to the site may tangibly partake in its redefinition based on its new potential indications, making this definition part of the continuous changes, additions and alterations that the site witnesses. The site is therefore governed by the aftermath of the temporal dimension of each period that includes such additions and changes. Authenticity is 'not an absolute qualifier. It is meaningless to state that such…a property is "undeniably authentic"' to be an untouchable term based on what its immediate physical potential contributes to the site that it is part of rather than the potential that its time dimension may grant to it (Stovel, 2003, annex 4). This simply means that authenticity is a 'relative concept', which often dictates its existence according to some potentials acquired

through a specific period of the heritage component, and therefore must always be defined through 'the ability of particular attributes to express clearly the nature of key recognised values' during this period (annex 4). Thus, it 'is rooted in the values attributed to the heritage' (ICOMOS, 1994, p. 9), while acknowledgement of these values, within the original and subsequent components of the property, 'is requisite basis for assessing all aspects of authenticity' (Ibid, p. 9). If the BG is an obvious subsequent component added during a controversial period of history of the site, this is an apparent reference to be re-considered in the assessment of authenticity. Given the fact that more than a study, such as Al-Yaqoobi et al. (2012), HCECR (2012c) and Brammah (2009b), consider its insertion in the site as part of some political circumstances, this undoubtedly signposts the cultural effect of the gate within the biography of the historical chronology of the site, where its impact on the definition of the authenticity of the site is presumably expected. As such, any step against the current gate may need to endorse respecting the worth of its cultural effect, and thus being documented for the future on its current state.

However, to reflect a level of authenticity, the progressive authenticity also states that the new modification that the BG brings to the Citadel is conditioned to possess some historical values from the site submerged in its physical setting and contributing to determining its expressions. Based on the above test, this in fact again weakens the position of the BG because its structure is void of real historical values that prove this. Secondly, except for the political implication, the new architectural language that the BG suggests might not really fit with the condition of the progressive authenticity. The latter does not call for a 'blind perpetuation…but rather a more creative engagement with how to make relevant the [property] of the past in the present, something that implies change and transformation rather than cultural stagnation' (Alivizatou, 2012, p. 139), it does not call for altering the property into a new modern structure. Rather, the core of this condition calls for respecting the past through maintaining its authentic features in a manner that may permit denoting the time period of the conservation through some consistent formalist propagations where possible. Here, the BG does not actually present such creative engagement with the Citadel and this is probably for its change that undermines many histo-cultural values of the original gate. In addition, it does not sustain any authentic part from the original gate, which represented the historical period that preceded the BG. Particularly the true representation of a heritage property for the notion of authenticity essentially requires proving a real 'historical-evidential

authentication' (Jokilehto, 2007) in order to completely present the multidimensional image of history of heritage property where the BG seems far from this evidentiary authentication. According to Nezhad et al. (2015), the BG did not evolve as 'a part of [] dynamic authentication' of the site to becoming 'stable' (Ibid, p. 102) with a real and/or true authenticity. If its temporal dimension authenticates some recent evidence from the modern history of the site, the current gate also has to prove that it perpetuates some past remnants that attest to the perpetuation of the rich history of the site in its present structure. Yet, the gate does not present actual evidence, indicating it as an inextricable part of the site which, despite its reference to the temporal dimension of the present history of the site, breaks 'the stable dimension of authenticity' of its deep and continuous history (Ibid, p. 102) (see: Figure 6.1).

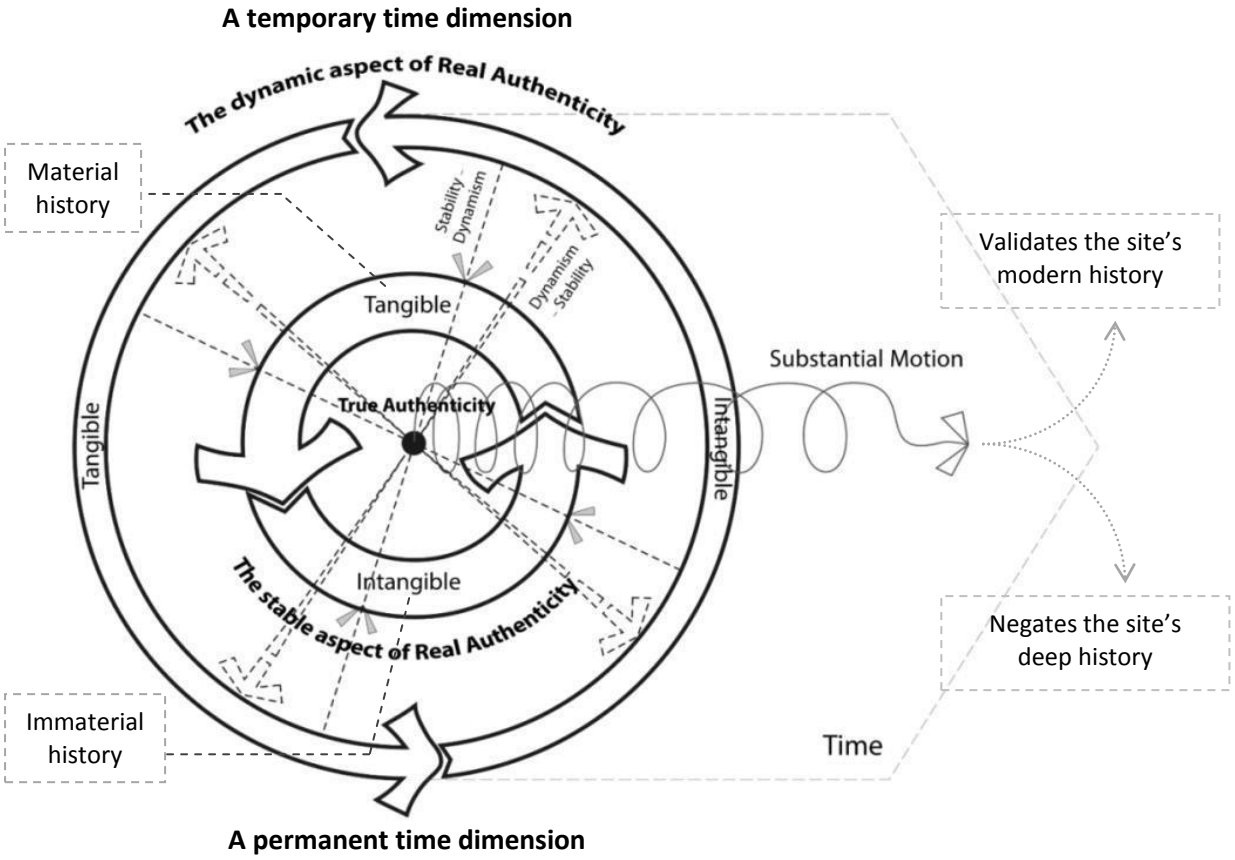


Figure 6.1: The BG and the site's true authenticity, modified from Nezhad et al. (2015, p. 101), (Broadbent, 1983) by the researcher

Nevertheless, the current PD is also partly incompatible with this condition, as it is unable to sustain "the time period" that the new amalgam of the gate denotes. It "considers the place that it lies in" more than the "the time period that it represents" (Nezhad et al., 2015). Consequently, it may largely reiterate the same procedure of the BG, but from the perspective of "time" rather than "place".

Then, how can we interpret a kind of local consensus on the PD, which still receives much appreciation locally, and more so than the BG with regard to the concept of authenticity? This is probably realised when firstly it is acknowledged that 'authenticity cannot be undermined over time. Although the physical aspect of heritage is experiencing gradual changes consciously or unconsciously; …the correlation between memory [of the inhabitants] and authenticity continues regardless of the physical aspects and do not necessarily require [heritage] physical continuity' (Nezhad et al., 2015, p. 97). This pertains to the refusal of some of the inhabitants regarding the BG, because of the deep correlation between the inhabitants' memory and the original gate despite its physical continuity being discontinued by the erection of the BG, whilst the latter was unable to sustain this continuity. Secondly, this also can be attributed to the condition of the "spirit and feelings" of the local community towards this proposal that Nara Charter (1994) refers to. For them, the PD takes the façade to its historical appearance (of form and of intangible heritage) and therefore has authentic status. Spiritually, a case of intimacy and acquaintance between them and the new PD is revived (see: Section 4.2.2, p. 175/6), which may legitimise its local acceptance as for them in this case it can "credibly and truly express" the site (Stovel, 2007).

In conjunction with this, if "the essential contribution made by the consideration of authenticity in conservation practice is to clarify and illuminate the collective memory of humanity" (Nara Charter cited in Erbil Citadel Conservation Guidelines, p. 13), the new PD retrieves and displays a spectrum of cultural and historical attributes that all re-call the collective memory of the local people. Therefore, for the majority of the locals, as much as the BG lessens 'the character and value of the [Citadel], [and] brings about a loss of significance…by causing physical damage, visual and physical pollution', the new PD restores 'the spirit of the original use for which the [gate] was designed' (Erbil Citadel Conservation Guidelines, p. 125). This urged the PD to restore the original design and the genuine details of the original gate through 'applying conservation norms', which, according to Brammah (2009b, p. 34), 'provides valuable guidelines that are still valid today'.

Finally, what makes it difficult to precisely assess which one between the BG and the PD can clearly add to the site is that the concept of authenticity has recently become exploited by the site's decision-makers to serve some tourist purposes. Many studies, such as Dushkina (1995), Jokilehto (2006a), and Stovel (2007), refer to this aspect. Whereas authenticity is sometimes granted some excessive veneration 'as if it were a value in its own right' (Stovel, 2007, p. 28), which should prevent some decision-makers from manipulating the heritage's histo-cultural values in exceedingly intended subjectivity (Dushkina, 1995), it has recently been exploited by some policies to motivate heritage tourism. For instance, Jokilehto (2006a) mentions that the theme of authenticity recently became 'fashionable as a qualifying aspect of all types of commercial and tourist products, not necessarily reflecting genuine [values]' (p. 8), but to position the site on the tourism market. In this respect, authenticity as a concept is perhaps used as a tool to expel the BG from the Citadel, because it is insufficient in attracting enough numbers of local tourists to be replaced by the new PD that powerfully serves the historical and cultural settings of the site as tourist attractions that "the Reinstatement of the grand gate" (2012a) denote and comparatively the revitalisation process aims at achieving (Brammah, 2009b).

6.2 Discussion on the test of Integrity

The test of integrity mostly sets the BG as an accidental component inside the architectural language of the site's perimeter wall. However, was the soil breakdown of the *Tell* not enough in being valid structural evidence supporting its position? It was not. As stated, some recent studies after (2009) show the credibility of this evidence, but nonetheless integrity, and more recently, started to be seen as overlapped with many other intangible meanings that shifted the focus within this notion from being inherent in or even confined to the material structural aspects of the heritage physical constructs to involve those immaterial. Visual and functional integrity are a good example of this, and both contributed to shifting the track of the test from being purely ingrained in the physicality of the gate to becoming more open towards social and cultural dimensions.

What might draw attention here is that most of the local critique regarding this issue concentrates either on the functional or the visual integrity of the gate and more than the structural despite what has been the practice that the structural integrity is the first thing that may come to mind. This may be justified as both the functional and visual integrity maintain

a kind of socio-cultural relationship between the property and the local community (Jokilehto, 2006a), as well as sustaining some deep aesthetic and cultural aspects constructed by the original gate that became spiritual values added to the site and subsequently reflected what Jokilehto terms the local community as "spiritual responses" (2006). Thus, the visual integrity of the structure is more inspirational for these local spiritual values and responses, which were accordingly also found as supportive for the PD to obtain a better position within the criteria of the functional and visual integrity. As a result, the potential unity of the grand gate, inferred from the World Heritage Tentative List (2006), has been 'weakened by the intrusion of [the BG as] discordant…that are unrelated to the significance and detract from the visual unity' of the original gate. In contrast, the clear visual unity that the PD proposes acts as a potential support of the visual integrity of the site.

Nevertheless, the restoration that the PD tends to achieve is premised on *mimicking* the original gate as a physical structure of full material and immaterial expressions. This supports the case of the PD against the BG, but nonetheless still the core message that the PD relies on is *mimicking* the original rather than *restoring* the original. This is regardless of the precise employment of some modern techniques to manufacture similar construction materials or using some quantities from those neglected residential units, which are completely dilapidated in principal. As a critical scientific scrutiny of this issue, mimicking the past is completely another issue from restoring that past. The former cannot present a particular physical evidence of that past, whereas for the latter it is a condition. A replica model, including its traditional physical assets, of a specific period of the history of the gate does not necessarily mean that the tangibles and intangibles of that period have been realistically reinstated, but rather imitated. Though this point will also be debated further in the next Overall Discussion (see: Section 6.5), what might be deduced here is that the inward petition of the revitalisation pushes the issue of the gate towards gaining some local consensus that ultimately may serve the supreme goal of the revitalisation, tourism.

6.3 Discussion on the test of OUV

Most of the criteria that the test of OUV rests on here are more relevant to two key aspects, which are both linked to what the particular heritage element provides in order to either harmonise this element with the site as a whole or to emphasise its deep history. Whereas both of these aspects have lessened the potential of the BG to match some of these criteria,

most of the reasons behind the second aspect "deep history" have been attributed to a key factor: its short age on the site. What has furthered the weakness of the BG in this aspect is its inability to confront the rich evidence that the original gate provided, making it a real masterpiece of traditional architecture. The historical timeline of the ancient gate indicates an important interchange of values, linking between the archaeological epochs of the Assyrian period and the series of following periods represented by the early period of Islamic culture and after the Ottoman period until 1970s (see: Figure 6.2). This made the current gate fragile to parallel, even modestly, what the ancient gate 'symbolises [of] a set of…cultural values which are [] recognised as important' (ICOMOS, 2008b, p. 11), included in this historical chronology, which has witnessed different generations of different ethnicities, religions and nationalities, which led to diversifying its traditional functional-use. All of that has furthered its deep history, and its historical standing in the site, which in return weakened the situation of the BG. Hence, the genuine importance of OUV of the original gate mainly lies in the specific 'historical value[s]' that it was reflecting upon the whole site through its distinct historical pattern, which subsequently led to considering the changes made by the BG 'unacceptable' (UNESCO, 2014, p. 138). In fact, these values are essential for the site's decision-makers as being of exceptional interest for the key tourist purpose of the revitalisation as unique tourist attractions, serving the site and its urban surroundings. This, in return, may urge the removal of the BG, but on the other hand leads to questioning whether the political event that the BG documents is unable to create a kind of OUV for the site that can serve this purpose also.

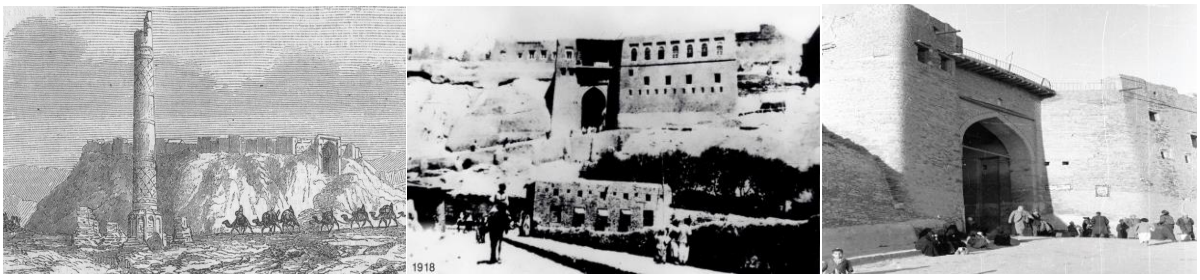


Figure 6.2: The historical timeline of the original gate that witnessed different generations and events over time; (left: in mid-18th century; middle: in 1918; right: during the 1950s); (HCECR, 2012b).

Recently, the definitions of OUV started to embed new themes that seem inescapable but are overlaid if not integral to its general framework; political influences are one of these themes than can come to the foreground as having primacy in the new definition of the OUV of these sites (Jokilehto, 2006b). As such, the significance of OUV started firstly from some purely

cultural heritage themes towards involving other more critical themes, such as authenticity and integrity, and then more recently included new sociocultural themes to be complementary for its genre. For instance, though it is not a perpetual condition, certifying that a heritage property has an OUV can be confirmed whenever authenticity is confirmed, while part of the latter is the involvement of any event or value that participated in establishment of this concept, where ramifications of the political history on the site are apparently integral to this. 'To be deemed of outstanding universal value, a property must also meet the conditions of...authenticity' (UNESCO, 2005a, para. 78), and hence should emphasise a future protection for this notion, including its subsequent accumulated cultural themes (Blandford, 2007, Nicholas et al., 2009). This facilitates the complete achievement of 'authenticity of the site', enabling 'future transmission' of its OUV to the coming generations (UNESCO, 2014, p. 5).

In light of this, the general framework of the sociocultural themes also discloses some inner issues that do not stray far from some political frames, even economic, which have a tangible impact on the final cultural settings of the site to become evident in its current manifestation. Jokilehto (2006b) argues that the current definitions of OUV of many heritage sites 'are subject to political changes...and they rarely coincided with the boundaries of culturally coherent regions' (p. 1). Such political influences may form a platform to support the new tourist turn of the site, particularly as it principally has its proponents from those local views that see the revitalisation decision of demolishing the BG as carrying some political motives. Consequently, the potential of this motive is there; it is nested in the grassroots level of the site, and thus its popular base is established, but all it needs is a subtle motivation that steers this motive cautiously to augmenting this popular base positively. In fact, this is not a call for politicising the OUV of the gate or the site, but rather, according to Chapman (2008), a gesture to the past is needed in order to re-employ its potential in a more appropriate manner that can serve the site and the place more conveniently. Particularly, UNESCO Recommendations of Kazan (2005) legitimise augmenting this popular base, stating that defining a precise level of OUV of a heritage component also relies on people interpretation. More precisely, according to point "7a, b and c" from the Preamble of this Meeting, the concept of OUV is also assigned by people based on their appreciation of this particular value.

In support of this argument, OUV promotes involving new practical techniques to treat the site's present continuous changes instead of entirely ignoring them for the sake of the past (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, Poria and Biran, 2006). Whilst the OUV recommends sustaining the historical value of the ancient work, it also urges the involvement of some present changes. Therefore, the introspection of this promotion perhaps necessitates appreciating the recent changes that have been inscribed within the grand gate, or the BG, regardless of its political implications that if managed subtly might lead to unexpected outcomes for the site's tourist aims. Cancelling out this political period from the site, considering it as a black history for the place, is not necessarily a transparent step towards the future of the site; particularly the above test has proved many criteria for the expense of this political event that the BG denotes. This means the BG indicates a "certain historical epoch" that occurred over a span of time within the Citadel (ICOMOS, 2008b).

However, the counterargument that may emerge against that, in Gospodini's words (2004, p. 231), is that the BG imprints a strange identity on the site as 'single-dimensioned and less meaningful' for the local people, which perhaps reduces its potential as a tourist attraction. Contrariwise, the original gate combines many significant cultural stages within the history of the site which easily fit with the condition of the "typological value" of OUV being an actual 'representative' of the Citadel's history 'that risks disappearance' (ICOMOS, 2008b, p. 57). Nevertheless, the present situation of the site, according to David Michelmore, an international expert on the revitalisation, can perhaps still meet the revitalisation tourist aim. The BG is there now and the original gate is no more than an intangible memory of the site. On the other hand, what the BG achieved from the criteria of the OUV can be supported for achieving more criteria, particularly historical political events that started to play a real role in the future manifestation and formulation of built heritage due to the huge impact of these events on the site's reputation globally.

More importantly, what requires further discussion is the contentious solution, which the PD grants regarding the above requirement of "deep history" that most of the aforementioned criteria of the OUV necessitates. Following the plan that has been set for the PD, its manifestation is still in process, its history pages are still empty of actual historical contributions to the site. Perhaps, what can be argued in such a case is that the implementation of the PD at least should be deferred and re-discussed, taking into consideration this condition. The potential that the PD rests on is the archetypal paradigm by

which it should reinstate the "typological value" of the original gate, denoting its "great antiquity" (UNESCO, 2014). However, this antiquity is assigned to the site as being an 'uninterrupted occupation [for 7000 years], making it one of the oldest urban settlements in the world' (Ibid, p. 5), and thus the grand gate has acquired and/or inherited this feature of antiquity from the site. In addition, if we compare the old age value of the original gate considering its age starts before the early-Ottoman period of 1743 until the erection of the BG, its representation for the site continued for about 300 years, witnessing more than a generation, making it deeply rooted in the site and inherent in its social component. Yet, the problem of the PD is a prototype model of this gate, which is still on paper. As a consequence, how can it restore a material history and a typological value of about 300 years? The OUV of the PD from this perspective is probably unverified. It is insufficient to be convincing in terms of age, so its implementation leaves the door open for further debate in this concern. From another perspective, if arguably the gate has lost its typological value through the erection of the BG, following Jokilehto (2006a), its political event, which dominates the site over the last three decades, perhaps can re-establish this value through new tools. Furthermore, point "7f" from the UNESCO Recommendations (2005) shows that the criteria of OUV are generally evolvable over time based on different 'perceptions and interpretations of heritage', therefore it is also constructive and similar to the notion of authenticity, which in this regard is also supportive for the tourist shift of the site and simultaneously reinforces the position of the BG.

6.4 Discussion on the test of cultural significance

The BG can meet few criteria of cultural significance. The main reason is predicated upon some cultural gaps between the sub-conditions of the particular criterion and the potential that the BG offers to achieve them, which are assessed through the lens of the local community, such as the social and spiritual value and the aesthetic value. The Burra Charters of the Australia ICOMOS (1999), (2013a) perhaps summarise the reason beyond that, stating that 'cultural significance [should be] embedded in the place itself…its setting,…, associations, meanings, records…and related [components]' that should 'have a range of values for different individuals for past, present or future generations' of the Citadel (ICOMOS, 2013a, p. 2). Consecutively, "related components", "associations" and "meanings" underpin the evidence of fragility of the BG to be assessed as an accidental

component within the Citadel and as a weak representative for the site's cultural significance. Associations, for instance, imply 'the connections that exist between people and [the BG]'. They embed 'social values and cultural responsibilities' for the Citadel. Meanings refer to what the BG 'signifies, indicates, evokes or expresses' to the locals' (Ibid, p. 2).

In fact, the common denominator among these conditions is the necessity for identifying some ties linking the gate and the site as a unified cultural theme, which is positive. However, the assessment of many of these ties is based on the local community's views, making the potential of subjectivity expected. "Related components" aspect, for instance, does not tie the BG to the Citadel's properties, but another place that is necessarily famous for the local community, indicating a component that 'contributes to the cultural significance' of a site that is 'not at the place' but 'of another place' (Ibid, p. 2). This perhaps fits with the condition of the BG which locally is argued to imitate the Babylon architectural style. The dilemma emerges when the locals give their views against this value, considering it something that devalues the site culturally and through an uncritical process of assessment when mixed with the other two aspects of "associations" and "meanings", which both compel the value of the component to be stemming from the site itself. As a consequence, it leads to a kind of misreading of the overall assessment.

Another weakness that may result from following the locals' assessment is the rigid vision by which the cultural significance of the gate is assessed, making it unchangeable over time. The Burra Charter states that 'cultural significance may change over time and with use' as well as 'understanding of cultural significance may change as a result of new information' (p. 2). Hence, reinforcing the cultural significance of the site might be through protecting the BG 'without obscuring evidence' of any cultural repercussions behind 'its construction and use' (Article 17: Preservation, p. 6). If this evidence is 'of such significance', the same Article recommends that 'it should not be altered' (Ibid, p. 6). The first version of this Charter also stresses that:

> The traces of additions, alterations and [] treatments to the fabric of a [site] are evidence of its history…which may be part of its significance. Conservation should assist and not impede their understanding. It requires a cautious approach of changing as much as necessary but as little as possible (ICOMOS, 1999, Article 3, p. 3).

Perhaps, this gives more explicit testimony that the BG should be considered before commencing any decision of demolition due to what it adds to the modern cultural history of the site. Therefore, it would be an ill-advised step if it were demolished as a reaction against the renovation decision to demolish the old gate, which the research has ruled out until now.

However, the condition of 'of such significance' might be contentious for some of those locals who do not see any justification for it within the BG, particularly for those who believe in its structure as an accidental component within the site. What possibly supports them is the conditions set by the two versions of the Burra Charter on places of cultural significance of (1999) and (2013), which stated that:

> The 'new [component] should involve minimal [effect] to significant fabric and use; should provide for continuation…which contribute[s] to the cultural significance of the [site]'. Furthermore, any change due to new architectural components…should be guided by the cultural significance of the [site]. Changes which reduce cultural significance should be reversible, and be reversed when circumstances permit. Demolition of significant fabric of [built heritage] is not acceptable'. In addition, 'the contributions of all aspects of cultural significance of a [component] should be respected'. However, 'if a [component] includes…associations or meanings of different periods, or different aspects of cultural significance, emphasising or interpreting one period or aspect at the expense of another can only be justified when what is…removed is of slight cultural significance' (ICOMOS, 2013, p. 4, 5, & 6).

This is where the problem lies. The BG cannot fit with this, particularly as what has been removed by the BG is considered doubly significant compared to it, and for this reason is regarded as an accidental component by many. This is also evidenced by the Venice Charter (1964), which states as a prerequisite that respecting any contribution of a historical building is that this contribution should be 'valid' (Article 11, p. 3). "Valid" here refers to a crucial point that the added value by this contribution should be seen as a surplus value that does not detract from the existing value of the building. However, if this contribution, or what the Charter calls 'the superimposed work [] is of little interest and [] of [less] historical, archaeological or aesthetic value' (Ibid, p. 3), in this case "valid" cannot meet with its critical meaning. Consequently, it cancels out the contribution of this work, which is the case of the BG. Article 13 of this Charter, along with the Burra Charter (1999), also justifies the removal of the BG, referring to the fact that its detraction from the original gate's 'traditional setting, the balance of its composition and its relation with the surroundings' compels its exclusion

(p. 3). This action, for the Burra Charter, 'obscure[s] the cultural significance of the [site]' (Article 22, p. 7).

In sum, the revitalisation decision of demolishing the BG puts the issue of the gate at a crossroads of cultures due to the different attributes that both of the BG and the PD refers to, resulting in diverse outcomes that make it challenging to decide whether the BG is really invalid culturally for the site or not. On the one hand, if cultural significance is necessary 'to define the meaning, i.e. what it signifies, what [] its story [is]' and consequently how 'that [can] "build up the story" of the place' (ICOMOS, 2008b, p. 46), the BG, instead of adding to, is seen by many locally as destroying the cultural story of the site. It cannot signify true cultural meanings that emanate from the site, which embeds a state of discontinuity within the notion of cultural significance. On the other hand, a state of subjectivity is still there in the test, which influences it due to the high dependability on the views of the local community, which are seen as crucial for achieving the full test. On the contrary, the PD works to rebuild this story through reinstating that deep cultural significance, but nonetheless it is also contentious as it still refers to its mono technique of *copying* the physical structure of the original gate.

In fact, the global tourist aims behind the revitalisation project, and the possible potential offered by the BG for this aim makes the issue of removal of the BG further more debatable. On the one side, the original gate of the site was rich in diverse histo-cultural values that undoubtedly fed this aim, which makes the implementation of the PD essential for the revitalisation, aiming at retrieving those values once more. On the other side, the modern political event that the BG bears, though it seems less influential than the histo-cultural potential of the original gate, still nourishes the site's tourist aim, and the BG is still erected on the site as a live witness of that event. This multidimensional issue of the gate should decide which dimension will represent the site. This in fact, according to the ICOMOS (2002), makes the overall tourist aim of the revitalisation more 'dynamic and may involve conflicting values [and therefore] should be managed in a sustainable way for present and future generations' (Principle 2, p. 8). This entails involving more views but mainly from the local professionals, rather than the current singularity in decision-making of the BG. Drawing up decisions in such a mechanism is considered as something sensitive and 'cannot rest on solely on the individual in charge of the work' (Venice Charter, Article 11, p. 3).

6.5 Cross-Discussion

In light of the results of the above tests including the state of controversy about the level of criticality in reaching the core of their criteria, particularly in regards to the temporal dimension that most of them evoke, an intrinsic issue emerges, which needs discussing further. It is the continuity and discontinuity of the gate's material and immaterial history. The PD is seen as more representation for the site as being supportive for the continuity of the gate's bygone history, while simultaneously, despite its short-cut representation for a limited period of (if possibly to say) political history of the site, the BG is rejected for acting as a negative change breaking this continuity. This may mean discussing whether the BG really represents (a negative change or) a stage of discontinuity within the continuity of the gate's lifespan.

It is worth noting that, the truth of material and immaterial history as inherent in the continuity of the heritage setting sometimes cannot deviate from being subject to some change over time (Jokilehto, 2006a). However, such change should not dismantle the heritage setting to make it a completely a new version; rather, it should be absorbable within the original setting and augmented as a new value. Otherwise, the change may break the gradual continuity of the heritage authenticity, and consequently, cancel out its OUV. This is probably what the BG does. It displaces the concept of continuity of authenticity of the original gate and replaces it with something new, which is found to not comply with the site's cultural assets. The BG, in Jokilehto's words, could not present a progressive mechanism of 'gradual renovation over time [that] still provide[s] a spatio-temporal continuity' (2006, p. 2) for the gate, and consequently, the integrity of materials has also not retained its authentic properties. If 'concepts such as continuity and change [are] relevant' in demonstrating true heritage material and immaterial history, this is only 'when touching the notion of authenticity' (Ibid, p. 2), which is what almost the BG undoes in the above test.

Integral to the material history of the site, the PD should incorporate the current material setting of the gate after the insertion of the BG in order to maintain its spatio-temporal integrity. Nonetheless, it seems that it reiterates the same procedure of the renovating decision of the BG when it commenced its plan to demolish the latter, replacing it by its new replica of the original gate. Currently, the main structure of the PD has superseded its counterpart of the BG (the central part that replaced the circular arch of the BG by the

pointed arch of the original gate) (see: Figure 6.3). This makes us confess that the PD will not really maintain the past and present material and immaterial history of the gate, which leads to questioning the conundrum behind its premature acceptance by a specific group of the local community who vote for its cultural potential.

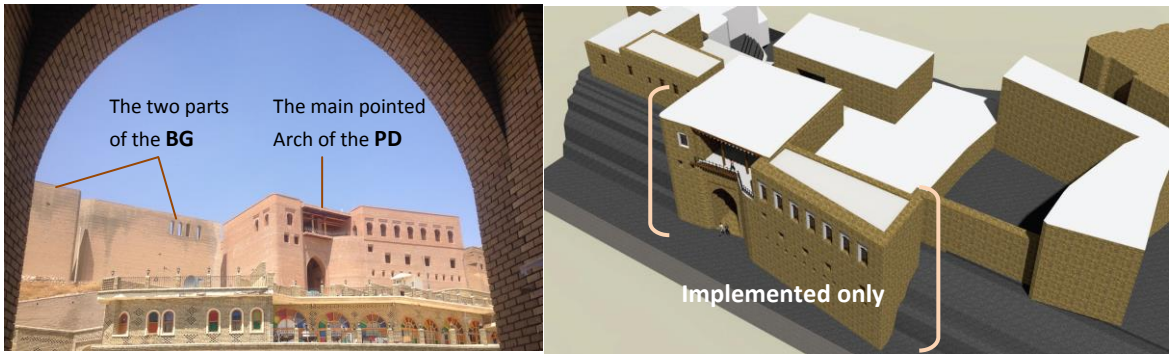


Figure 6.3: (right): the PD that shows the full masses and spaces of the original gate (HCECR, 2012a); (left): the current composition of the gate that combines the main pointed Arch of the PD and the rest of the two parts of the BG, photo by the researcher 2014

Regardless of the verified ways in which the PD meets criteria concerning authenticity, integrity and OUV of the gate, the "verbatim imitation" that this Design brings echoing the original design in proportions, form and spaces has left a profound sentimental impact on many of its locals. This sentimental impact consequently triggers and stimulates their collective memory to feel more sympathetic with it as if the original gate was really restored from the deep past. In this regard, Jokilehto (2006a) might also agree with us, but within further contributions that imitation or what he calls "mimesis" of the historic structure in the present conservation processes of built heritage 'has not meant merely copying but rather a learning process imitating the ancients' (p. 3). Accordingly, the verbatim imitation of what the PD suggests can be understood as 'a form of representation or re-representation of [historic] themes, a response that could guarantee continuity' (p. 3) of the trace of authenticity, OUV and cultural significance that the original gate had displayed.

If the continuity of material and immaterial history of the gate is decidedly subject to change over time, the corroboration of this history of the gate is mainly associated with a conflicting target, which is originality of object, whereas none of this original object 'ever remains as it was created' (Lowenthal, 1998, p. 186). This may form a new aspect for the concept of progressive conservation, which may challenge in the issue of the gate. According to

McBridge (1997, p. 93), the latter's historic themes are mostly 'relative value[s], rather than absolute one[s]'. Therefore, their incarnation to an optimal level within the PD is ultimately something unattainable, and what should be achieved is the verbatim imitation of the original as much as possible. Here, it can be argued that the PD sets the cultural associations brought by the "mimesis" as a source of inspiration to trigger some traditional meanings that are inherent in the collective memory of the locals. The reference to these themes including notions of authenticity, OUV and cultural significance are therefore incarnated through the innovative contribution of the concept of imitation of the PD to be seen as a value per se.

What can be stated here is that 'even when the work has lost its original functioning, it can still offer a remembrance of [it], which contributes to establishing its meaning in the present' (Jokilehto, 2006a, p. 5). This feature undoubtedly nourishes the authenticity, OUV and cultural significance of the original gate, while restoring its original properties is a process demanding understanding of its latent intangible potentials rather than confining it to the explicit representation of the material. Consequently, according to (Brandi, 2005), the PD creates the 3D physical reality that imitates the authentic truth of the original gate according to the potentials of form that are incarnated as a "pure reality" in the mind of the locals. This pure reality corresponds to the stockpile of their collective memory as if it was the original truth of the original gate. However, the level of consideration to be authentic relies on the PD's epoch and lifespan where the level of authenticity presented by this design may be altered. While the BG would focus on displaying living historic features but disconnected to the site, the PD focuses on involving fundamental elements that together evoke a set of immaterial historical values that were representing an OUV for the original gate in the mind of the local community. Therefore, the innovative contribution presented by this design might be the distinct recognition of the material and immaterial historical dimensions that it aims to evoke through its architecture as form and elements.

In this sense, for the proponents of the PD, its verbatim imitation is 'still ha[ving] the authentic testimony of the original [gate]' (Jokilehto, 2006a, p. 10). It consolidates the cultural and historical values of the site, because its material objects act as genuine 'relics and records [as] icons of cultural [values] that must be authentic' (Lowenthal, 1998, p. 188). This is to submit that the local community of the site 'is addicted to preserving substance' (Ibid, p. 186), considering it as the authentic component acting as a tangible tool for understanding the intangible, or more precisely the gate's historic material and immaterial themes.

Correspondingly, if the BG really denotes a style of Babylonian architecture, what weakens its status on the site is that it shows a very general style that can be copied everywhere locally, annulling its true representation for the Citadel's particular urban typology, and cancelling out its privacy. As a result, it cannot prove that it is a 'testimony' to a particular 'civilisation' inherited from the 'history' of the site (Jokilehto, 2006a, p. 9); whereas the PD's traditional urban language fits and completely echoes the site's urban typology.

Based on their harmony with the site's urban typology, the BG and the PD are two architectural signs that should represent, as Camillo Boito, an Italian architect, affirms, the monument-as-historical-document (Caple, 2000). The more documentation for the history of the site among these two designs is the more accepted on the grassroots level of the site, where these two signs should personify some cultural communicative functions, which are embedded as a sentimental impact on the locals (Vinas, 2005). These communicative functions probably rest outside of its conceptual frame in the case of the BG, which might interpret its initial rejection by a particular group of the locals. Conversely, the premature acceptance on the PD is perhaps due to the fact that the local community agrees that it has desirable social, private or expressive meanings demonstrated through its material features. The BG's material features did not manifest any social meaning to be a social symbol for this group. To be a real sign for the Citadel's material and immaterial history, it should maintain an array of traditional and historical meanings in the perimeter wall of the site; it is a means by which the appreciation for what the gate symbolises is expressed.

Nevertheless, establishing a verdict regarding the communicative functions of the BG as a true sign denoting authentic historical meanings through its material features is still controversial. As a historical value, Vinas (2005) states, it is essential to know that many heritage material signs have experienced a transformation in meanings from their original case. For some built heritage signs, the immaterial, or symbolic and communicative function takes precedence over other original and material functions that they could have had over time. The reason for this change is the unique icon of difference from the surroundings that it conveys. Its difference therefore comes from its detachment from the vicinity, visually and culturally. Yet, if the BG's unparalleled difference grants its visual distinction over the urban scene of the site, still this kind of difference prevents the sign expressing a genuine symbolic and communicative function that can really take precedence over the original sign, "the original gate".

Thus, despite being signs from the same site to the same audience, it can be said that what the BG creates as a communicative value is lower than what the PD presents, which consequently impedes its interpretation locally. There are some reasons that make the outside façade of the BG connotes some referents that are considered external to the Citadel to be seen, according to Eco (1980), Broadbent (1983) and Barthes (1990), a *connotation* that denotes another heritage site. Yet, the most significant of these reasons is perhaps the direct link between the Citadel and its local community by which, according to Graham (2002), the Citadel's heritage is also defined as a social construction of the site's past as an amalgam of social meanings narrated by its local community. As the BG is detached from that "past", it is interpreted as a connotation (referring to another site), rather than a denotation (referring to the Citadel).[36] As evidence of this, Griswold (2004), and Poria et al. (2009) state that the authentic heritage signs are the shortest way and the direct medium to transfer the message of meaning to the recipients. Therefore, it is interpreted as a 'myth of heritage', which does not imply a 'value based on the authenticity of the physical context of the [Citadel]' (Logan, 2000, p. 261). Its feeble representation of the site is reflected passively on it, meaning it is interpreted as a pastiche packaging, reflecting another architectural text that signifies another language of another site, connoting new referents of unfamiliar meanings that are detached from the Citadel to be interpreted as a pseudo sign of this heritage site.

It might be argued that it is not necessarily that visual detachment of a heritage component that always makes it a pseudo sign or weakens its communicative function from denoting true symbolic meanings from the site (Gospodini, 2004). However, this can be valid in two cases. Firstly, when the urban scene of the traditional city surrounding the component seems quite ordinary and therefore, the latter can create a dramatic distinction inside it to strongly attract people. Its distinction therefore creates an identity for the place. Conversely, the visual detachment of the BG is interpreted as a negative distinction that undermines the identity of the site as it conflicts with its visual privacy as a homogeneous Islamic urban context. Secondly, the distinction should not negate or contest any ambient historical landmark (Gospodini, 2004). Yet, the Citadel is considered as a robust identity of the traditional city centre of Erbil for its different cultural and historical values, as different denotations and

[36] Connotation denotes (higher order of meaning) to be seen as a second-order sign.

significations of meanings, as well as being a significant landmark of deep and rich material and immaterial history at the heart of the city (MacGinnis, 2012).

Inferred from Biddulph (1995), the common decision that often leads to pseudo value of signs is when the site's decision-makers have the desire to create a sense of belonging with the urban context of another local site, for example, (Babylon) is united with this site (the Citadel) by the common place of (Iraq). This often creates a state of detraction of the original sign which resulted from the new arbitrary relations with the new ambient context, thereby decreasing its genuine value and consequently its *genius loci*, which may correspond to the case of the renovation decision of constructing the BG in 1979. To create a sense of belonging, thus avoiding the arbitrary relations, it is important to understand firstly the nature and norms whereby the urban context of the Citadel has been preserved and developed as an integral urban structure of overlapped relations until the present day. It is therefore crucial to acknowledge how this has led each component of the site (such as its ancient gate) to be inseparable from the surrounding urban fabric, and hence any addition to its urban structure (such as the BG) should pursue similar norms in order to qualify it to possess a similar nature to be a complementary part of its urban setting. Achieving this, the BG at least has had the potential to respond to the notion of progressive conservation that governed the site's growth during its three Ottoman periods over the last three centuries by the contribution of its Islamic norms (HCECR, 2008; Novacek et al.; 2012, SOITM, 2013). Equally important, the evolution of the site's social structure should have always been seen as a material part that is inherent, and simultaneously influential to this notion. Such a characteristic has made the ancient gate, for instance, an unparalleled sign within the urban scene of the perimeter wall to reflect a clear denotation about the site (see: Section 3.2.2.2). Its flexible nature has facilitated a resilient ground for assimilating any alteration, as form and function, on its structure and then developed it according to what serves the socio-urban needs of the site, which sustained as much as possible its original setting. All of that has granted the ancient gate a robust sense and material denotation of belonging to the site, as an overlapped urban and social structure, to act as a material sign of its current urban heritage.

Yet, the mechanism whereby the current gate has been introduced to the site did not demonstrate any ties with the local norms and traditions that governed the site, but rather it shows in return its arbitrary spatial relations with the perimeter wall, evidencing its non-belonging on the site. Thus, its connotations detach it from the symbolic historical

dimensions of the built context of the Citadel, making the BG present as a case of alienation with the site, isolated from experiencing the Citadel's history. This consequently makes it incapable of showing any response to any progressive procedure through which it can demonstrate a state of intimacy with the history and architecture of the site. In this sense, it can be argued that the stereotypical added value that the BG evokes can be considered as an appeal to an illusory history by the renovation decision-makers that perhaps degrades the actual value of the Citadel. In such matters, Anderson (1991) claims that such a sign always transmits a socio-cultural meaning which gesticulates to a meaning outside the "geographical boundaries" of the Citadel's socio-cultural history. As a result, it represents a case of discontinuity in the chronology of the Citadel's genuine cultural values involved within its material and immaterial history. The authentic meanings of the original gate are rooted in the genuine representation of identity and therefore, it has mono connotations, denoting specific values and meanings of the site.

The erection of the BG has eliminated such connotations, leading it to being considered as a real pseudo sign, which, according to Lowenthal (1996), may lead to a major "cut off" between the site and its individuals. If many pseudo signs have become authentic signs in many European heritage sites after World War II, for instance, as their different architectural objects had been mostly changed (Lowenthal, 1996, Graham, 2002), this matter is completely different in the case of the Citadel. The latter is proven by many studies, such as HCECR (2012c), Brammah (2009b), and SOITM (2013), to show architectural urban morphological vocabularies of the Ottoman Islamic period. Therefore, it is hard to familiarise a peculiar sign like the BG, which holds unrelated urban morphological characteristics. These characteristics as "conveyer of meaning", as Tseng (2015) argues, are incapable of augmenting the local memory of the site. From a tourist perspective for the revitalisation policy-makers, however, the BG is a pseudo sign of the site because it 'undermines the marketing images being portrayed through the medium of the urban heritage' (Graham, 2002, p. 1009). For them, the Citadel's diverse objects should really compose an amalgamation of efficient signs that compose various meanings, but simultaneously connect it to the urban context of the site that promotes visits as substantial attractions for tourists. Consequently, the BG is interpreted by them as a decay-restoration-pastiche that should be rearticulated to denote the ideal marketing of the Citadel for tourist consumption.

6.6 Conclusion

The key purpose of this chapter was to reveal the transparency of the views of the local community towards the revitalisation project's decision to demolish the BG, aiming at debating the merits and drawbacks that the audience's views elicit of positives and negatives about the decision. The public's views are centred on two main themes. Each theme is endorsed by a certain percentage of the local community as indigenous, non-indigenous, professionals and non-professionals, which made it hard to completely assign each one of these two themes to a particular group more than another. The first theme (the political motive) concerns a proportion of the public who considers the decision to be politically motivated, calling for the survival of the gate as a witness to a political era, which the site had witnessed previously. The second theme (the cultural motive), referred to by another percentage of the audience, deems the revitalisation decision to be culturally motivated, seeking transparent objectives. Employing these two themes to investigate the decision has necessitated firstly detecting the purpose of the revitalisation process. It was found from decision-makers that the aim is to purely consolidate the authenticity, OUV, cultural significance and integrity of the grand gate. Secondly, these themes were tested in-depth in both the PD, which have been linked to the ancient gate in both cases.

Having tested and investigated the cultural dialogue between the BG and the PD towards consolidating these notions of the gate, a synthesis of extracted evidence enables the deduction of two main outcomes, and both are projected inwardly in each of these two outcomes. Firstly, the assessment of the local views with regard to the political and cultural motives behind the revitalisation decision is seen as a main problem that the research endeavours to clarify. Secondly, the extent of public consciousness is related to heritage's authenticity, integrity, OUV and cultural significance among the public and the local decision-makers.

Starting with the first outcome, despite the fact that the political motive is endorsed by different layers among the local community as indigenous, non-indigenous, professionals and non-professionals, the BG is more supported by the non-indigenous, and particularly those professionals. It is considered by them that it recorded a significant historical-cultural stage of the site regardless of the political implication, which was a moot point among the indigenous. The removal of the negative political impacts of the former regime on the socio-cultural life

should not influence the built heritage of the site. The BG had to be preserved as a witness of that period, recording an unforgettable political period within the long political history of the site. This perhaps interprets the reason behind adopting the political motive by the non-indigenous more than the indigenous. It can be stated here that this argument of those non-indigenous professionals reflects a noticeable level of reasoning regarding how to tackle this contentious urban element of the site (the BG) in the current revitalisation process, and particularly it is the only element that records a completely different political event belonging to that political-cultural past of the site. If the site assembles diverse urban and architectural elements and each one records a specific political or historical event since the early-Ottoman period, the BG can arguably be the only element that records such a political event in the modern history of the site, where its current worth to the site just demands an effectuation of temporal dimension. Accordingly, if the revitalisation process works on motivating the site touristically, this element may firmly support this aim due to the magnitude and individuality of the political event that it carries when compared with the rest of the historical events of the site (the rise and fall of the previous regime).

Regardless of whether the political motive is the crucial reason behind the revitalisation decision to demolish the BG, the synthesis of evidence and arguments provided by the bottom-up views reflect a high level of knowledge and familiarity regarding some core issues behind the decision, making these views a subject for attention. In particular, the non-indigenous professionals have revealed some sensitive issues, specifically when linking these issues with some ICOMOS recommendations concerning the determinacy of involving some "inevitable changes" within the process of conservation, such as ICOMOS (1982). Even though the conditions of this Charter do not completely correspond to the conditions of the BG, the latter still displays some unavoidable changes to the site due to political environments, which clearly legitimise these views. Despite that the essential condition for being preserved as an "inevitable change" also necessitates that the new value that this change brings had been previously there, which the BG could not really corroborate, and this constellation of views sets the notion of "progressive authenticity" at the heart of the issue of the gate. This made it more contentious in the above test of authenticity and leads to prioritising the theme of the views of this group for real consideration.

However, regardless of some argumentative points revealed by the above series of tests, the revitalisation decision of demolition is still intact as the majority of the results of these tests demonstrated its legitimacy and undid the evidence that it is politically motivated. The above dialogue about the progressive authenticity, for instance, may be one of the examples that attest to this legitimacy, where the test of authenticity indicates that the BG's structure could not prove new genuine values that can really precede or even enrich the array of deep-rooted values that the original gate displays. This forms an essential condition for the overall result of the test, which consequently attests against the BG's authenticity. Thereby, the issue here is not to weaken the position of the PD against the BG, or to forcibly privilege the latter over the former, but rather to emphasise the vital role that would be played by those local professionals if they had been given the opportunity to participate in the formulation stage of this decision. In sum, though the demolition revitalisation decision seems predicated upon a firm base and it has what legitimises it, the views of the non-indigenous professionals of the site also seem scientific enough to support this decision with new visions and prospects, where the formulation stage of the revitalisation policy has missed this opportunity.

Regarding the cultural motive that the PD calls for, it seems that it is more accepted by the inhabitants. One of the basic reasons underlying this, as the discussion demonstrates, is its complete imitation that indicates an identical physical correspondence with the original gate which arouses a sentimental response from them. It restores many aspects of the material and immaterial history of the site which triggers a stockpile of their memories about the history of the original gate in particular.

However, the extent of the efficiency of their views regarding this motive is important. Whereas they mostly agree with restoring the gate to its authentic properties and original features in order to maintain its authenticity and cultural significance, the reality is that they long to restore some of the tangible and intangible history of the gate and with what corresponds to their memories about it. More precisely, even if we arguably assume that the BG was able to meet the bulk of the criteria of the above tests and at the expense of the PD, most of the inhabitants' views, particularly those non-professionals, would not accept the BG as a new permanent representative for their home. This in fact was evident through their emphasis on the role of the bygone historical values that the original gate was demonstrating. However, this aspect was merely one among many aspects that belongs to the diverse criteria of the above tests. The arbiter to the primacy of the BG and the PD in the site representation

is the results of the four tests, which although they identified some minor levels of subjectivity, mainly set the latter at the expense of the former, and thus legitimise somehow the revitalisation decision of demolition of the BG.

Thus, from the results of the above tests and their related discussions, two indications can be set here. On the one side, it is difficult to declare that the revitalisation decision is politically motivated, but rather there is a unilateral vision towards the BG's fate, namely its demolition, which is seen by some as facilitating new cultural opportunities for the site.

On the other side, the top-down objectives beyond the decision of the BG's demolition are also not free from some subjective dimensions, which are mainly found to revolve around a global cultural destination. Hence, the minor alterations that have been made to the interior functions of the PD are also to meet this destination, which might come as a response to the recommendation of Brammah (2009b) for utilising the site to fuel some tourist dimensions, which are all to make the revitalisation project a self-funded process. Thus, despite the dissonance in the local community views against the decision, it helps at refining the cultural and historical dimensions in a manner that can substantiate the site's authenticity, OUV and cultural significance. On the other hand, it discloses the tourist destination as a core aim for the revitalisation policy.

Therefore, the contribution that can be made by the local community views upon the revitalisation decision of demolition of the BG can be categorised into four strands, some positive effects, while some others are negative impacts. Firstly, despite the local community concerns of marketing the site touristically, the non-indigenous professionals' views towards the decision still centre on authenticating its delicate issues of authenticity, OUV and cultural significance, which is also augmented by the opinions of the indigenous professionals but to a lesser extent. This encourages utilising their critique as a supplementary tool to scrutinise the cogency of the BG decision and to support the entire revitalisation policy in the future.

The second strand revolves around some subjective impulses that are found behind the indigenous inhabitants' views regarding the political motive of the decision, which are found to serve their private interests at the site, as they are mostly acting as stakeholders managing some businesses inside and around the Citadel. Therefore, linking the issue of the BG to the previous Iraqi regime would support their opportunities in being offered new bids and transactions that can strengthen their current position. In fact, some recent studies, such as

Nicholas et al. (2009), confirm this aspect, stating that subjectivity among the local community of built heritage is evident and often results from managing their private interests on the site.

As such, though the study proves to a certain level the reasoning behind the diverse local community's views, a series of paradoxes can be seen here. The first paradox is that the political implications that the BG has been charged as a pretext to remove it from the site were the more compatible causes for the BG to meet some conditions of some criteria in each test. For instance, criterion "iii" within the test of OUV, in its essence seeks some "understanding of globally significant persons" that may reflect "some political-cultural dimensions" upon the site. Here the BG, if it is politically motivated by the Iraqi regime, matches this criterion, documenting this political implication for the global visitors and the next generations of the site. The second paradox is the high dependability on the concept of progressive authenticity by some of these views to consolidate the evidence of the BG against the revitalisation decision of demolition, while the truth came completely differently to turn this concept against the BG and weaken its evidence for survival.

The third strand circles the "cultural value" of the BG, which is mutually agreed upon by both the site's authorities and the indigenous, namely that it is deplorable. However, what may form a crossroads between their views is the different attitude towards how to treat the future of this value. The revitalisation policy seeks to include the gate as a major goal, which is a global tourist goal. Some of the residents' concerns are discrepant and discordant with this policy, fearing the transformation of the traditional purposes of the gate into those dominated by tourism. This, on the one hand, formed a cornerstone for some of those views of the site's decision-makers that associate the issue of demolishing the BG with those tourist destinations, as it is believed the BG curbs such destinations. On the other hand, the endorsement of the political motives by some of the indigenous might have been used to prevent politicising the gate touristically, and the site.

The last strand is associated with those cultural implications and whether the revitalisation decision is culturally motivated. The indigenous professionals' views show an inclusive perception of the gate's cultural values that attest to the cultural history of the site. To speak about authenticity, for instance, these views impute the qualifications of the PD in meeting well-founded tests of authenticity for its comprehensiveness in conveying diverse attributes

of cultural values of the gate truthfully. What might authenticate these views is that the comprehensiveness of the PD has been set as a prior condition by the revitalisation global experts in order to enable the achievement of 'authenticity of setting; authenticity of design; authenticity of materials' (Brammah, 2009a, p. 90).

Nevertheless, despite the authenticity and OUV of the gate being 'of course socially constructed' by the indigenous (Kidd, 2011, p. 25), some of the indigenous non-professionals were found to not really have a high level of consciousness concerning the site's cultural values. Though these values are moved beyond the physical components of the site to be 'proposed as social and intellectual structures' (Nezhad et al., 2015, p. 95), involving the inhabitants in establishing their criteria and conditions, these intellectual structures are often quoted superficially by them as a kind of sentimental dimension mainly centred on the tangible and intangible history of the site. Quebec ICOMOS (2008) states that the "Cultural Roots" that link the indigenous with their local environments are often found to be supportive for them to dig into the issue of history searching for more thoughtful aspects about the site's authenticity, OUV and cultural significance. However, in the issue of the gate, these cultural roots seem more evocative for *the spirit and the sense of place* for some of the indigenous as a kind of sentimental dimension more than these thoughtful aspects. Accordingly, the immaterial history of the gate, as a mound of sentiments and emotions, is misunderstood by some of them as a vector for transmitting tangible historical values and concrete cultural significance of the gate presently, whereas the priority should be for its physical foundations and existing material history in such respects.

For them, these sentiments and emotions are the sublime vector, which records all the cultural and historical events of the gate and sustains it to make it long-lasting, and they will be restored at the moment in which the PD supersedes the BG. However, subjecting the historical dimensions of the gate to these sentiments would make them a unidimensional approach, which annuls some important criteria of authenticity, OUV and cultural significance. What has deepened this approach here is that the outside physical form of the BG has toughened some antipathetic sentimental dimensions that became a cement paradigm in the mind of many of the locals, linking authenticity of the BG to its outside setting, whereas its essence has been afforded less attention. Yet, the truth is different; authenticity should be treated as a 'physical-intellectual issue, [where its] dimensions cannot be

comprehended directly' (Kidd, 2011, p. 100) and from the outside form without distilling its essence to reveal the concealed.

Therefore, it is crucial to mention here that even though the results of the authenticity test coincide with the Final Evaluation of ICOMOS (2014) in Doha (where both have weakened the chance of BG achieving the immaterial history of the site instead of the PD), still this does not legitimise the above subjective sentimental dimensions of the public. The Evaluation of ICOMOS has specifically come to valorise the remodelling of the real history of the gate, as tangibles and intangibles, which discloses the authentic image of its material and immaterial history through the sound alignment between the physical form and setting, function and the traditional and cultural spirit in the PD, emphasising a consensual relationship among these attributes. Therefore, sentiments, emotions and other immaterial memories are not the decisive arbiter in this issue.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

Final Conclusions &
Research Recommendations and Limitations

7.1 Research Conclusions

7.1.1 Introduction

Based on the research findings and the diverse impacts upon the current revitalisation process of Erbil Citadel, the significance of built heritage sites has clearly shifted from being mainly rooted in the site's material dimensions to being shared with those immaterial. Therefore, despite the difficulty in setting a comprehensive frame for the significance of built heritage sites, the research concedes that built heritage derives its significance from being a dynamic power of different material and immaterial potentials for the place that nurtures its present opportunities and future goals. These potentials make built heritage an explicit sign within the built environment of deep cultural, social and historical relations that mirror a reciprocal liaison with the place of diverse mutual events and experiences, distinguishing it from its vicinity, granting it a distinct setting and consequently, a kind of traditional urban identity. Accordingly, manufacturing architectural heritage has come to support some cultural and touristic aims, but within a deep relation with the traditional material and the conceptual immaterial dimensions of the site, considering the cultural goal groundwork for the touristic. The reactivation of the role of this dimension in consolidating heritage significance has also been found to be evenly distributed between two main powers, which are the site's authority and the local community, including many sociocultural priorities that are associated with both of them.

As the research is mainly dedicated to demonstrating the local community's specific role in this reactivation, its conclusions revolve around two main pivots. Firstly, it defines and more precisely summarises both the contribution of the literature in showing how the local participatory role supports those dimensions and the shortcomings that still the literature lacks and needs more efforts. Then, it shows how both of these aspects have been reflected in the current revitalisation of Erbil. Secondly, it furthers the inference regarding some knowledge gaps deduced from screening the contribution of heritage studies through some specific issues of revitalisation, which might also partly construe the research outcomes in this regard. This ultimately assists in defining the research's own contribution to the heritage studies as well as setting its recommendations and the suggested future studies.

7.1.2 The role of local participation in the literature

The pertinent relationship between the locals and built heritage sites is considered by different studies as key to a deep understanding of heritage as a system of different traditional dimensions, which is governed by the extent of the inhabitants' experiences and their cultural coexistence with the site. Consequently, their participatory role with the decision-makers in formulating heritage conservation policies has been frequently emphasised by a rich body of literature. Heritage practitioners, scholars and international conventions, for instance, have demonstrated numerous social, historical, cultural and tourist motivations that would legitimise their participation in supporting built heritage conservation policies, but mainly from traditional material dimensions, which can be regarded here as a main contribution of the literature in this respect. However, the literature still lacks reference to the role that inhabitants can play to support these policies when these traditional dimensions intersect or overlap with some conceptual dimensions that many heritage sites might currently involve, such the OUV, authenticity of design, authenticity of setting and visual integrity of heritage, for instance. Nothing tangible can be mentioned here as a real contribution to the literature regarding the potential role that local community can have in helping to understand some of the site's issues between particular traditional dimensions and those conceptual cultural.

Such dimensions have dramatic implications on the visual-cultural urban relationship between the components of built heritage sites currently and on the far future of the site. The dilemma has more clearly emerged when attempting to maintain some modern manifestations of these components within the traditionalism of built heritage imposed by modern history or even in response to current urban life demands. Here, the local community's awareness about such issues is requisite. It may contribute to some apt solutions that firstly protect the site's traditionalism and simultaneously do not cancel those additions that modern history of the site may impose. Consequently, they maintain this relationship more realistic, and thus sustain the site more responsive and more assimilative to the surrounding changes.

Nevertheless, a major part of the literature sets the traditional heritage material dimensions as a main consideration behind the role of local participation. However, the conceptual dimensions that attempt to combine the contemporary with the traditional aspects of heritage are often assigned to the role of heritage specialists who either depend on their own experiences or employ some international charters as main articles in dealing with such

dimensions. For instance, visual integrity, authenticity as a “non-renewable” of built heritage as well as the level of unity of context that the component possesses with the site, which invoke different measures and factors, may necessitate a direct reference to the role that the local communities may contribute with. Their role regarding such themes may deliver more realistic suggestions that come from understanding the reality of the site that may maintain the discourse more local better than being globalised and subjected to "general points that fit everything" produced by heritage conventions. Thus, it may contribute to produce simple but workable criteria that may ease the investigation of these themes and also keep the findings more tied to the site. This knowledge gap in determining the specific role by which the local participation can boost these dimensions curbs the locals’ inputs from gaining any tangible contribution that can be added to the heritage knowledge as a real input counted for this role. Still this issue seems under-examined by many heritage studies, or at least, it has not been covered enough yet, which means the role of local participation really needs to be embedded in these conceptual dimensions of heritage and not stay confined to the traditional only that focus on gathering initial data regarding some present simple material aspects.

This initially may require more effort concerning cultural outreach for local communities of those inhabited heritage sites (particularly those Islamic Asian sites), guiding their narratives to the fact that built heritage, as a vibrant environment teeming with social life, should be responsive to any changes as part of the surrounding circumstances. Therefore, if these environments strive to maintain their history and traditions and protect them from the aftermath and repercussions of the ambient influences, the social life inside these environments should also be maintained so as to protect them from being deserted. Heritage sites cannot be separate from the broader landscape of their surrounding built environments and consequently from the ambient circumstances. In addition, the inhabitants are integral in a grander social component, which is the community of the entire place, and therefore, realistically, they have to be open to the surrounding life, including its contemporary cultural images whose influence on the place is imperative. Hence, if the literature calls for equalising the role of local communities with those of heritage specialists in demonstrating and supporting the traditional dimensions of the site, a similar role needs to be placed upon its contemporary conceptual dimensions resulting from imperative changes and unescapable circumstances seeking similar contributions.

Whilst, destruction of built heritage presently requires vital policies to protect it from real decline, if this continues, built heritage will become as fragments of non-useful physical structures. Therefore, futuristic revitalisation policies are important to prevent this discouraging image; and more importantly, it should avoid the notion of static conservation which works to "fossilise" the past as if it were a non-living structure. Instead, heritage conservation policies should aim to convert and/or re-present the past as a kind of "open-air museum". Accordingly, the need is for an efficient approach of heritage policies that firstly preserves heritage as a living entity of social and multi-cultural layers; secondly, gives real considerations to how to adapt its diverse structures and activities with requirements of the present-day life. Finally, it should aim to deal with all of this with more flexibility so that heritage can be able to absorb any futuristic or accidental changes.

Thus, the need is for an adaptive and flexible approach of conservation policies, which, on the one hand, works on resolving current issues of built heritage, and considers the future map of the site consciously, on the other. Adaptation of physical settings can proceed, but crucially within a "stable matrix" of particular buildings and spaces. This may include choices of appropriate technologies and relevant concepts that may enable traditional settings to absorb successfully some necessary activities and upgrade their old norms, but without "rupture" to the past. To this end, the attitudes of top-down decision-makers, as local authorities and heritage professionals and specialists, should be well-thought out and revisited twice. More flexibility from the site's authorities, even politically, should be achieved in order to enable concrete role of local views from getting through into the policy-formulation of the site, thus participating in making its future aims and meeting its true value even when heritage is used to promote cultural tourism. 'Indigenous people must be decision-makers about how their heritage is presented' (Staiff, 2013, p. 206). More efforts should be put on other local institutions in this concern; institutions that assist firstly in lessening the strict practice of site's authorities in the formulation process of heritage policies, secondly, developing real administrative tools towards controlling and well-promoting the site, culturally, touristically and economically.

People-centred approach to cultural heritage conservation still subjects to an alarming challenge in more than a heritage site, regardless of its future aims whether residential, cultural or touristic. One of these real challenges is the exclusion of those people to be "out of the plan"; whereas, 'cultural heritage has been created by people and it has been created for

people' (ICCROM, 2015, p. 3). Their engagement should be seen as a multi-dimensional advantage that brings benefits for the site, as urban, cultural, economic and social structures, owing to the fact that local communities are often regarded as the "living" part of their heritage. Heritage's local communities hold capacities that enable their involvement to offer supplement specialist knowledge and data to conservation policies. Thus, people-centred approach can be geared towards identifying heritage problems and rectifying them.

In regards to contemporary heritage tourism, the latter should henceforth be considered a two-sided coin. Positively, it is a 'means by which heritage can provide economic benefits' to the place. However, 'it can bring [] negative impacts' to the site itself (Ibid, p. 5). More importantly, some of these impacts may lessen local communities' sense of ownership due to imprecise planning or employing of the site's sociocultural and traditional potential. In consequence of this, "cultural identity; spirituality" as aspects integral to the relationship between the site and its locals are subjects to decline due to the increasing sense of non-belonging to the site. This mainly results from separating some social tradition-based economic dimensions within the site from their social ties, whilst tracing roots of these dimensions might not only reveal that they are often deep-embedded within the social structure of the site, but also to be their origins. Instead of eradicating these ties, fruitful "dialogue" between these dimensions and social traditions/ties should be dynamic and constantly activated as an ongoing activity.

Whilst, people-centred, or living heritage, approach should be set as bedrock to attain this end, the reality is that they are often activated at later stages acting as a promoter of complementary information no more, which in many cases have been overlooked. To promote cultural tradition-based heritage tourist objectives, the inhabitants should be seen as a substantial power that can contribute to these objectives besides the site's decision-makers. Therefore, they have to be given voice at national level of the benefits that these objectives may deliver to the future of their home. Consequently, conservation policies and development plans should be revisited seeking a real placement for the locals allowing for more concrete participation through which community consultation can be involved in firstly, identifying heritage archaic traditions, social culture, deep history and rich values, and their future interpretation within any envisioned tourist aims for the site. Secondly, monitoring heritage tourism-related projects that their zone of influence may extend to involve the urban surroundings besides highlighting any expected concerns of this that may impact the site

negatively. This requires putting the local community hand-in-hand with heritage practitioners when defining the site's sociocultural values and assessing its significance, which both are considered basic for successful tourist ends.

Within this context and more recently, the term of progressive conservation started to possess a significant position in some recent studies that perceive heritage conservation as an overlapped continuous process of cultural construction, which involves different sociocultural aspects and norms that none of which should be ignored at the expense of the other. More importantly, this concept does not undermine any of the fundamental or secondary conceptual themes underlying the inner structure of the cultural heritage structure, such as authenticity and OUV, for instance, including their precise sub-criteria. Rather, it deals with them as a one whole that encompasses different material and immaterial themes, whereas superficial investigation of any of them may drive towards creating some cultural gaps in the conservation plan, and thus resulting in misleading results. Part of the progressive conservation and therefore, built heritage should be regarded as a one integral cultural structure, consequently its conservation process should be flexible enough in a way that permits this structure to assimilate any new change and adapt any alteration to its cultural theme. Disavowing acknowledgement, and thus involvement of the potential cultural impact of the new change upon the original structure of built heritage leaves a cultural gap within the latter, and this indeed what contradicts the core of progressive conservation.

However, part of the core of this concept, assimilating "the new" to the built heritage should not cancel or negatively impact its cultural past, materially and immaterially. Rather, it should enrich its cultural assets, consequently boosts its cultural values. Achieving this, progressive conservation seeks precise understanding of the entire main and sub cultural structures that participated in forming its cultural past, which perceives local participation of the aboriginals as a substantial part towards achieving this understanding. More emphasis is put on this participation when it comes to conservation of Islamic built heritage due to the fact that some treatises that are seen that adopt progressive conservation approach consider the Islamic norms that governed the evolution of a particular Islamic site often puts the importance of the social structure in a similar rank with the cultural structure of heritage. Islamic norms are the main ducts through which the conservation policy can organise and perpetuate the local traditions of the current communities of the site, which some of them were principally sustained from the previous generations who inhabited the site. Similarly,

the site's cultural assets, as material and immaterial settings, developed through a similar progressive nature, which also suggests an adaptable mechanism to accept alteration and addition on these settings.

7.1.3 In regards to the case study: Erbil Citadel

Within the local experience, the research concludes a series of paradoxes, starting from some local conservation experiences in general and ending with the current revitalisation process. Firstly, the reference to the role of local participation in the Iraqi conservation laws lacks the reference to this role within both of the material and immaterial dimensions of heritage, which increases the feebleness of those local experiences, where the recent two experiences on Erbil are clear examples of this. In both of these experiences the baton was totally run by a top-down visualisation, which led to devaluing the role of local participation as a leftover contribution. The first paradox here is that a wide range of literature has set the local participatory role as a key starting point for approaching from the traditional dimensions of the site, particularly when these dimensions are planned to support some cultural aims, which is the case of Erbil revitalisation purpose. However, fearing that their existence would be an obstacle impedes the site's new tourist shift, and the locals were displaced from the site through the evacuation step, which led to replacing their participatory role by that which has been dictated to some professional heritage specialists in this field. This may prevent a realistic interpretation of many cultural themes (see: Section 3.2.2.2), where the narratives of the aboriginals is essential for this interpretation. Otherwise, the visitor may rely on those superficial orientalist theses that may underestimate these themes, and this will negatively impact the tourist goal of the site. This comes to cement the state of contradiction between the local and the global vision to the inhabitants as one of two authoritative powers to draw up heritage future.

Perhaps, it is also worth mentioning that the extent of efficacy of local participation would have been governed by the level of experience of the locals and their cultural coexistence with the site's diverse cultural themes, which did not really exist enough except with those aboriginals. Such experience and coexistence did not really exist enough. Based on their views (see: Section 3.3 & 3.5, Chapter 3 and Section 4.2.2-4.2.4, Chapter 4), their visions about how to employing the diverse cultural dimensions of the site as potentials for its new tourist goal have shown some modest levels of contributions.

Therefore, it can be said that the evacuation creates a state of contradiction towards the future plan of the site. If utilising the Citadel's unique trait, as the oldest continuously inhabited site in the world so far, is perhaps a valid technique to achieve the inclusion of the site into the WHL and the tourist aim of the revitalisation, the tools to meet this are invalid. For instance, replacing the aboriginals of the site by those global agencies suggested by the Master Plan of the revitalisation, (in order to increase budget to continue implementing the revitalisation process) lessens the worth of sociocultural traditions of the site, as part of its diverse cultural values. This leaves a gap in the cultural definition of the site within the global tourism, which may contradict the core of its inclusion into the WHL, which on the long-run may lead to reinvestigation of this inclusion. Whereas the inhabitants had to be well-embraced in the future planning of the Citadel, as a live animated part of its current cultural assets, in order to maintain the unique residential feature of the site from being desolate as it is the case currently. If the investigation of the demolition's decision of the BG may indicate a certain level of rationale that may support the site's touristic aim, the evacuation comes to disable the most vital tool to achieve this aim, which is the locals' role. In particular, the reasoning behind this aim predominantly relies on its residential traits, including its sociocultural assets, and how this participates in the formation of the current built context of the site, where the inhabitants are presumably should be seen the main generator, and thus the principal sponsor or maintainer of them.

As such, people-centred approach can be specifically centred on those aboriginals of the site, which can be focused on more specific inhabitants-based cultural potentials in order to enrich its tourist aim with more views, which may seem simple, but they are realistic due to the fact that they are stemming from the site's issues and potentials. It may help to generalise new tools through localising what is globalised, or more precisely through re-looking the global discourse of some charters and conventions of heritage and re-appropriate it with what fits some local issues and cultural potentials of the Citadel. This may urge the site authorities to an immediate abolition of the evacuation step. Its residential enduring purpose for which the site was originally created can be utilised as an on-site toolkit to motivate such potential through ‘a continuous process of evolution’ (ICOMOS, 2015, p. 4). This, in return, may increase benefits for the site’s policy-makers through broader debates with the locals focused on ‘opening up democratic processes and improving transparency of government [which] attract[s] new support from a wider number of people’ that can retain culture-based tourist

aims more sustainably (Ibid, p. 4). This "living heritage approach" assists in broadening the frame of traditional knowledge regarding the residential culture of the site through accessing its conventional systems. Whilst, instead of taking them as 'a core of heritage management', many examples can show that imbalanced conservation system has led to cancel local communities from being efficiently involved in planning for their homes, which exposed the latter to many "negative impacts" (Ibid, p. 3).

As part of progressive conservation, though it pursues a self-contained religious thought, the Citadel's Islamic culture signposts a level of flexibility in perpetuating the past cultures and traditions within its cultural structure, such as some ancient social norms that have subsequently governed the material emergence of some of its urban and architectural elements. For some orientalist studies that are concerned about Islamic heritage, this indicates some ambiguity for which the site is interpreted that it produces random heritage challenging its urban context. However, it seeks synthesising 'an intentional asymmetry' of historical sequences 'in which the past and the present are made to connect through constructions of Islamic heritage' (Rico, 2017, p. 3), granting a state of flexibility through which each of them can perpetuate its own assets that distinguish it from the other. Thus, it links these cultures to each other as a reciprocal value within a certain environment in order to maintain, as possible, the ancient cultural heritage of the bygone generations, but conditioned to valid habits and intact cultural context. Such an ideology has led to a discerned cultural setup, which ultimately, resulted in 'a discrete [and] identifiable designation' of heritage that subsequently called Islamic heritage (Ibid, p. 2), which for some superficial heritage discourses, it reflects randomness and non-intellectuality. It implicitly calls for an enlightened involvement of all cultural layers in the representation of the old built environments, but outwardly, its norms reflect specific cultural formula arranging this involvement within its built context. This, in return, should be an approach for any future efforts to revitalise the site, particularly Erbil is continuously inhabited for millennia, which firstly, should give an emphasis on a precise revelation of these bygone cultural layers. Secondly and therefore, its social structure should also be prioritised in such efforts for any realistic expected role to interpret the setup of the Citadel's built context with a precise understanding of its sociocultural norms due to their continuous inhabitation of the site since the early-Ottoman period and afterwards.

Thus, to reflect on the research question and in general, the local participation of the Citadel's local community can consolidate its current revitalisation policies through activating the robust relationship, as social-cultural ties, between the site and its aboriginals. In specific, the aboriginals' role can act as a complementary tool which complements the role of some global and local efforts on the site in order to optimally employing its built heritage in achieving the global tourist destination of the Citadel being a core for the revitalisation. If the current global efforts may contribute in revealing how Islam, as socio-urban norms, has perpetuated some cultures, traditions and other material and immaterial assets from the pre-Islamic civilisation of the site in addition to preserving and developing its current built fabric, the aboriginals' role can act as a live on-site tool that facilitates a well demonstration of this discourse to the visitor. Their uninterrupted cohabitation of the site enables them to support this discourse with site-based evidence, enriching it with different examples emanate from its urban and architectural context. As a live and realistic tool, such a role may facilitate a clear understanding of growth of the urban context of the site as a physical-cultural structure developed into its current setting by the contribution of the Islamic norms, which instead of dragging it behind some uncritical orientalist readings that may accuse its current urban context of spontaneity and non-planning, this role facilitates understanding the urban fabric of the site as a harmonious physical system of Islamic norms. The latter works as part of, and simultaneously coordinator of a larger cultural context of diverse social traditions and environmental habits that strongly contributed in founding the urban context of the Citadel's built heritage in its current assets. This characteristic has often been misjudged by some orientalist studies that tackled some Islamic heritage sites superficially and from a theoretical perspective, whilst the role of the aboriginals may rectify this when interpreting the Citadel's urban context through more practical perspective, rests on its deep and overlapped sociocultural traditions (see: Section 3.2.2.2, for more confirmation).

The aboriginals are the best knowers of the site in terms of its urban and architectural norms. Their uninterrupted inhabitation of the site over the three Ottoman periods enabled them from clear comprehension of the growth of its diverse urban components, such as its alleyways, cul-de-sacs and functional hierarchies of its urban zones from the centre (the Affandi's Mosque) towards the periphery (the 100 residential houses of its perimeter wall). Their growing sociocultural ties with the site, for instance, made them aware of the specific and precise reasons that stood behind the manifestation and evolution of the current settings of the

site's physical components, culturally, environmentally and socially, which after all, all are combined under the dome of the Islamic norms that governed the site. Thus, as being part of these ties, this enables them to act as live interpreters of the cultural-physical growth of these components, which ultimately serves the supreme goal of the revitalisation, which is global tourism. More importantly, it stops the superficial authenticating of these components by some orientalist efforts in terms of linking their physical manifestation to these sociocultural ties, which, if not repellent, is unable to attract visitors. This, in fact, entails the return of the aboriginals to their home, which validates the ICOMOS calls in this regard that see them the most appropriate elite to narrate some specific issues within the site (see: Section 3.6).

In general, Islamic heritage may become subject to more serious impacts of some superficial readings that perceive this heritage as a non-planned site and spontaneously grown based on the desires of its individuals. This, in fact, is mainly adopted by (some) of those superficial orientalist treatises, while the fact that their impact has reached the current urban fabric of Erbil Citadel, as an Islamic built heritage site, is really a difficult inference, particularly such a discourse is adopted by two important global and local studies on the site after 2009. The fact that there is scarcity in the number of scientific studies on some Islamic built heritage sites, (due to some inner unstable issues –probably-), which therefore may lead some local studies to adopt those superficial treatises on Islamic heritage. Secondly, the fascination of the way of putting the information is perhaps also attractive and illusive for its young readers and those who have facile background about Islamic architecture and heritage. Sadly, such discourse is adopted by UNESCO after 2014 about the site, which perhaps is superficially adopted from the above aforementioned two references on the site. Yet, what may evidence this inference, and meanwhile contradicts their discourse in this regard is what they have recommended the HCECR about 'reconsidering the location of the Kurdistan National Museum' (KNM) to be constructed out of the green zone that surrounds the Citadel (p. 191). This is mainly due to its contemporary architectural approach that perceived it undermines the deep historical Islamic philosophy of the Citadel's urban fabric, arguing for the significance of privacy of its Islamic heritage, as values, architecture, history and culture. The Citadel's built heritage proves an authentic setting of Islamic architecture, culturally and physically, and to legitimise its location next to the site, the KNM's architectural design should be substantially revised 'to harmonise with the Citadel and its relationship with its

setting' (p. 191). This robustly confirms that Islamic heritage of the site is not coming from "non-planning". How survived if it is non-planned, then?

Who should speak on behave of Islamic heritage is those who have deep, rich and more importantly intact knowledge about Islam, as religion, culture and socio-urban norms, which in fact are also progressive and adaptable, similar to the concept of progressive conservation, and this is not just about Islam as a culture but about Islam as a religion. For those who would like to speak on behalf of Islamic heritage, they should aim for viable contributions through more open-minded, but also precise, readings regarding how Islam is flexible and rich of norms, as a religion and a culture, in dealing with the pre-Islamic heritage and the mechanism of its preservation, and how all of this has enabled its architecture from establishing its own identity over history. Theses of Feener from Oxford University and Janet Abu-Lughod from the American University in Cairo might be appropriate paradigms to be inspirational in this regard.

7.1.4 In regards to the issue of the BG

Here, the research findings have weakened those views which opposed the decision to demolish the BG, which entails setting the conclusion regarding this issue in a way that only highlights the concrete contribution that the local participation can demonstrate here. As such and despite the aftermath of local participation seeming to be split regarding this issue, they also seem reliant on the traditional material settings of the gate, indicating how the majority of the local community's views relate to the physical dimensions of the site. Regardless of whether they were supporters of the BG or the PD, the bottom-up views set these dimensions as a benchmark to develop their line of arguments towards both. For instance, those who advocate the PD mainly believe in its physical settings, as for them, they are the shortest means by which they can retrieve their past memories with the site through returning it to its previous status. Meanwhile, the considerations through which the BG has been regarded insufficient by some of them are also mostly revolving around its material manifestations, except some professional contributions that somehow exceeded this perception towards more realistic considerations. Such consequences have clearly manifested within the locals' response to the political cultural implications of the BG, which appeared as an emotional craving to the material historical aspects that the site was celebrating during the erection of the original gate.

For instance, the local inference of the potential that the BG/the PD may bestow on the site as visual, spiritual, social and aesthetic values has largely been based on (or linked with) some traditional material settings, whereas their immaterial conceptual implications did not receive a similar consideration. This indeed contradicts what the research concludes regarding the modest role entrusted to the locals in the literature regarding such values. The research suggested giving bigger opportunity to the local inputs to participate in addressing and debating such values in the future conservation of built heritage, which may reveal new unexplored themes or non-investigated matters surrounding that. In the Citadel and however, the research openly discussed the issues of the gate, and through its open questions in the stage of the data collection, to debate any immaterial aspects that believed are important and require more investigation in terms of any unaddressed themes or matters in the current revitalisation policy. Nevertheless, except some professional views, the majority of the local views could not really reveal some genuine contributions in this regard, but rather the emphasis on how to revive some sentiments and emotional dimensions through the reconstruction of the ancient gate. Yet, what should have received more consideration here is the current truth that the site displays, showing that the original gate had been removed from the physical map of the site and replaced by the BG. Accordingly, the reasoning is to accept the current truth that the current settings of the gate display as an inescapable reality, which denotes something different from its ancient manifestation. This consequently necessitates seeing this reality completely differently and thus, sets it as a basepoint to start contemplating the future of the gate, which may really assist in delivering doable local contributions.

While labelling the bottom-up views with white and black is in fact not the purpose of the research, the need is for more workable and feasible views that offer solutions that can really support in taking the issue of the gate a step-forward and serves the tourist shift of the site. Otherwise, standing on the ruins and nostalgia does not necessarily mean providing a real contribution to the truth of the current material setting and the future of the site. However, the local resident longs to retrieve some past physical elements regardless of whether that would alter the current historical cultural map of the site, as the real historical story of the site should be inscribed on its constructs and façades as a complete cultural epic of concrete historical scenes and events, which might be a feasible strategy to attract the global visitor. Thinking of history in such situations should bring solutions into being; otherwise, using it as

a kind of nostalgia might reflect a state of inertia of thought that impedes the viable contributions when looking back to what has become seen as far-fetched and irretrievable.

Hence, the purpose behind the local participation is to contribute to the revitalisation plan through involving the site's material and immaterial dimensions in a way that enables the plan to achieve its aims, which is essentially the tourist goal of the site. Yet, some of the local views on this seem short-sighted when they privilege the material setting of the gate upon the immaterial, leading to questioning whether their non-participation during the formulation stage of the policy leaves a gap that really influences the plan. This might be realised when we acknowledge that confining the potential of the gate to the traditional material setting cannot make a real contribution to the cultural tourist potential of the gate, and thus, is not the optimal solution. Dealing with the remnants of the urban heritage, which includes diverse immaterial historical events, does not mean re-displaying its architectural structures and constructs from a material perspective only as if they were a group of material exhibits displayed within a traditional space of a timeworn museum. In order to fuel the tourist goal of the site, the need is therefore for a holovision that can embed the future plan of the site in the current entire setting of the gate materially and non-materially.

In contrast to this, the vision of the non-indigenous professionals towards the future of the gate reveals a clear level of consciousness about the current reality of the gate, which does not neglect its immaterial aspects as integral to its historical chronology as a sequence of significant events of which the recent political event is one. Here, the professional vision does not come to escalate the situation and argues against the position of the BG, which seems for the local non-professionals contentious, but rather it calls for accepting the current truth of the site. As such, it rationalises embedding the new visual scene of the gate into this new political event, which actually shows a level of flexibility in seeing and accepting its overall cultural story. From this perspective, their views deserve to be taken as a real contribution that can really add something to the current revitalisation policy of the site. Their fertility in being supportive for the tourist shift of the site may push the policy towards new prospects and suggestions that have not been listed yet as part of its current plan. The non-professionals' views mostly streamline the manner of reading the real and actual issue that the BG culturally causes to the site, and therefore they taper the drastic views that associate the removal of the BG with its political implications.

In light of this, the disparity of opinions between the local professionals and non-professionals towards the material and immaterial dimensions of the gate can be deemed as a repercussion of the lifestyle of today's society, which has become more complicated and integral to the modern cultural shift. This in fact has impacted the cultural scene of the site's local community to be more intricate and consequently, vague. Its vagueness led their vision towards the site's cultural history to be, in Jokilehto's words, 'more and more fragmented' (1995, p. 30), which has negatively impacted the proper induction of the whole cultural image of the Citadel's heritage including its diverse sub-issues, which makes it difficult to infer a critical finding about these cultural issues through their induction that can truly serve the policy in its advanced stages. Consequently, it might be rational to activate their views during the first steps of the revitalisation policy-formulation in order to get more ideas, and then reduce that whenever the policy demands a higher level of accuracy.

Thus, to reflect on the research question and through the issue of the gate in particular, the study concludes that the role that the local participation can render in supporting the built heritage conservation policies is contingent on the level of cultural awareness of the locals, and thus cannot work similarly among built heritage sites. Subjectivity and the modest level of the site's cultural awareness are disseminated among the locals, making their views are valid for gathering some raw material ideas about the site's sociocultural issues in terms of their impact on the site currently and over the recent past. The research findings of the revitalisation process, in general, and the issue of the gate, in particular, may give an explicit example of that. On the one hand, the majority of the locals seem aware of the cultural story of the physical manifestation of the site's urban context in terms of its diverse urban structures and architectural elements, where the research suggests exploiting them in displaying this story to the visitor as a live on-site presentation. However, through the issue of the gate, they could not really contribute to the cultural remanufacturing of the Citadel's architectural heritage. Their contributions largely indicate a state of longing to the past of the site, as architecture and cultural memories. Therefore, their participation should follow a clear hierarchical system of a reverse relationship with the timeline of the conservation policy formulation and thus, culminate in the initial stages of the policy-making only. Whereas, the literature review has concluded that the flexibility of conservation policies has been restricted by granting some global charters a position as "articles of faith" in dealing with heritage cultural issues, the deep-rooted relationship between the site and its local community cannot

be taken as an “article of faith” to give them primacy in the conservation policy formulation, or to be equalised with the top-down role. Granting them a similar position without a prior discrete role stressing their efficacy in this position would shift this negative impression from these charters to the impacts of local participation.

Thus, breaking the rule of top-down decision-making and involving the bottom-up views cannot always lead to crystallising flexible decisions regarding the conservation policies of built heritage. However, and to be more objective, though the heritage practitioners are more aware of heritage issues, subjectivity cannot be confined to the locals only. Therefore, the role of both the decision-makers and the locals is to recruit their own experiences and visions to support the site’s diverse cultural potentials only rather than following their own desires and changing the site’s original physical map into new setting that may lead to estranging its heritage cultural identity. In this sense, it is crucial to say that heritage policies should always be guided by what Pye (2001) calls the “heritage request” rather than the uncritical choices of the decision-makers or the bottom-up desires of the local communities. These two powers should not be acting as a strict controller grasping the site’s conservation policies, but rather assessors of conservation choices to detect and consequently enrich the site’s potentials and values. Achieving this, dealing with past and contemporary histories of the site should follow a progressive process of conservation that perceives its overall urban structure including its diverse individual structures, as the issue of the gate for instance, as a living structure, which evolves constantly, and thereby inevitable changes should be expected and accepted in respond to different daily challenges and necessities. Thus, a progressive approach is necessary in order to be more holistic and more flexible so that meets a synthesis of urban, social and economic imperatives. Some ancient physical properties of the urban fabric including some non-physical essential qualities therefore should be targeted, consequently adapting the tangible structures and ancient activities to some of the non-physical present-day inevitabilities.

7.2 The Research Contribution

The research contribution to the literature can be seen in more than one area. Firstly, the study revealed the multifaceted cultural role that can be made by the local communities in conservation policy-making of built heritage sites, setting the deep relationship between them as a cornerstone for this role. Secondly, whereas it is stated in different heritage charters,

conventions and studies that local participation can robustly contribute to the re-employment of many cultural aspects within the future of built heritage sites, the research came to doubt this endorsement, stating that such endorsement is entrusted to the sociocultural conditions surrounding each specific site including its local community. The level of knowledge and awareness of the local community are changeable among sites, and therefore some unexplored considerations still require more investigations before confirming such endorsement. Thereby, it cannot be generalised to heritage sites and consequently, may not necessarily work in some Middle East Islamic heritage sites. Thus, the research grants an opportunity to the heritage studies to deepen the investigation in this regard.

Furthermore, the research enlarges the theoretical base of heritage studies towards involving some novel thoughts regarding the theme of local participation, confirming the sufficiency of this theme but within those traditional material dimensions of built heritage only. The study demonstrates its insufficiency whenever the investigation approaches more than those immaterial conceptual dimensions, subjugating the significance of this theme for more investigation, which can be taken a step forward by other future studies. Consequently, the study contributes to sorting out the site's issues between those where local participation is important and those where it is less important. With regard to Islamic heritage and traditional architecture, the research presents some novel ideas through which it opens Islamic heritage literature and other heritage conservation studies towards better understanding of the ideology and principles of their existence. It reveals their contribution to the understanding of the current urban scene of many heritage sites that either their cultural roots are purely Islamic, or their accumulated architectural and cultural layers have subsequently undergone or been developed through Islamic norms over time. Thus, the research reveals the necessity of understanding of the overlapped ties between the sociocultural structure and the urban and architectural structures of the Islamic built context, which should be seen as a condition towards any efforts of development or conservation within some sites.

Through understanding of these ties, the research simplifies an approach into how to approaching from the built context of some Islamic heritage sites in being a purely result of its sociocultural practices. It proves with more than evidence the fact that the configuration of the urban fabric of some Islamic heritage sites is a direct incarnation of its religious cultural practices and social traditions, where some of these practices and traditions have been maintained from the pre-Islamic periods. Within this context, the research puts into valid and

precise discussion some orientalist studies about the ideological and cultural manifestation of the Islamic heritage and architecture, proving the superficiality of the argument, evidence and general discourse of such studies. Instead of understanding the urban growth of Islamic built heritage as being randomly develops or spontaneously follows the pre-Islamic techniques, the research gives evidence on the efficiency of the Islamic urban and architectural norms that genuinely consider the sound sociocultural needs of the inhabitants. Secondly and therefore, it flexibly tackles some pre-Islamic cultural residues as potentials that may support the intact growth of this environment, and thus boost these norms to be part of them.

More importantly, the research challenged some traditional mechanisms of conservation of built heritage, which depends on either complete preservation of the whole architectural component, which is conditioned to its cultural impacts on the property, or its complete removal from the built context of the site. Instead, it opens literature towards the notion of progressive conservation, which calls for a multifaceted investigation of the component, which may enable from preserving any positive properties that the component may provide the site with, and thus to be part of its material and cultural existence. In this regard, the research also comes to prove the resilient and adaptive nature of some Islamic norms in preserving some pre-Islamic immaterial heritage based on its cultural-urban contribution to rooting the material settings of some heritage sites, such as the case of Erbil Citadel. While the research reveals the importance of local participation to facilitate realistic understanding and achievement of both cases the adaptive nature of Islamic norms and progressive conservation notion in dealing and assessing the potential value that the new component may add to the site. Finally, though the study in general examines the extent of the efficiency of the locals' views in supporting heritage conservation policies, it has also acquired its novelty through revealing some modest knowledge gaps in the theoretical framework of some built heritage studies and international charters particularly in seeing heritage issues from contemporary conceptual perspectives. The precise revelation of some specific themes within Islamic built heritage and progressive conservation is perhaps at heart of this. As such, the research grants a concise image about the more anticipated scenarios; the more expected settings that the theme of local participation is expected to really contribute to.

7.3 Research recommendations and future studies

Evoking the above reservations regarding the necessity of local participation in heritage conservation policy-making, the research recommends dealing with how to employ the local participation from the ground up in each heritage site and in each specific problem. It is crucial to argue that regardless of the literature, decisions need to be made based on the particular context of the site. In particular, some current complicated issues in some Asian Islamic heritage sites suffer the limited awareness of their local communities, which leads the research to doubly emphasise this recommendation, foreshadowing the subjective impacts of the bottom-up contributions that instead of reinforcing the site's policies, they may lead to weakening them. Consequently, the research sets some reservation upon the intense global emphasis regarding the necessity of local participation in heritage conservation policy-making. It is commonly known that the top-down approaches of conservation policy-making sometimes lead to some anxiety regarding the possible changes that may weaken the site, and the research brings into being a similar possibility, which can be made by the bottom-up efforts. Consequently, it draws attention to heritage scholars and academics that it is not necessary to directly accept the theoretical heritage theses and entirely depend on the notion of local participation. Instead, this notion might be better confined to some initial levels that do not necessarily have given a state of neutrality with the top-down approach when planning for heritage issues. Thus, the research urges to stop calling for equalising the bottom-up efforts with the role of the site's authorities, but instead, it urges to redirect its theoretical treatise to revisit this truth from different sides.

Based on this, there are further important points the research also recommends here. Firstly, assigning a kind of power to the site's local authorities is sometimes necessary, and may result in certain affirmative outcomes, particularly when it comes to stopping the allegations at the grassroots level of the site that either charge the conservation policies of some flimsy deficiencies, or call for re-directing the conservation policies towards serving some self-interest. The political charges of the decision of the BG might be a clear example of that. Accordingly, empowering the site's authorities in such situations can rectify the track of the whole policy, protecting it from being subjugated to irresponsible claims. Some imprecise roles of local participation can also take the conservation policy-making towards consolidating some private interests and some individual short-term aims. Thus, the plea to

stand at the same distance from the top-down objectives and the bottom-up views in heritage conservation policy-making is an issue that should receive more attention from the current heritage studies.

However, the research also does not endorse tracking that in all conditions, as if it were a statement of a permanent primacy and a justification for a sightless domination for the top-down approach of conservation policy-making. What is crucial here is to understand the correlation between the heritage values and the place as well as "whose values?" and "whose heritage?" to be addressed during the early stages of the conservation process. According to Logan (2003), this enables avoiding the individuality of decision-making and to obviate the misinterpretation of heritage values and milestones. The built heritage belongs to the place where it exists and its values are rooted in that place. Therefore, the top-down approach, including its conservation rules, should not be imposed on the site as a prototype or a transcript of top-down directives, nor as purely bottom-up sentimental approaches; otherwise it may contradict and overwhelm the site's local criteria and cultural norms. This may underestimate the situation and consequently detach the material from what is immaterial on the site.

Secondly, in order to double the tourist attraction of the site, which is the current aim for the revitalisation project, the remnants of the BG might be better being maintained rather than completely removed from the site. The current setting that the Citadel's gate shows, which combines the central mass of the PD and the rest of the two segments of the BG's linear wall, (see: figure 6.3, Chapter 6), might be better being maintained in a way that would sustain some of the BG as a witness of one of the most important periods of the political history of the site for the local and the global visitor. Evoking the truth that the BG witnessed the "rise and fall of Saddam" consequently documents this vital political event, and it urges a re-evaluation of its current remnants and re-presentation of these remnants in a way that serves the Citadel's built heritage and any other complementary function that the new suggested Kurdish National Museum may stand for. As such, the survival of these remnants can act as something complementary for the show of the suggested new Kurdistan National Museum 'KNM' adjacent to the *Tell* (see: Decision Two, Table 3.1, p. 155), which may enrich the historical cultural theatre of the site.

Thirdly, based on a certain level of subjectivity and simplicity within the bottom-up views, particularly those non-professionals, the research suggests confining the inhabitants' ideas and proposals to the first stages of the conservation processes; i.e., the stages that precede the formulation stage of the conservation policies. Their employment should come as a means to creating more fiction and prospects that may suggest new potential that might serve the site's tourist and cultural goals. Thereafter, the role of the experts should be initiated to develop these suggestions into a real practical base that can serve in more delicate levels of these goals and during the policy-formulation stage. Within the scope of an intact reading of some Islamic heritage contexts, the research strongly recommends not to submitting to the discourse of any studies, including those orientalists, that tackles some Islamic heritage sites ostensibly through relying on making some formalist similarities between their urban configurations and what the previous civilisations have left of physical settings.

As regards future studies, the research urges more be done to investigate more issues within the current revitalisation project, and also according to what has been triggered locally against the current decisions that the project has made. However, the research strongly suggests that the issue of constructing the 'KNM', designed by Daniel Libeskind, inside the green belt surrounding the site should have the priority here and this is for a matter of twofold (see: Figure 7.1). Firstly, its priority within the timeline of the revitalisation works, which comes second after the Decision of the Gate. In fact, the hopes to receive some economic returns suspended on the tourist returns of the site, while the construction of the KNM is largely seen something supportive to these economic returns as being complementary to the tourist attractions of the site. The potential to achieve such a tourist performance behind the Museum is drawn upon its complementary show of some historical and cultural exhibits regarding the 'traditional-cultural' of the Citadel and the site, from one side, which is believed that it ameliorates the touristic potentials of the place. From another side, and more importantly, it presents what denotes the 'tragic-political' against the Kurdish nation during the 1980s, which evokes a tragic image of a controversial genocide, which is locally attributed to the former Iraqi regime. Whereas, this may really increase visitations to the Museum and thus the site, the fact that the Museum is designed by Libeskind has created some local opposition against its suggested location adjacent to the traditional Islamic context of the Citadel arguing that deconstruction ideology that Libeskind follows, and through his architectural approach, may undermine the historical-cultural identity of the Citadel.

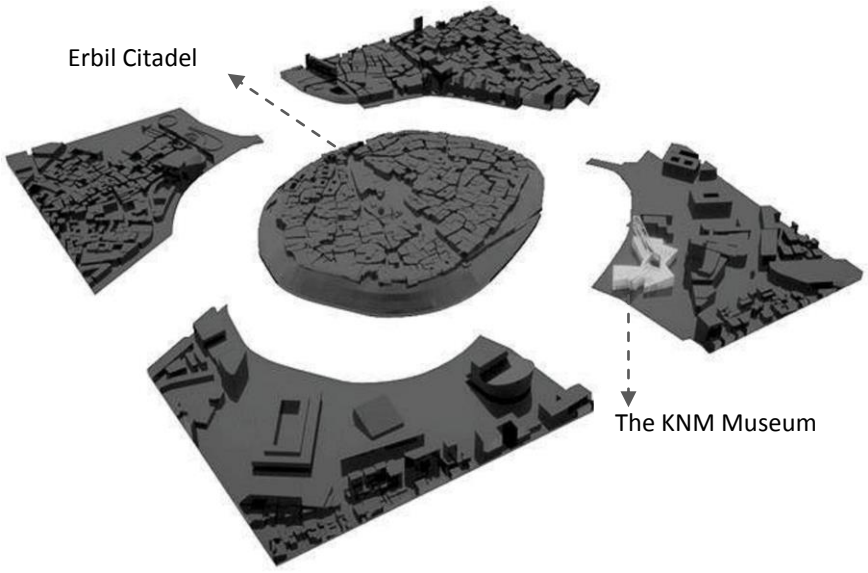


Figure 7.1: the suggested location of the KNM adjacent to the Citadel; site archival data

In fact, what may bring to a high level of acceptance, and thus urges a real and immediate investigation of this issue, is the fact that it is adopted by not only the non-professionals locally, but also by many of architects and engineers, whom some of their comments on this issue have been cited in some publication in this regard, stating that 'Libeskind will fabricate some childish rhetoric linking the stock solution to the specific problem' (Merlin, 2010). Whilst, their hopes to seeing a museum that really embodied history and cultural traditions of the place through a 'design [that] will feature newly co-opted [some signs] as a symbolic metaphor for the [place], (Merlin, 2010), may not come true. Thus, a real investigation of this local vision may really contribute towards a final statement whether the Museum will boost or undermine the Citadel's Islamic architecture, and thus verifies or refutes the revitalisation decision.

With regard to the rest of the Decisions made by the revitalisation policy, such as the buffer zone and the use of the Citadel's Islamic features as a means of cultural attractions, the research also puts forward some questions that may call for more investigation, such as:

- Are world heritage sites attractive or repellent for investment?
- How could Islamic heritage signs be used as a means to manage heritage attractions?

The aim of the future research is to:

- Demonstrating the potentials of the surrounding urban settings and how they affect the future of the site based on the current revitalisation policies.
- Detecting the main tool that would govern the futuristic competition between the heritage site and the ambient urban fabric.
- Detecting the ability of Erbil Citadel in reshaping the place according to its potentials.

7.4 Research Limitations

The restrictions that the research has faced are many, but those most influential among them can be attributed to four main matters. Firstly, the study has struggled to develop and cement a concrete knowledge base through which the research can genuinely understand the entire intangible values of Erbil Citadel heritage site. In fact, these values are deeply connected to the cultural layers of the site, such as some historical and cultural events that had to be recorded in the different façades of the Citadel. However, the major demolitions and physical changes that had taken place upon the site in different periods, and which affected these events and values, led to difficulties in how to gather enough reliable information regarding this issue. Therefore, and in light of this, it was a challenge to ensure a level of criticality within the locals' narratives towards comprehending these values so as to critically express them, as they have been remarkably influenced as a result of the time factor. In addition, the research struggled from paucity in the scientific reliable resources that tackle these issues. This compelled the research to mainly stick to those sources that either have been cited by many or prepared by some international heritage agencies that are well-known globally in order to ensure more consistent material. In addition, it helps in sifting out the level of neutrality within those local views, which after all aids in maintaining the scientific level of the research findings and results.

From another side, the internal security situation in and around Iraq has also left some influences upon the study. In fact, the terrorist groups of "ISIS" surrounding the site that attack the region frequently have made the atmosphere terribly electrified, which coincided the data collection. This in fact has impeded the mechanism of gathering data in a relaxing way during in-depth interviews with the site authorities or on-site surveys with the local community as well as creating some obstacles that complicated the process of conducting the questionnaires. This situation has reflected upon the local community psychologically, which

necessitated the researcher to consider this point when gathering the data from different perspectives. Furthermore, this also resulted in some modifications upon the whole plan of data collection, which have firstly led to gathering some general data about the entire revitalisation process including its main decisions in addition to deferring some of the data from the planned timeline to more suitable periods. Despite the different negative impacts that this limitation leaves upon the data collection task, the researcher has attempted to manage data collection in such a way that these issues would not affect the study's reliability. More precisely, the modifications that have been made upon its predetermined timeline were managed in a way that gave an extra period of time that allows some general codifications and initial analyses to be conducted during the first stage of data collection, which has eased the next stage a little.

Besides the scarcity of up-to-date references about the role of tradition in Islamic built heritage in general, the recent political conflicts around the area that surrounds the case study of the research (Erbil Citadel) has exacerbated the situation, which ultimately reflected on the research somehow. For instance, it indeed made it difficult to gather such sources from some local libraries, or even access the internet easily locally, seeking such information. Finally, identifying some disagreements among the revitalisation policy-makers has also affected the mechanism of gathering reliable information, which in fact led to a rethink of the process before initiating any real phase of gathering data that would depend on their participation. This also required looking to the specific examined issue, such as the evacuation and the demolition of the BG, from different perspectives, and then looking back on the cogency of the gathered information and realising how this disagreement may influence the issue.

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APPENDICES

Research Questionnaires & Interviews

Appendix 1

Research Interviews

In-depth Interviews

First: with the site's professionals and decision-makers:

A: with the local professionals, as indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants of the site

Q1: How do you see the previous renovation process of Erbil Citadel in terms of the role of local participation given to its inhabitants and its impact on the site?

Q2: What benefits do you think that the inhabitants would receive if they participate in drawing up the site's revitalisation policy?

Q3: Is there any expectation that the site will be a marketable commodity for the international sector after the revitalisation? How?

Q4: Do you think that the Citadel's traditional residential character, as social values and norms, will be changed after evacuating the site from its inhabitants, or even after the revitalisation process?

Q5: Do you think that the Babylonian Gate 'BG' is powerless to act as a genuine representative to the site? Why?

Q6: Are there any embedded political implications within the step of the BG's demolition? How?

Q7: How do you see the current relationship between the Kurdish National Museum 'KNM' and Erbil Citadel; is it really contentious? How?

Q8: Do you see any cultural impacts for the KNM upon the site? Will it boost or compromise the site?

Q9: Do you think that the KNM contradicts Erbil Citadel in terms of their representation to history and traditions including their traditional notions of centrality, unity and dominance? How?

Q10: Do you prefer the site's historical events and cultural values to be more dominant on the architectural physical components features of the site or a non-physical representation for them is enough?

B: with the local and global decision-makers of the revitalisation process of Erbil Citadel

Q1: To what extent you see the local participation of the local community of the site is important for the current revitalisation process of Erbil Citadel? Why?

Q2: Do you think that the local community of the site has been given a real role to participate in drawing up the revitalisation policy of their home "Erbil Citadel"?

Q3: To what extent the tourism perspective could play in the Citadel after finishing the revitalisation process? Is it a key-point whereby the current revitalisation policy has been built on?

Q4: What is the anticipated dominant tenor on the site after the revitalisation will be finished? Will it change the existing topological form, the traditional residential character and the Islamic sense/privacy of the site?

Q5: Do you think that the Babylonian Gate 'BG' is powerless to act as a genuine representative to the site? Why?

Q6: Why the new policy does not retrieve the main gate onto its original condition and spaces?

Q7: How do you see the current relationship between the Kurdish National Museum 'KNM' and Erbil Citadel; is it really contentious? How?

Q8: Do you think that the KNM contradicts Erbil Citadel in terms of their representation to history and traditions? How its cultural impacts on the site will be managed?

Q9: Is there any specific strategy to deal with the Citadel as an Islamic heritage site?

Q10: Is there any link between each issue of the site and the envisioned solution?

Second: with the site's local community:

- To what extent have you been involved in participating in formulating the revitalisation policies and making real decisions?
- If you have been actively engaged in the current revitalisation decision-making process of Erbil Citadel, are you able to deliver valid ideas and suggestions to its decisions? How?
- Do you think that the Babylonian Gate 'BG' is powerless to act as a genuine representative to the site? Why?
- How do you see the current relationship between the Kurdish National Museum 'KNM' and Erbil Citadel; is it really contentious? How?
- Do you think that the KNM contradicts Erbil Citadel in terms of their representation to history and traditions? How?

On-site Interviews

With the stakeholders of the surroundings of the site

- Which one between the Babylonian Gate and the revitalisation's Proposed Design is more representative for the site for you? Why?

Appendix 2

Research Questionnaires

First: Direct Questionnaires:

Among the local community of the site:

- Do you think the revitalisation decision of demolition of the Babylonian Gate and replacing it by the new Proposed Design really holds some political motives?

Agree ☐ Strongly agree ☐ Disagree ☐

How could you summarise the reason behind your answer?

- Do you think the revitalisation's Proposed Design is really capable of reviving the authentic features of the original gate?

Agree ☐ Strongly agree ☐ Disagree ☐

How could you summarise the reason behind your answer?

- Do you believe in the contradiction between the Kurdish National Museum and Erbil Citadel as a merely formalist contradiction, or it transcends to reach true ideological dimensions of history and traditions?

Agree ☐ Strongly agree ☐ Disagree ☐

How could you summarise the reason behind your answer?

Second: Semi-structured Questionnaires:

First: **Among the local professionals of the site:**

- Do you think the revitalisation decision of demolition of the Babylonian Gate and replacing it with the by the new Proposed design really holds some political motives?

Agree ☐ Strongly agree ☐ Disagree ☐

How could you explain the reason behind your answer?

- Do you think the revitalisation's Proposed Design is really capable of reviving the authentic features of the original gate?

Agree ☐ Strongly agree ☐ Disagree ☐

How could you explain the reason behind your answer?

- Do you think the current suggested location of the Kurdish National Museum really contradicts the Citadel's traditional aspects?

Agree ☐ Strongly agree ☐ Disagree ☐

How could you explain the reason behind your answer?

- Do you believe in the embodiment of traditions, such as notions of centrality, unity and dominance, within the built heritage of Erbil Citadel and the Kurdish National Museum?

First: within the Citadel (On an Urban scale of the site):

Agree ☐ Strongly agree ☐ Disagree ☐

How could you explain the reason behind your answer?

- Do you believe in the embodiment of traditions, such as notions of centrality, unity and dominance, within the built heritage of Erbil Citadel and the Kurdish National Museum?

Second: within the Citadel's individual constructs:

Agree ☐ Strongly agree ☐ Disagree ☐

How could you explain the reason behind your answer?

- Do you believe in the embodiment of traditions, such as notions of centrality, unity and dominance, within the built heritage of Erbil Citadel and the Kurdish National Museum?

Third: within the Kurdish National Museum:

Agree ☐ Strongly agree ☐ Disagree ☐

How could you explain the reason behind your answer?

Interviews, focused on the Renovation Process ***Date of the Interview 2014*** ..... ***Qualitative Data***		
Research Question: "*How do you see the previous renovation process of Erbil Citadel in terms of the role of local participation given to its inhabitants and its impact on the site?*"		
Participant's Position	***Participant's Code***	***Participant's Contribution to the Study***
An Indigenous Managerial-Political Figure from the Citadel	**P1**	There was not any collaborative role between us and them at that time honestly. The level of participation of the local community, as residents and stakeholders, in the decision-making process of this renovation was totally absent. We did not make any impact to the renovation. Let me tell you something important here. In fact, the plan of the renovation, including its decisions, has been drawn in Baghdad and then suddenly imported to the site by the site's authorities at that time to be executed with no reference to the people of the site in terms of negotiating and debating this plan with them or even have some chat on what they are going to make or change or add to the Citadel. The Citadel is our home, as we inhabit it for long, and therefore we were able to support the renovation process with many ideas and views regarding its architecture, culture, people, history and so forth. As residents of this rich historical place, we surprised by the modern paved road that had cut the site into two haves separating the organic body of the Citadel into two pieces. Honestly, it was really sorrowful. If you see the site before and after the renovation, actually, you will notice that its contribution has undervalued the site's deep authenticity, which is, for instance, if you see the grand gate it has been completely changed. Also, if you walk through the site's central area you will see the new added paved road for vehicles that have added on the expense of the previous traditional urban fabric of the site which was representing a very organic and compact Islamic urban fabric. The road actually has split this fabric into two areas "right and left", and after its existence in the site we, as inhabitants, started referring to some houses in the site as (on the right of the road/on the left of the road), which before we refer to them according to the main alleyways, the main three neighbourhoods of the site or sometimes we put the main central Mosque of Mulla Afandi as a benchmark. The traditional fabric of the Citadel gives a good example about the Islamic rules that govern the site, and actually I do not know how they dared to demolish its heart and replaced it with the current modern road, which totally contradicts what we hope to see for the site. So, I am responsible about my words that the renovation decisions, plans and policies were all prepared, discussed and made in Baghdad to be executed on the site without any veritable considerations for any actual relationship with the privacy and local settings of the Citadel, as traditional-historical architecture and Islamic urban and social fabric, or any participatory role with the inhabitants who presumably are the elite that perhaps able to provide them with different points about the heritage of the

		site.
The Former Office Manager of the High Commission for Erbil Citadel Revitalisation HCECR	**P2**	I believe that there was no any connection between the renovation and the inhabitants at all and in terms of how to work together for a better solution for the site. And this is the point actually. I think that the renovation decisions were subjugated for the granted power for the chief designer of the renovation, and this is widespread locally at that time, if not the sole way pursued at that time. For instance, if you can see some contradictions between the outcomes of its decisions on the site and the reality of the site in terms of its historical buildings and traditional services and also the reaction of the indigenous people of the Citadel who witnessed the renovation at that time. If you walked through the site and see the central area, you will grasp the obvious gap between these decisions and the site values, which can present proof that they were drawn completely separately from the local participation of the residents at that time and projected upon the urban fabric of the Citadel. For instance, the obvious gap between these decisions and the site's values can present proof that they were drawn completely separately from the local participation and projected upon the Citadel. I believe that there is kind of power granted to the renovation policy-makers, which gave them an authority to draw up these decisions apart from the site that led to some agonising impacts on it as architecture and society...Some believe that its decisions have facilitated new services to the site, which actually I do not see that. But I may see the opposite. The new modern services brought by the renovation, for me, I do not know but I believe that they undervalue the cultural and historical values of the Citadel, because simply they did not consider the privacy of the site as a history and a culture and as an architecture also.
A Senior Architect of the HCECR	**P3**	Regardless of the local participation of its inhabitants, which I would say it was almost ignored, I think the renovation is imported to the site from the Capital Baghdad, where its architectural schemes have been prepared by a professional architectural Bureau that is thought to be the most appropriate for this task. I think for this reason the implementation of the renovation plan had been directly translated onto the ground without further assessment by a higher and more professional team in terms of experience and skills I mean; and I do not know why some of the changes that this renovation had made on the site had been subsequently considered holding some political implications of the Iraqi previous Regime of Saddam Hussein. However, I can say that these claims can give evidence about the absence of the role of the locals from the renovation; otherwise, how they accuse it of such implications if they had participated in it? While in regards to why the renovation suffered such a fragile strategy, I think the I think at that time the strategy, the tools and the experience of such heritage tasks were simple, and therefore they did not pay such an actual attention to will be said after three or four decades.
A Chartered Engineer from Erbil Governorate	**P4**	According to the records and data that we have made on the site recently, including that renovation (which are part of preparations for the current revitalisation and the site buffer zone), I actually did not see any information that can show

		or confirm any local role of the site's inhabitants within that process. I do not know but hopefully the next works on these records and data can show something about this.
The Owner of the Traditional Qalat Museum of the Citadel	**P5**	We did not see the renovation team before the implementation of the renovation plan actually. Therefore, also as an indigenous resident of the site, I can confirm to you that I have not received any consent form or invitation, calling me to participate in the future plan of my home "the Citadel". Our participation was just through daily chatting with some workers on the site during the implementation. Honestly, I did not see a real and actual attention to the residents of the site by the renovation team. For instance, there should be a kind of consent forms between us and them in order to discuss the project plan and its futuristic aims before initiating it on the ground; for instance, if there any changes, any modifications, any suggestions or additions to the site as buildings or services. None of this happened actually. We served the project as viewers no more, while the work has planned by the renovation team and implemented by the renovation team, nothing to do with the inhabitants
The Formal Spokesman of the General Tourism Commission/Kurdistan	**P6**	"...so my contribution to this interview perhaps..., yet, according to my current communications with the revitalisation team, which is part of our duty and this is actually based on the futuristic tourist role of the site, and what I have of information about the archives that being processed there currently. So, actually, I did not see any documentation that may confirm this participation..."
A Religious Figure/Clergyman of a Local Mosque, and Indigenous of the Site	**P7**	Firstly, to participate in the renovation, at least I had to see something formal or even informal inviting me or anyone from the inhabitants to partake. I think to manage the renovation effort together, I mean between the renovation and the people of the site, there had to be at least a kind of initial preparations that enable from conducting some meetings between them in order to manage the work. I have not met with any committee belongs to the renovation at that time and I do not remember that we (as a family living in the site) have received an invitation to participate with our views in how to renovate the site. So, I have not been invited to such a meeting, but I surprised by the implementation task on the site directly. Actually, and from my point of view, what happened at that time was a copy or a sample of what most of the traditional works that were planned and implemented at that period: purely top-down instructions that should be implemented and that's all.
A Stakeholder from the Surrounding Buffer Zone of the Site, Owner of Books Shop	**P8**	First of all, I think my work here is not for a short period, but we are here decades ago, and our profession is old in this place; so, I think the information that I know regarding this issue is predominantly true. From my social and professional relationship with the site's aboriginals, who some of them share the same profession with us here in this traditional *Suq*, I think the renovation was completely confined to a specific group of people who worked on a pre-set decision or plan and came to implement it on the site directly. About myself, I did not meet them to discuss this aspect, and also, I cannot remember that they have met anyone from the inhabitants to discuss this aspect; otherwise I should hear about it during our daily chats. In fact, I say

		that, because I remember at that time we did not see a lot of site visits of the renovation team or commission, but the work started on the site immediately after some short visits. It did not take one two years of preparation of plans to the site, but actually the site visits at that time directly started discussing how to implement the new plans for the Citadel. So, you can imagine the extent of local participation in that project, which I can tell you it was almost non-existent. Also, and I do not know if this was the reason actually, at that time the society was quite simple, and no one argue against any top-down decision to consequently participate in it, assess it or even discuss it. Honestly, what makes you feel sad from this step is that I did not notice any consideration about the authentic history of the site by the renovation. All what had been made is to remove an old gate and replace it with a new gate, and to demolish the central area of the site for creating the current paved road, which has changed the authentic historical image of the Citadel. This actually, and I think I am right, makes you question whether there is any relationship between the renovation decision-makers and the site for which they may appreciate the site's history. The work did not reflect any kind of awareness about this aspect.
A General Director from the Ministry of Culture, who is an indigenous of the site,	**P9**	I do not think that was any level of co-operation between the renovation team and the inhabitants, and I think this is clear from the local vision of the inhabitants about the strange changes that the renovation made. According to my information as I was there when the renovation initiated and as currently I have a direct link with the site's authorities, I can shorten the answer to your question that, the renovation mechanism had followed a completely local traditional procedure, which is a top-down process of policy's formulation and implementation, prepared at the centre (Baghdad). What the renovation decisions have brought to the site, in terms of the unexpected changes that they implemented, such as the current gate and the central paved road, proves that the locals were ill-fated to be genuinely involved in it because of a completely top-down process of policy's formulation and implementation.

Table 3.1: Participants' Sheet: Data of Interviews on Renovation Process

Series A: Interviews, focused on the Revitalisation Process ***Date of the Interview 2014*** ..... ***Qualitative Data***		
Research Question: for Decision-makers "*to what extent the local participation is important for the current revitalisation?*"		
Participant's Position	*Participant's* ***Code***	***Participant's Contribution to the Study***
The Ministry of Culture: the former Head of the Citadel Conservation Commission	**D1**	I do not think the local participation in general is important to that extent that can really support the project of the revitalisation. But if you mean the inhabitants of the Citadel, I would say yes, their participation is important maybe, because at the end they know more about their home. Also from my previous position as a Head of the Citadel Conservation Commission, I think the initial regulations and the directives of the current task of revitalisation of the site are to take into account the locals' views in the conservation and to materially consider any local contributions of the inhabitants of the Citadel, and particularly those indigenous among them. You may know, during the recent decades some of the aboriginal people of the site left it to the surrounding areas following their daily life jobs. Anyway, I think any views stem from the site should be well-considered by the site's authorities and the HCECR, which I do not think that the current global experts on the site disagree with me in this respect. The locals' views can help in streamlining many of the issues of the site, particularly those issues that are part of the social traditions and the residential features of the Citadel. So, they can help in clarifying the general lines of how to initiate a revitalisation that tackles the site's problems on the ground. Personally, I consider their participation assists in keeping the project more realistic and also practical at the same time, because their views and ideas are simply stemming from the issues of the site and therefore they help to sustain the validity of the revitalisation's objectives as they presumably aware of the site's potentials. So, I think it is useful to meet them via periodical meetings to discuss the general lines of the mechanism of the revitalisation. We do not have to exclude any expectations that their views may nurture the policies formulation with what is practical and applicable; with contributions that are traditionally accepted locally; with views that emanate from the site's culture and history, because they know the site better than anyone else. It is their home. So, it is normal actually. Regarding your question about the future of the site, according to my personal knowledge about the future of the Citadel after the revitalisation is that there will be a huge cultural shift in the site's current residential character towards global tourism. I think the site after this project should support Erbil city touristically and regardless its current residential feature, which is predominant. So, I think each prominent house in the site should occupy a new cultural function so that it feeds into the global tourism target envisaged for this settlement. Commonly, the Citadel is a residential zone; but based on my own knowledge of the revitalisation aim of the site, that was in the past. Henceforth, the site should represent another turn for Erbil City: it is the turn of the cultural, social and tourism vision, which therefore the site should be prepared for. Accordingly, the majority of the houses of the three Mahallas/Districts will work to serve this aim; however,

		only a sample from the residential units will be maintained, which will be following a selective process that can also serve this goal. The existence of these selective houses is just to keep the site alive, informing the visitor about its traditional residential trait. As far as I know the site, including its houses and *Mahallas* will be re-employed in order to succeed this destination. For instance, history, culture and traditions of the site will be carefully employed to define the Citadel locally and introduce the site to the global tourism. But I do not know how the local views can be working here to serve this destination actually; they need to be carefully considered because the site will no more refer to residence as a main feature of this Fortress. I mean this may reduce their enthusiasm to a real participation. Consultations with the global experts of the site may serve well in this regard as something related to their experience in this field.
The General Directorate of Erbil Investment	**D2**	Actually, the work of the revitalisation has just started. I mean it is still in its early stages. So actually, till the moment we do not have a robust linkage with the HCECR to talk in-depth about this point, but however, I think there is a necessity for the involvement of the inhabitants of the site in initiating at least the first steps of the revitalisation policies, which I think it helps to make a right and proper start for the project and its future aims for the site. Regardless of whether the inhabitants of the site have a robust scientific base of information or rich professional expertise regarding heritage conservation, which I doubt, but I still see the locals' existence is a fundamental step which is helpful to reveal some raw materials about the current issues of the site and build some general lines that are helpful at the beginning of the process...According to some informal meetings with the HCECR –which still we do not have a real strong relationship with them in terms of some future roles of the project-, the site involves many of blurred cultural issues and adjusted architectural details and also urban changes, which all of that happened due to decay, demolition and weather denudations over time, and actually all of that require the local participation of the residents who may reveal some raw materials that facilitate establishing a truthful start towards the site's current problems through which the future of the Citadel as a cultural heritage can be run properly. I see the dwelling nature of the site is foremost among them. So, I would say yes, the local popular base is essential for the current revitalisation whereby the site will retrieve and sustain its dwelling nature and will not be abandoned therefore their participation should be supported by the revitalisation decision-makers in order to ease the achievement of these points and also as I said it keeps the start point of the revitalisation more realistic, which is essential for the rest of the project.
The Formal Spokesman of the General Tourism Commission/Kurdistan	**D3**	Oh, I think if it works, I mean the involvement of the local community, it may work only to somehow actually. As a Tourism Commission, I can say that we have a robust link with the revitalisation project, including its current local figures that are in charge of it represented by the HCECR –as a Head and members' staff-, as its future aims are at heart of our duty: which is global tourism. Therefore, I think what is needed for the revitalisation's futuristic policies is fresh and professional ideas that can really stimulate the site towards this destination; let me say the global tourist shift. I do not think that the simple residents of the site can provide or deliver strong suggestions that can really contribute to the current conservation or the tourist shift of the site honestly.

		Their views, from my point of view, I think, they are quite traditional and simple or ordinary whom their views still raw views. They may be helpful to resolve some traditional problems with the residential issues of the site but I do not expect that they can contribute to the future of the site as a global tourism site depending on the Citadel's cultural heritage. The site has become to represent a brand for Kurdistan presently, and started to be seen as a robust marketable tool for the global tourism. It will become an international tourist site; consequently, it will support the local tourism sector. So, I think there should be some fresh ideas and workable ideas and I think this can come from the global experts more than the inhabitants as they have rich experience in this field. I mean heritage conservation. But anyway, there might be kind of locals' involvement in the process, but however, for me I see this quite sensitive point and their views should be controlled very well before any step of activation of them... In return, the HCECR should work on the definition of the site within an appropriate level of international tourist representation. Their efforts should be concentrated on bringing the site into an eminent position among the surrounding cultural heritage sites, such as Babylon, Samarra and Aleppo Citadel. Erbil Citadel has a rich cultural history which is important to be carefully employed here.
The Head of the HCECR's Commission	**D4**	Honestly, there are some difficulties in how to meet the previous residents of the site, particularly the indigenous among them, who left the Citadel after the evacuation. What we see it currently hard is how to bring them together to run something like groups of discussion about the site's issues that we consider important for the future aim of the Citadel. Also, the future tourist shift of the site makes the revitalisation policy rests with the Commission more than the popular base of the Citadel. Only a sample of the residents will inhabit the site after the revitalisation, so honestly, discussing the future aspirations of the revitalisation policies and decisions and steps, I mean as a global touristic place that depends on the cultural heritage of the site rests with the Commission more than the inhabitants. This also requires more in-depth interview, which currently seems hard to be achieved

Table 3.2: Participants' Sheet: Data of Interviews on the Revitalisation Process: Series A

Series B: Interviews, focused on the Revitalisation Process ***Date of the Interview 2014*** ..... ***Qualitative Data***		
Research Question: for the Inhabitants "*Are you capable of active engagement in the revitalisation decision-making process?*"		
Participant's Position	*Participant's* ***Code***	***Participant's Contribution to the Study***
A stakeholder, as an indigenous inhabitant from the site	**R1**	I think it is important for the revitalisation is to incorporate their efforts with the efforts of the residents of the site, because the residents may know some local matters and features that define their site better than the international experts or even the local experts, particularly the site has some features of traditional Islamic architecture. These aspects have entailed different social, cultural, religious and economic daily requirements, which facilitated the definition of some of its physical details (such as the meandered alleyways and the traditional courtyards that are widespread in the site) through some cultural and social aspects (such as the social privacy and unity of neighbourhood) of the Citadel's heritage, which in fact they are also quite common in the site. Therefore, I would say the involvement of the locals is good and at least from this perspective.
A professional, as an indigenous inhabitant from the site	**R2**	Definitely their involvement is important for the project. It is essential, for me honestly. Since the principle of social privacy existed in each part of the three main districts of the Citadel (*Takya, Topkhana and Saray*), this simply gives a signification that the local cultural aspects of the local community have robustly participated in the formation and growth of the urban context and such similar characteristics of this residential settlement. So, our participation may help to define the site as an authentic history and also its importance locally. And I think this is a good and intact step for the revitalisation to start with.
A stakeholder, as an indigenous inhabitant from the site	**R3**	I see that there is more than an opportunity to the locals to support the current revitalisation efforts on the site with. For instance, and let me say one of them is reveal more information and interpretation about the rich history of the site and its culture. The residents and I mean here those aboriginals of the site can give different interpretations about many historical rich events actually. There is a historical correlation between the site and its residents, actually, and this comes from the fact that the Citadel is a historical habitation. Therefore, this makes me able to say that the inhabitants are the group who has more about the chronology of the historical events of this habitation. Consequently, their local knowledge can nourish the future policies of the site with original ideas that may serve the cultural destinations of the revitalisation with views that come from the potential of the site, from the issues of the site, I mean at heart of the work of the revitalisation.
A stakeholder, as an indigenous inhabitant from the site	**R4**	I would say it is essential and should have been the basic step that the revitalisation project should have started with from my view. The local community of the site seems as a one huge family due to different relationships that link them to each other. Therefore, their views might be working as a realistic data for the project and even if they were like kind of raw material of data and for many cultural aspects actually. For instance, visitations and shopping services among the inhabitants, particularly those who belong to

		the same family tree, also defending a specific urban cluster that belongs to this family; sharing some religious activities among them; all of that has created robust relationship between the urban fabric and the social components of the Citadel. By time, this indeed became material part of the local cultural traditions of the inhabitants, making some features of the site, such as alleyways and courtyards, inseparable parts of these traditions, consequently I can say, as a direct reference to them. So, imagine how the resident of the site can contribute in defining and introducing these local features to the visitor; definitely he will do that in a very interesting way that stems from his coexistence with the site.
A stakeholder, as an indigenous inhabitant from the site	**R5**	I strongly recommend the local participation of the indigenous inhabitants of the site to participate in the revitalisation project honestly. Their participation may lead to increase an open interaction with the visitor particularly when the visitor is interested in receiving more information about the history of the site including its deep events and rich social culture and all of this has been tailored, let me say, within the urban growth of the site today. Therefore, I see the continuous dwelling of the site enabled the indigenous dwellers from recording and documenting more historical data about the history of the site, and if the site will be used to serve some tourist aims I think this also will serve to enlarge the base of interaction between the visitor and the resident in terms of some direct debates on the origins of these events as well as their past and current influence on the cultural heritage of the site. This is important for the success of tourist aim of the site.
A stakeholder, as an indigenous inhabitant from the site	**R6**	I believe that the inhabitants are really the sincere elite who are objective in terms of their views regarding how to develop the site. I do not know why some believe that the local people participate in such projects to serve their own interests! The residents' cooperation does not call for subjective purposes serving individual aims, but rather an objective vision for the site and its vicinity, and that would be supportive for the overall aim of the entire urban place. For instance, their knowledge about the traditional *Suq* should give them a priority in the revitalisation in terms of increasing the data about the historical commercial relationship between the Citadel and the *Suq*. After all, this cooperation increases the data about the historical economic relationship between the site and its surroundings, which serves the far-reaching objectives of the whole revitalisation policy, and I think this should be taken into consideration by the site authorities and if they really want to keep the site as part of the place economically and culturally also.

Table 3.2: Participants' Sheet: Data of Interviews on the Revitalisation Process: Series B

Series C: Interviews Focus on the Revitalisation Process		
Date of the Interview 2014 ..... *Qualitative Data*		
Research Question: for the Locals "*To what extent have you been involved in making decisions of the current revitalisation?*"		
Participant's Position	**Participant's Code**	**Participant's Contribution to the Study**
An Indigenous Managerial-Political Figure from the Citadel	**L1**	Nothing! I did not participate. I have not received any invitation to participate in the revitalisation or even to discuss its policies and futuristic visions to the site. How can I participate and I have been informed to leave the site before its revitalisation? I can tell you that the first step to revitalise the Citadel was our evacuation from the site! I can say that the strategy in dealing with local community of the site is the same between the renovation and the revitalisation actually. What I want to say is that a new version of authority from the previous renovation process was redirected towards Erbil Citadel to be re-applied within the current revitalisation process, but perhaps through different tools, which are decided by them, I mean the site's authorities. Firstly, the authority control was activated earlier when the local inhabitants were informed, through the decision of evacuation, to evacuate their home and move into a modern urban habitation in exchange for financial compensation. This is really quite difficult step, it is hard to leave your home that you became part of it in terms of its history and culture for a compensation, and I do not expect that any one of the indigenous people of the site would agree on this step actually. For me, actually, nothing changed in the revitalisation as a comparison with the renovation, I mean with regard to the vision of the site's authorities towards the Citadel's indigenous inhabitants and how they may contribute to support the revitalisation; new tools and new procedures, but they are disable to serve the site. However, though the decision to make the site globally recognised should be appreciated, still the decision to clear the Citadel of its inhabitants was premature, and had to be discussed carefully honestly. The latter step of the evacuation mirrors a pure top-down policy that stormed the site's socio-cultural dimensions when isolated its live collective memory (locals) from this built heritage.
The Owner of the Traditional Qalat Museum of the Citadel	**L2**	Actually, I have not been involved as a genuine involvement. As part of my work in the site as owner of the Qalat Museum, I used to see some of the team of the revitalisation when they visit the Museum. We do some chatting on the site or the visitors. Yet, I cannot confirm that that chat lives up to the level it is contributing to revitalisation policies substantially, because it was quite normal and general. I cannot remember that our chat has discussed a precise issue in-depth rather than some normal questions, for instance, the process required huge budget, and I asked sometimes whether they received some money to continue with the work, and so on.
A Religious Figure/Clergyman of a Local Mosque, and Indigenous of the Site	**L3**	I did not participate at all. My participation was my evacuation of my home. The first contact from the site's authorities that I have received is to leave the Citadel for compensation. So, I can confirm to you a fact that the inhabitants have never met the decision-makers for discussing or formulating the mechanism of the revitalisation policies...The first decision that was made for the site was the decision of evacuation to clear the site of its inhabitants, and all the major decisions of the revitalisation process were made subsequent. The decision-makers released these decisions after 2009 when the master plan of the site had been drawn up. Therefore, the majority of the inhabitants were unable to

		participate in formulating even the outlines of the revitalisation policies due to their early departure. After our leave, I mean after the decision of evacuation, the site, along with its houses, became owned by the government; and the inhabitants had to leave the site for the new goal of revitalisation, which I do not if you know it or not. It is the global tourist goal. As a consequence, there is no connection between the HCECR and the inhabitants regarding shaping such decisions. The conservation dialogue is only between the local and global experts, and you ask me to participate in-depth in formulating the revitalisation policies! So how do you want me to participate after that? It is hard for us now to visit our home/the Citadel after this compensation. Believe me I agree to go back to live in the site if they let me go and now. I will fund my house conservation from my own pocket.
A Stakeholder from the Surrounding Buffer Zone of the Site, Owner of Books Shop	**L4**	In fact, as I see every day, the work on some documentations and records that document the physical fabric of the Citadel's architecture seems completely and totally inside the Citadel, particularly its first stages, and the link between us (the stakeholders of the traditional *Suq*) and the HCECR team I can say is completely missing and totally absent. I think they are busy with finishing the first essential stages of the revitalisation, which probably should be inside the site, and then they may contact us in terms of the relationship between the site and the *Suq* in the future, if we have anything helpful regarding this! But till the moment I have not been invited to give my own views or information that might be helpful for the process.

Table 3.2: Participants' Sheet: Data of Interviews on Revitalisation Process: Series C

On-site Interviews, focused on the BG/PD

Date of the Interview 2014 ..... ***Quantitative/Qualitative Data***

: *If possible, we may ask about your age and cultural knowledge about the site

Research Question: "*which one between the BG and the PD is more representative for the site?*"

Participant's Code	***The PD is more representative***	***The BG is more representative***	***Why***
P.1		•	Actually, I used to see it every day as part of the Citadel and since years ago
P.2		•	I do not know but I am happy with it, because when I came here it was there as a main entrance of the Citadel
P.3		•	I see the BG is a cultural sequel of the built heritage of the site, which complements the site and for me it seems tailored with the visual-spatial associations of the site
P.4	•		I see that there is a high similarity in form and architectural details between the PD and the original design of the original gate before the construction of the BG
P.5		•	It looks beautiful for me, and it is part of the outside wall actually
P.6	•		Actually, I can remember the original historical gate of the site, before the 1980s, through the verbatim imitation of the PD
P.7	•		I think it retrieves the historical ancient gate
P.8	•		I see the PD retrieves the same proportions of the original gate and although I cannot remember the full details of the original gate but I think the PD largely suggests the same functions based on its form
P.9	•		I do not know but actually it seems quite similar to the old gate of the site in everything
P.10		•	It is one of the elements that compose the site more than three decades I think, so it represents it, for me; I mean now
P.11		•	I believe in the current gate actually. You can feel this sense when you go and take some photos and sit next to this huge wall and share some memories with it during some special occasions, for example in the nights of New-Rozh Days
P.12	•		It imitates the original gate in everything, so it deserves to represent it
P.13	•		I choose the Proposal because it reminds me of the original gate, actually
P.14	•		Definitely the PD. The PD seems like a real copy of the original gate
P.15		•	Honestly, sometimes when I have time and want to escape the work in the *Suq*, I used to go next to this high wall to have my lunch. From there, I can have sightseeing on the city
P.16	•		I see the PD fits with the Citadel more than the BG in terms of design and form, and actually I think it retrieves the historical cultural values of the site, therefore
P.17	•		I am an old stakeholder in the *Suq* actually and I understand how the whole place has developed and very well remember the ancient gate. Therefore, I think the PD shows an architectural form and exterior details that are very similar with the original gate, which also evokes the same ancient spaces of the original gate including their original locations and even functions of the original gate
P.18	•		I would say the PD actually. It seems like the best representation of the site, because of being an identical copy of the old gate for me
P.19	•		I think people will sense the historical values of the site when they see the original gate has been built again
P.20		•	The current gate is already constructed, and we are coexisted with it. Also, retrieving the old design of the gate requires a long period to be familiar for us
P.21		•	I see it every day there actually, and I do not know why we have to demolish it
P.22		•	I do not to what extent you agree with me, but for me, honestly, the BG became part of the urban scene of the site and actually we see it every day as part of the perimeter Wall of the site over the last three decades
P.23	•		I agree on the Proposal. I think it is a new copy of the original gate, which shows the similar architectural details of the gate. So, it may

			represent the site better than the current gate
P.24	•		The PD shows a real copy of the original gate of the site before about four decades, so I agree on it actually
P.25	•		I think the PD will re-complete or let me say re-links the units of the outside Wall of the site to each other much better than now. I mean much better than they were before the construction of the BG
P.26	•		I feel more confident when I suggest the PD actually, I think because it reproduces the original gate that I used to see from my place this when I was young, I do not know!
P.27	•		Definitely I choose the PD, because its design shows that it will re-copy the original functions of the original gate, and I think this will support the historical and cultural values and let me say the cultural significance of the site at the end
P.28		•	The first thing that I see at the morning is the BG, probably, because it faces my shop. Also, I see some people visit the site through it. So, let me say that it is part of the different architectural elements that we used to see every day while we practice our work for many years
P.29	•		I do not know but I feel the PD is nearer to me, honestly!
P.30	•		The PD shows the same design, form and composition of the original gate for me. So, I think it can represent the site better than the current gate
P.31		•	It is existed in the Citadel more than 30 years, I think, so it should represent the site
P.32		•	It can represent the site, because it forms the main entrance of it!
P.33		•	I think its huge and long wall enables it to represent the site, and also, we do not have to forget that its location is in front of the main road to the site, which gives it some visual dominance
P.34		•	The BG looks different and also dominant on the residential units of the site. Therefore, I think it can represent the site
P.35	•		I agree on the Proposal actually because it helps the gate to retrieves its authentic functions, and I think when the gate retrieves its authentic functions before four decades that means it started to recovers its real history through which I think it regains its cultural significance in a way.
P.36		•	The current gate is old in the site, actually. Its age in the site is older than me actually, which means it is old in the site, so it deserves to remain
P.37	•		I do not know but actually I feel the new Proposal is able to represent the site more than the current gate. It mirrors the original gate, and for me, the original gate means the real past of the Citadel, actually
P.38	•		I suggest the Proposal actually, because I do not know, for me, the BG seems a kind of artificial part has been added to the Citadel
P.39		•	The BG is part of the site for years ago, and why we have to replace it with a new one!
P.40	•		I choose the Proposal honestly. For me, I think the removal of the original gate has led to removal of many historical and cultural values, which I think the PD may bring them back into being, and I do not know but this probably can serve the cultural significance of the whole Citadel, I think.
P.41	•		I see the new Proposal is a good representative for the Citadel actually, because when you rebuild an original part of the site again, this definitely implies that it is more representative for the site
P.42	•		The PD, for me, is a new, but original, copy of the original gate. So, I think it can represent the site better than the current gate
P.43	•		I choose this new Proposal. It reminds me of the original gate actually
P.44	•		For me I see the PD reflects the original gate in everything, in its architectural details, its form, and its location. So, it is able to represent the site
P.45	•		The Proposal returns the Citadel to its original gate actually. And I see that returning the Citadel to its original gate, for me, means returning the site to its authentic cultural significance and historical values
P.46	•		The Proposal! I like to see the traditional spaces of the original gate that I used to see when I was young, and this hopefully is produced by the PD
P.47		•	I think the Babylonian gate is more realistic representative! I think what is existed already can symbolise to the site more than the new proposed one
P.48	•		The Proposal is nearer to the site, for me. It shows the real history of the site I think, and we do not have to forget what some say that the current gate is attached to the former Iraqi regime of Saddam and it

			lessens the real history of the site. So, and regardless if there is an evidence that may prove this, but I think it is a good step to re-build the ancient gate, because if these claims are correct, I think this also will be something negative on the cultural importance of the Citadel, which we feel proud about it as we see it part of our history and culture, actually
P.49	•		I agree on the Proposal actually. I believe that the original gate is an authentic piece of the site that demolished by mistake for me actually, and the PD corrects this mistake by refilling its gap again
P.50	•		I will choose the Proposal! The original gate was one of the original elements of the urban fabric of the site, and I think the PD reinstates it once more
P.51		•	I believe in the current gate. I doubt whether constructing a new gate for the site will act as a better representative for it more than this existing gate. The current gate is at least well-known for all now
P.52		•	I will choose the current gate, because I see it on the ground actually, while the Proposal is still a proposal
P.53	•		I choose the Proposal. The PD reminds the local community of Erbil city of the historical and cultural values of the original gate before its demolition
P.54		•	OK! I think the BG is an original piece in terms of the architecture of the Citadel; it has been built since the 1970s
P.55	•		I see the Proposal! I think it represents the site better, and I think all people here agree with me on this point
P.56	•		I think the PD is more authentic piece in terms of showing the original gate of the site
P.57	•		I see the Proposal has a better opportunity of this representation. The PD makes the whole perimeter Wall one piece of originality
P.58	•		I believe in the PD actually, because I see the BG is an [uncritical] step actually against the cultural history of the site, and if you know, some here believe that it carries some political dimensions related to Saddam Hussein, because it has been built during his political regime and I think its decision also made in Baghdad. I do not know to what extent this is true actually and I do not want to adopt it, but from my own point of view that if this is correct I think it impacts the history and cultural significance of the Citadel. And in this case, I see the Proposal may be a better representative for the site
P.59	•		The PD seems more harmonic with the architectural language of the Citadel, so I will choose it!
P.60		•	I do not know, but actually I feel happy with the current gate!
P.61		•	I choose the current gate, which we call the BG. I agree that the BG is somewhat different in design from the surrounding houses of the Citadel, but actually it is existed more than 30 or 40 years in the site; so, I think this period is enough to make it representative of the site
P.62	•		Definitely the Proposal! I think the BG seems forcibly added to the original units of the outside Wall of the site, and I think this reduces the historical importance of the Wall
P.63		•	I choose the current gate because I see people go there next to it, having some social events. Also, when some schools visit the site they firstly used to take photos as memories with this gate. So, it is well-known for many
P.64		•	I do not know how the PD will seem after its full construction actually, so I stick on the current gate
P.65		•	I agree on the current gate. The gate became part of the local life of the people actually, and this is clear from their frequent visits to the site, which mostly start from the current gate actually
P.66	•		For me, I can say the Proposal! I sense the original gate through the PD
P.67	•		I choose the Proposal. The PD copies the same physical features of the original gate
P.68	•		I choose the Proposal. The BG is young in the site. it cannot reflect the site genuinely
P.69	•		Definitely I choose the Proposal. There is a demolished piece from the site. I mean the ancient gate and the PD remodels this again, which actually I feel happy when I look at it now through the image
P.70		•	I see the current gate is a good representative for the Citadel. I cannot imagine the Citadel without the long and high wall of the BG. I think it comes second after the "Tell" as a direct symbol of the site, consequently as a representative for the site

Table 1: On-site Interviews concerning the level of representation of the site by the BG/PD

Semi-structured Questionnaires, focused on the BG/PD

Date of the Questionnaire2015 ..... ***Quantitative/Qualitative Data***

Research Question: "*whether there are political motives behind the revitalisation decision of demolition of the BG and whether the new PD revives the original gate?*"

Participants' Code		***Dis/agree***	***Why***
P.1	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	The current gate is unfamiliar with the cultural story of the site and this is clear from its form and design which the original gate was part of
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	I think the [PD] is well-designed by the revitalisation team to fit with this aspect
P.2	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	The new Design shows more genuine considerations in dealing with the real history of the site in terms of copying the exact details of the original gate
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	Copying the original gate in everything reminds of its deep historical values
P.3	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Agree	I think the political motives is somewhat widespread among the local community of Erbil, who some of them consider the [BG] a direct reference to an aggressive political regime, and actually this is due some local security issues that left some negative implications between Erbil and Baghdad during the last decades
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Disagree	I am afraid of reiterating the same mistake of the current gate, and I think the revitalisation team should be more aware of this
P.4	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Agree	To somehow the political reasons behind the demolition are realistic. I think the [BG] is more linked to a specific political period, which in fact blocks the long cultural history of the site
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Disagree	I cannot judge the Proposal through an on-paper design; I do not know to what extent it serves the original gate
P.5	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Agree	Locally, we consider the current gate holds some undesirable political dimensions that remind of the Iraqi previous regime of Saddam Hussein, and it should be removed from the Citadel
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Disagree	I do not think that the [PD] will give to the site as what the original gate has given to
P.6	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	I see the [BG] is confined to a very specific period of the modern history of the site, which makes it unable to involve the rich cultural values and different events of the site
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	I can say that the [PD] denotes all of these values and events
P.7	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Agree	The removal of the [BG] is to eradicate some political roots, which in a way are seen attached to the former Iraqi regime; which I think this is also the desire of many of Kurdish families
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Disagree	To revive the original features of the original gate, I think the [PD] should really be carefully design; otherwise, it is hard to demolish the current gate and rebuild it again. This makes it loses its credibility locally and also may affect its touristic cultural role to the site
P.8	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	I cannot say that, but I think it is important to remove the [BG] from the site and rebuild the original gate
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	I expect the [PD] will show the real cultural and historical story of the site, which is rich of diverse values and historical events
P.9	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	Regardless of the cultural role that the [BG] performs for the site, I do not believe in the political implications actually
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	I think the new Proposal works as a cultural connector linking the original units of the Wall to each other, as currently I see like there is a missing original unit which acts as a missing cultural link from the perimeter Wall
P.10	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Agree	It is argued locally that the gate leaves some political fingerprints of the former Iraqi Regime
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Disagree	I doubt if the Proposal will revive the original gate. It is not enough to copy the ancient gate materially
P.11	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	I cannot adopt these political motives actually
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	I believe the conservation's decision-makers of the site attempt to embed the [PD] the full details of the ancient original gate in order to be able from re-demonstrating its cultural status in the site once more

P.12	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Agree	The current gate is one of the political residues of the former Iraqi regime and the revitalisation plan should remove it from the site
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Disagree	I do not know how the [PD] presents what is more fruitful to the gate in terms of its deep history
P.13	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Agree	Erbil Citadel is a national symbol of the place, and of Kurdistan, currently. So, the removal of the current gate is necessary to purify the site from its political significations that have been argued that it is forced to the site during the former Iraqi regime. This will definitely promote this symbol globally
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Disagree	I think it is a hasty step to decide from now whether it revives the authentic features of the ancient gate based on an on-paper proposal
P.14	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	I do not think that there are such motives
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	I think the people who are working on the site are experts in this aspect and know that the Proposal will promote the cultural status of the site
P.15	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	I exclude any political motives behind its demolition
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	For me, the priority of the revitalisation is how to boost the site touristically, and this requires reinstating the main gate of the site to its original settings that I think they serve this aim through the new Proposal better than the short-age current gate
P.16	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	The [BG] is completely different from the site as a history and an architectural language, which I think it is better to be demolished
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	Most of the original spaces of the ancient gate manifest in the Proposal, and therefore I think it can revive the original gate and I think this is part of the revitalisation plan
P.17	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Agree	There was, and still, a political tension between Erbil and Baghdad reflected on the current gate of the site, believing that it documents some political impressions of Saddam Hussein's Regime. Today, architecture became part of the political-cultural environment, so such impressions are might be true, so I think the revitalisation plan should respond to such allegations
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Disagree	I think when the current gate will be demolished, there should be a new design fills its gap, which rationally is to remodelling the ancient gate
P.18	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	The short history and superficial cultural link of the [BG] with the Citadel necessitates its removal
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	The Proposal displays an identical copy of the original gate, as form and possibly as functions, making it able to revive the original gate
P.19	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Agree	Perhaps these motives are a kind of some hypothetical narrations spread locally, whose validity we do not know; yet they became part of the arguments against the gate currently, which may need to be well studied by the specialists who are working on the revitalisation
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Disagree	I do not know whether copying the original design of the ancient gate revives its deep history
P.20	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	The work of the revitalisation is far from subjective aspects, so I do not expect that the removal of the current gate is for some political motives
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	I think if the Proposal reflects a precise copy of the original gate, many cultural and historical values will be revived
P.21	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	I do not believe in any political motives, rather, the [BG] is added to the site recently and also its design is different from the site
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	I consider if the [PD] will display the same traditional functions of the original gate, it will definitely revive it
P.22	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	I think the only reason behind the demolition of the [BG] is its strange form that seems different from the old residential fabric of the site
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	I think the copy of the original gate that the Proposal provides revives the same material aspects of the gate before its demolition
P.23	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	I do not see any political motives that necessitate the demolition of the gate
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	The Proposal brings the original gate back into being, which is part of the revitalisation aim in order to support the site touristically
P.24	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	I am hesitant to accept those political implications that some may believe in as a key reason to demolish the gate. The diversified experiences and skills of the experts who work on the site should be the sole reference to decide whether it deserves to remain or removed
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	If the [PD] will remodel the same design of the original gate, including its spaces and functions, I think it will definitely revive that gate not just physically but culturally and historically as well. The original community of the site and the city will see this aspect and through what this design provides, particularly the conservation techniques have currently been developed and I think the global

			experts on the revitalisation are aware of this and can produce different solutions to grant the Proposal some indications that make it similar to the original gate in terms of age and materials
P.25	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	The demolition of the [BG] is far from any political implications for me
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	I believe that the construction of the Proposal promotes the site culturally as I think it retrieves the same form and functions of the original gate
P.26	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Agree	I see the plan of the revitalisation is to respond to what is said locally about the political implications of the BG, and therefore it will remove it eventually
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Disagree	The Proposal evokes a physical copy of the original gate, no more
P.27	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Agree	For me, the current gate is a sign that reminds the Kurdish nation of the former Iraqi Regime, whose crimes are known to all
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Disagree	I am afraid that the solution that the [PD] suggests to the site will be coercive upon the Citadel as what the [BG] suggested before
P.28	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	The removal of the current gate boosts the site's historical aspect, which is an objective step
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	The overall aim of the revitalisation is to promote the site culturally, so, I see the implementation of the new Design will improve the authentic cultural image of the site
P.29	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Agree	The design of the [BG] has been brought to the site from Baghdad, which I think it makes its political implications accepted to somehow. However, the important thing is how to purify the site from such impacts to appropriate its cultural-touristic shift in the future
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Disagree	I cannot guess at the Proposal before I see it on the ground
P.30	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	The current gate needs to be removed from the site because it has cancelled the historical values of the original gate
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	Retrieving the same form and details, and the same traditional functions of the ancient gate will revive the cultural and historical status of the original gate
P.31	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	There is a historical gap between the current gate and the site
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	I think the Proposal enhances the original cultural image of the site
P.32	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Agree	I may adopt these implications in a way, because the [BG] was designed in Baghdad and the evidence on this it is different from the whole site in everything, so I think its removal is something objective
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Disagree	I think there should be some cultural dimensions behind the architecture of the Proposal in order to revive the original features of the ancient gate, which I think it is hard to agree on them from a design on paper. So, let us say the Proposal may help to re-harmonising the traditional architectural language of the perimeter Wall again
P.33	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	The [BG] reduces the cultural significance of the Citadel and lessens the historical originality of the whole site
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	The Proposal copies the ancient gate in every single detail; therefore, I think it can revive its cultural significance for the site
P.34	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	I think the suggestion to demolish the [BG] is not for any political motives but rather some cultural aspects regarding the site's history, authenticity, and if possible to say its visual integrity of its urban façade. I mean by this, it distorts the genuine visual scene of the outside façade of its perimeter Wall
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	Since the Proposal remodels the same architectural proportions, forms and functions of the original gate, it is highly expected to resolve all of these aspects that I mentioned regarding the political motives of the current gate
P.35	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	I cannot confirm such political implications, but I think the current material and historical properties of the current gate are detached from the traditional architectural language of the Citadel, which may make its removal necessary
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	The [PD] will re-link the traditional architectural language of the Wall to become as a harmonious piece of architecture that indicates a one historical period
P.36	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Agree	I think the local community embeds the gate some political traces of the former Iraqi regime, which I think it is important to be taken into consideration by the current plan of the revitalisation in order to remove what is non-authentic from the traditional fabric of the site, which may reinforce its originality
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Disagree	The removal of the current gate does not mean that any alternative design can supersede this gate just because it copies the same details of the ancient gate. Revival of the traditional gate should also focus on some intangible aspects, such as authenticity of the Citadel at that time. In addition, the construction of a new alternative gate should also take into consideration the structural integrity of the

			foundations of the perimeter Wall, particularly those residential units surrounding the current gate. The mound-slope is fragile and this needs to be carefully tackled actually. So, for me, it looks like a calibration between maintaining the current gate for the sake of avoiding the structural problems, or rebuilding the ancient gate for the sake of supporting the cultural issues. Here, the role of the global experts should emerge
P.37	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	I see the exterior design of the [BG] is different from the façade of the Citadel's Wall, and I think for this reason the revitalisation plan seeks its demolition
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	the [PD] reflects the same architectural form of the ancient gate, which I think this enables it from reviving that gate
P.38	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Agree	The gate, consequently its decision to demolition, includes some political implications and I think the demolition is objective actually, because many people here see the same also. This may facilitate a real support to the original historical values of the site as the gate embeds them such modern implications
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Disagree	I think the current local and global experts on the site should pay real attention to the new design that should supersede the current gate, if it will be decided to be demolished
P.39	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	I think the revitalisation process follows an objective aim in removing the current gate
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	I think when the [PD] suggests the same original design of the ancient gate this helps to revive it
P.40	**The BG's Removal is for Political Motives**	Disagree	The current gate should be removed actually, because it contradicts the site in terms of its traditional design
	The PD Revives the Original Gate	Agree	I think it can revive its original physical features

Table 2: Semi-structured Questionnaires, focused on the decision of demolition of the BG and replacing it with the PD

In-depth Interviews Focus on the Decision to Demolish the BG ***Date of the Interview 2015*** ..... ***Qualitative Data***		
Participant's Position	**Participant's Code**	**Participant's Contribution to the Study**
A Managerial-Professional from the Citadel	**L1**	*My first question that I would like to ask here:* *Whether the BG is powerless to act as a genuine representative to the site?* I do not think so actually. It is far away from many features of the site particularly those historical characteristics which are important to define its originality and also, they could strengthen its historical values actually. Above all, the BG was produced by the renovation decision-makers as a structural solution for the site's integrity, against the soil breakdown of the Tell, which had been argued that it is suffering this failure at that time actually; but nothing to do with the intact representation of the site's historical characteristics, such as sustaining the gate's authenticity and cultural significance, which I think they were part of its existence in the past actually. I do not think that resolving a soil collapse is more important than maintaining the historical aspects of the ancient gate; yet I also do not say here that the soil breakdown is not something important, I mean not a real problem for the continuity of the gate. It is, it is important of course and should be resolved but not on the expense of the historical aspects of the site that I believe they are part of its cultural importance indeed. The renovation decision simply worked on replacing an old gate by a new one that I do not know how it has dealt with integrity of the *Tell* in general, but honestly, I also do not see it considers the authentic properties of the site as a local history or a traditional culture. Therefore, I can say that the new birth of the BG has attempted to replace the original gate by a new portal regardless of all the historical criteria and the cultural significance that the original gate carries. I think, such a kind of superficial treatment, and even for the physical integrity of the gate, makes the BG distant from the site's authenticity and cultural significance. I see that it has distorted the gate more than rooting it actually and this is from my own point of view. For instance, I doubt in the reason that the renovation has set forward to demolish the gate honestly, I mean the original gate. The original gate was not really suffering from such structural defects within its own structure, but rather, a kind of light shearing force of the mound-slope it stands upon, which was mainly narrated by the inhabitants at that time and that I was part of. I do not say that the *Tell* was not suffering from such a weakness as this is more linked to some structural check-up and I am not an engineer, but also, I think it not wise to draw up a decision against a very historical structure of the site based on what some local testimonies indicate. As a consequence, the decision to demolish the whole gate was controversial, I think. The grand gate had been completely demolished under the claim that it is about to collapse and be substituted by the BG; however, its physical structure did not suffer from any structural defect. It had to be restored rather than replaced by this new Babylonian Gate, which I think it is the optimal solution.

		Great! My next question that I hope that your answer can provide my research with some ideas is: *Whether the new Design that the revitalisation suggests can revive the Citadel in terms of authenticity and cultural significance of its built heritage*? I think so in general. I see there is a kind of harmony of form between the old gate and what the Proposal produces actually with regard to the outside façade of the same traditional architecture, let me say, of the perimeter Wall of the site and also, I would say with some of its inner rooms. And actually, I say this based on what I see from its detail now. So, I think the Proposal shows an obvious formalist homogeneity with the original gate as spaces and proportions. Also, its outside design seems easily denotes the original gate as it corresponds with its ancient façade and this should be seen something positive for its representation of the characteristics that you ask here in your question. This is really great! So, can I ask you my last question here, which is: *To what extent you think that the current Gate carries of political signs of the former Iraqi regime?* Oh, no, I cannot agree with some beliefs that associate the BG to the former Iraqi regime and therefore it should be eliminated from the site. The point is that the BG is unrelated to the Citadel actually. I see that it is far from the site localism if you know what I mean and also far from its original features. Rather, it distorts the site authenticity; as a consequence, it has to be demolished actually and rebuilt according to the original details of the original gate, which is something logical for me. So, I exclude such political implication within the BG and instead I may link its fragility in representing the site to its detachment from the site's local traditionalism honestly and this is what I recommend any study on the gate to focus on this issue, I mean to start from this issue. I think it can serve the site more objectively in fact.
The Owner of the Traditional Qalat Museum of the Citadel	**L2**	*My first question that I would like to ask here:* *Whether the Proposal is able to boost the historical values, originality and cultural importance of the gate?* I see some similarity between the Proposal and the ancient gate in terms of their outside form. I think this should help the Proposal to possess a position in the representation of the site, which I see it is better than what the current gate possesses actually. The PD replicates the original spaces and details to a high level of similar proportions which support its representation for the site, which the current gate does not show this aspect, and this is clear actually. So, I think the inadequacy of the BG to act the same role that the new Design indicates results from its mechanism, let me say, of shortening the original spaces of the grand gate to be confined on a modern longitudinal wall of two dimensions of linear composition. On the other hand, I feel like the three dimensions of spaces of the new Design make you feel the real traditional architecture of the original gate more than the BG which seems for me as if it was a kind of sculpting honestly. In fact, I feel like it is a composition of longitudinal wall that you cannot feel its masses at all. While the inference of the exact interior spaces and functions of the original gate through the exterior traditional language of the PD is something important for us (I mean the inhabitants of the Citadel), which is almost non-existent now. This actually makes you feel the non-genuineness of

		the current gate in terms of its relationship with the site. *Great!* *So:* *How to see the political motives behind the decision to demolish the current Gate that some believe?* I think there is a link somewhat between the gate, which some call the Babylonian Gate, and the former Iraqi regime, and I think you know what I mean: Saddam Hussein. The BG has been added by the former Iraqi regime, or at least during his term of governance, which is also quite disengaged with the site actually. Its architecture is different from the site, which shows its discontinuity with the site's diverse historical values. So, I if we agreed on the existence of this link, charging the site with this negative political implication undoubtedly affects its authenticity and cultural significance, particularly it impacts the long history of the site, which is one of the most important characteristics that define the importance of the site, and we feel proud of it actually.
A Senior Architect from the Local Community	**L3**	*My first question that I would like to ask here:* *How to see the political motives behind the decision to demolish the current Gate that some believe, and is it possible to represent the site?* I think the spread of such allegations are common locally, which should confirm their actuality, their existence and at least among some proportion of the local community. What is important here actually is how to deal with the current gate, I mean its existence in the site, and its relationship with the site I mean its cultural relationship. Should the gate be seen part of the site from this perspective or not? This is important I think. Therefore, such motives should not affect the chronological history of the gate or even the Citadel. From this perspective, I see the BG still refers to a period of the Citadel's political history if possible to use this term, which I think it fits what these allegations talk about. And therefore, I thin from now on the BG should be seen that it is a symbol among the numerous symbols of the site, which should be retained actually. It gesticulates to a period of political architecture within the chronology of the site, and this is so important point that should be realised locally. Therefore, regardless of whether it is a genuine representative for the site or not, and I think you asked at the beginning of our talk such a question, I see that its authenticity can be subjugated to the continuity, and to the chronology of the site's political events and periods. Therefore, it bears some forms of intangible heritage belonging to a specific political period of history that should be forwarded to the next generations of the site. I think this is important actually, which I have seen some similar cases in different places in the world when I have participated in some workshops on heritage conservation. Therefore, what I want to say here is that this political period has its value through its impact on the site regardless of whether it had a positive or negative effect, and this is what some sites have preserved within some of their parts that have been added by time. In fact, there is a fact that many of heritage practitioners do not know well, which I explain here is that built heritage is the mirror for the events and the cultural life of people…and therefore destroying any piece of it signifies creating a gap in this culture at that time that this destroyed piece is synchronic with…A gap that besides denoting this political period, it may involve some other events that seem insensible now but

		sensible in the future. Therefore, the archaeological site should be preserved on what it became after exposing it to notable changes. These changes will record this period of history to the next generation as a piece of the historical events inscribed within this archaeological site. This for me is an important point that many of the locals should know!
The HCECR's Office Manager	**L4**	*My first question that I would like to ask here:* *Whether the BG is powerless to act as a genuine representative for the site?* I think so, and I would say yes. The BG is powerless to act as a true representative for the site, being unable to correspond to any level of authenticity or cultural significance of the original gate, but I see that its recent and modern construction devalues the deep history of the site. The gate is incapable of supporting the traditional architecture of the site which is clear from its form. The site shows some traditional and ancient features of Ottoman period, and this is what some recent studies on the site have reported actually. Therefore, I think it cannot boost the outstanding values of the site, if it does not lessen that. I would say that the decision of the BG did not take into consideration any criteria with regard to the site's authenticity, integrity or cultural significance, and regardless of what has been said at that time that the current gate aims to boost the site integrity against a possible breakdown of the *Tell*. I do not know how it offers some solutions for the site, honestly. For instance, visual integrity of the outside wall has been disregarded by the new form and details of the current gate, which deforms the traditional residential units of the wall, particularly it has made the wall seems like two separate pieces. Also, which I think this is the paradox here is that the renovation claim is based on protecting the site's integrity resulted from some soil breakdown of the *Tell*. On the level of the outside façade, authenticity and OUV of the site are two forgotten aspects for the BG and this is obvious from the new architectural form that the BG bears. Its form is completely separated from the Citadel and seems attached to another local heritage site, which is Babylon. This in fact is what many say here, and I think they infer this from the similarity of form between its shape and the outside façade of architecture of Babylon archaeological site. Regardless of how they interpret this similarity, I think the plan to strengthen the site integrity was inappropriate indeed. Therefore, if we appreciate the effort made to protect the site's integrity at the time, I think the tools and strategy to achieve this goal were completely imprecise and have shown a lack of awareness of the site's authenticity, historical values and the general value of the urban fabric of the Citadel, which I think they are not less importance from the site integrity. And this is due to the new architectural features as a form and design of the gate, which I see them are completely detached from the Islamic architectural style of the site. *Great!* *So, what do you think!* *Why this kind of architectural style, then?* This is an interesting question actually! Anyway, I cannot confirm a definite answer for you, but as I heard from professionals with us that the designer of the BG was fascinated by, what arguably called locally, the Babylonian architecture and therefore a uniform touch of this architecture has clearly prevailed upon most of his

		works in the field of archaeological sites. Again, this is according to I heard, not what I adopt. Also, it is concluded from some local experts that the architect of the gate was known as the architect of a uniform touch (which, as they say, is Babylonian architecture) and that prevailed in most of his designs. I think the architect, and perhaps and this is based on my own interpretation, has followed his personal subjectivity in interpretation of authenticity of the gate which might be through how to draw inspiration from a design that I think it shows deep historical dimensions of a local heritage site. Hence, I think the search for authenticity was through inspiring a design from a local site that shares deep history, which echoes the deep history of the Citadel rather than how to substantiate those characteristics for which the gate is regarded authentic. If this was really the case, then I would say the gate is far from meeting such characteristics actually. *So, do you think it has now, or will have in the future, a historical impact on the site, and the demolition decision may ignore it?* I think its impact, and I refer to the negative side, is on the site's different values which come from its ancient Islamic architecture actually. The Citadel involves more than one period of civilisation and therefore more than one period of different historical events and of different local cultures and even different social cults from those whom inhabited the site during these periods. For instance, the outstanding value 'OV' of the original gate was clearly absent during the erection of the BG as a result of mixing the historical with the modern that the BG has introduced to the site. The BG, from its façade and materials, reflects a state of modernity which contradicts the historical features of the site, which is considered one of the very outstanding values of this built heritage that can be assigned to its deep history of 6000 year, and this is confirmed by more than a study conducted on the site after 2009 actually. Consequently, the BG is detached from the site's history. Therefore, [its removal] from the site is due to the fact that it distorts the OV of the original gate honestly, and originality and cultural importance of the site in general. The current ignored the time dimension that the old gate indicates through its material that that shows its deep-rootedness. I think what the current gate imprints the site with is the opposite. It is a modern addition actually. Consequently, it has to be demolished and rebuilt according to the original details immediately after its addition to the site and not now. Also within the urban context of Erbil Citadel, I see the current gate is something intrusive inside the site. For us, it is understood as a strange body and inharmonious with the architectural language of the site's perimeter wall, which therefore seems intercalated in its architectural context. Such sequences of the BG definitely impede authenticity, cultural significance and OV that the original gate has acquired over time, and lessen their value within the entire site. It can be seen as a clear intrusive of a discordant element, which is detached from the traditional language of the perimeter wall of the Citadel as a context and architectural details as well as visually distorting its unity. Therefore, I think its removal is the proper solution, and honestly, we, I mean the HCECR, have agreed on this with other parties of site's authorities and revitalisation's policy-makers. The sensitive point for us was whether its removal may compromise the site again. However, after undertaking some international consultations, the HCECR believes that if the BG is fully removed [by now] and replaced by the new PD (as planned), the BG's existence would be for less than 40 years,

		which will not influence the site's authenticity, the site's cultural significance or the site's OV. Rather, it will revive the history of the Citadel. This is what we have talked about as an HCECR's team over the last two years actually, I mean between 2012 and 2014, and what we inferred from some seminars with some experts of world heritage sites that the experts of world heritage sites believe that removing a gate aged less than 40 years will not affect a history of 6000 years of the site. Hence, let me say, that it will reinstate some true values of the site.
The formal Spokesman of Tourism Directorate of Erbil	**L5**	*My question that I would like to ask here:* *Why the BG is powerless to achieve the role of being a representative for the site? Or you may see the opposite?* No actually I would agree with your question that it is unable to represent the site. And actually, the reasons for this are many in my view. For instance, the BG is unable to represent the original gate's authenticity and cultural significance due to the modern tinge that it brings to the site. This tinge weakens its qualifications, I mean the current gate, in demonstrating any old age value, which is a crucial feature in the representation of authenticity and consequently misplaces its cultural significance locally. Instead, and to be a good representative for the site, the BG should reflect high levels of credibility in terms of presenting an authentic form, originating from the local cultural traditions of the place and harmonised with the site to be rhythmic with the social feeling of the local community and consistent with their stockpile of memories about the gate. This is really crucial, because eventually the locals are one of the most important referees that will partake in judging its position in the site, and who will decide for its existence in the site or not. Another important point here, which I see it more connected to the site's authorities, is the fact that the Citadel is aimed to act as an authentic cultural sign of the local heritage of Kurdistan. Therefore, one of the criteria that I see the BG should achieve is to correspond with the local memory of the local people of the city. I also see the other point that may weaken its role of representation of the site is its modern materials as well as the technique that has been followed to construct the gate, which both of them lessens the historical value of the site. The truth is that the impact of the modern materials of the BG is dissonant with the perimeter wall and its contemporary materials of cement mortar and some concrete pieces do not really mirror the exact historical characteristics of the original gate. Therefore, I think the BG reflects a modern tinge on the façade of the perimeter wall, which results from its modern design and material that negate the traditionalism of the Citadel's heritage. I mean the old language of its architecture. I see such treatments reduce the site's historical dimensions, consequently its authenticity and outstanding values, which all are essential for the site to be a real cultural sign of Kurdistan. I do not know to what extent you agree with me, but I see modernity is an architectural fault that should be banned when it comes to dealing with such archaeological structures in this heritage site. It could contaminate its historical values and spatial relationships actually, which is something that needs to be studied and carefully among those who should decide on the future of built heritage sites. So, I believe that working on restoring the gate to its original status by eliminating what is modern will support its history and authenticity, and these are two characteristics that are essential for the future of the Citadel as a genuine sign of the place.

The former Head of Erbil Citadel Conservation	**L6**	*My question that I would like to ask here:* *How do you see the role of the new Proposed Design in order to support the cultural heritage of the site?* I think this is mainly based on its role in how to retrieve the tangible and physical elements of the ancient gate that has been demolished by the current gate. The proper retrieval of this may lead to a proper retrieval of its different historical and cultural values of the site, for me. *Great!* *And do you have any idea whether the Proposal will re-present the same function of the ancient gate?* To be honest, the plan is to retrieve and as possible those traditional and old functions of the ancient gate. However, the new PD is not expected to restore the portal to its exact traditional functions of the historical original gate. A modern functional change is expected. Though the outside façade and the interior design are completely echoing the original gate, the interior function of the PD will also be moderately altered so as to fit some modernistic cultural functions, such as [adding] a heritage museum. For instance, some of the historical functions are hard to make function in the new PD due to the considerations that these functions nowadays are entombed and completely forgotten, and they are difficult to be reinstated. But it is still important to give an indication through the Proposal that the site celebrates its original gate again, this is highly important to support the current aim of the revitalisation, and particularly the Citadel is envisioned to represent the Capital Erbil in the cultural tourism globally. I think this also helps to establish some confidence among the local community of the site, which I think it is important to emphasise the exact retrieval of the material features of the ancient gate. The local community should perform well in the task of the cultural and tourist turn of the site in the near future. Given the importance of sustaining the same traditional feeling regarding the original gate, the outside form, the traditional language of the façade and the historical expression of the materials that will be used to construct the PD will be identical with the original gate in a manner that can sustain its authenticity and OV regardless of some minor alterations within the interior functions. I see the impact of this is important actually and at least upon the locals who are expected to be real proponents for the tourist turn of the site through disseminating and sharing their cultural knowledge with the visitor about the cultural heritage of the Citadel, and including its diverse cultural attractions. *This is a good information about the future role of the local community actually, but:* *How can the locals participate in such a role and they have left the site?* According to the Master Plan of the revitalisation, I think there will be a particular elite of the local community will inhabit the site in order to keep it reflecting a sample of its original function, which is inhabitation. So, I think if this sample will be treated well through some specific training courses concentrated on how to interpreting the site's cultural attractions in a way that enables from creating a genuine interaction with the visitors about the site I think they will be able to help in achieving this role.

Michael Brammah, key Expert on the Revitalisation and the Chief Designer of its Master Plan	**L7**	*My question that I would like to ask here:* *How do you see the decision of demolition of the current gate, and whether the gate is a good representative for the site?* Firstly, the current gate stands upon a fragile ground of credibility regarding its true representation of the site and its historical and cultural dimensions. I do not see it able to represent any level of deep history or rich traditional culture or authenticity of the site. however, I think what is shocking for me is a kind of disagreement among the local decision-makers of the site about some managerial points surrounding the revitalisation process in general that has also reflected upon the issue of the gate, which left the core of the revitalisation and focused on who will be the Chair of the revitalisation. During a workshop in Erbil conducted on the Citadel, the previous Head of the HCECR has triggered different strange issues that seemed far from the core of the revitalisation actually who was mixing the paper of the site an unconsciously and still arguing to the interest of the BG in terms of its existence in the site, indicating that it reflects some values for the Citadel, which subsequently led to a change in the members of the HCECR, particularly the Headship of the HCECR.

Table 3: Participants' Sheet: Data of Interviews on Revitalisation Decision to demolish the BG

Research Participant Consent Form



Title of the Study: **The Role of Local Participation in Decision-making Processes of Built Heritage Conservation**

A Critical Analysis of the Role of Local Community in the Current Revitalisation Process of Erbil Citadel

Name of the Researcher: Mohammed Awadh Jasim

Please tick the boxes as appropriate

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. ☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. ☐
3. I could take a break at any time during the interview.
4. I understand that I have the right not to answer particular questions if I consider them to be sensitive or commercial proprietary. ☐
5. I give my consent for the interview to be audio-recorded as described in the information sheet. ☐
6. I give my consent for my data to be used as it has been explained in the information sheet. ☐
7. I agree to allow my interview statements to be published and to be attributed to my organization. ☐

I also agree to being identified by name (please choose): Yes ☐ No ☐

8. I understand that the research findings, including the comments / data I provide in the interview, may be published as a PhD thesis, academic conference papers, journal articles and other academic publication / dissemination channels. ☐
9. I understand if the academic findings are to be published in other places, for example media articles, no specific references to individual interviewees will be made. ☐
10. I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

_____ _____ _____

Name of the Participant Date Signature

_____ _____ _____

Researcher Mohammed Awadh Jasim Date 05/06/2014 Signature Sahiq

- Copy for participant
- Copy for Researcher

For all participants:

The core aim of this field work is to examine and assess the revitalisation policy of Erbil Citadel, including its main decisions, by the lenses of the local community. Consequently, to address to what extent they could participate in supporting these decisions. Finally, the collected data will be utilised for a PhD thesis at the University of Nottingham/UK.

Researcher: Mohammed Awadh Jasim

The University of Nottingham, UK

Department of Architecture and Built Environment