

Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development: The Role of Local NGOS in rehabilitation of Historic Cities in Palestine

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ABSTRACT

The increased recognition now being given to culture heritage is part of the broader changes that have taken place in development thinking in the 1990s. The cultural sector is believed to be one of the main components contributing to effective economic growth rather than a drain on budgetary resources. This paper addresses the issue of how heritage is being conserved and how we as current users of space see this traditional environment. And our capabilities as restorers of this heritage depend mainly on how far can we allow for and maintain a maximum degree of authenticity and also if we can pursue the idea of mobilizing hidden resources in our interventions.

Authenticity as a quality refers to the entire society and its behavior patterns and will be reflected in the continuation of tradition and traditional types of function and use. This continuity cannot be achieved by simply reproducing frozen architectural forms but must be fostered by reviving internal shaping processes.

This paper will discuss the role of local organizations in Palestine in the field of conservation of historic cities as case study. It critically evaluates NGO's contributions, their limits, accountability and performance in achieving a sustainable approach. It stress on the importance of emphasizing the values embedded in historic cities. This does not automatically imply rejecting evolutionary forms of change, nor does it mean that all historic structures should be conserved at any cost. But it does suggest that certain essential structuring principles can be revived , adopted and perpetuated to the advantage of contemporary societies. Authenticity and generating from within are two major aspects that should be considered in order to allow for a sustainable solutions.

INTRODUCTION

Authenticity is the quality of a cultural heritage resource that convinces us about its heritage value. This value is often associated with its role as a testimony to the past but, in fact, we conserve reflections of our present-day values, whether these resources are a product of our time or not. The authenticity of cultural property is an intangible quality that reflects our confidence of future generations¹.

In society, authenticity essentially means being true to itself. Such authenticity will be reflected in the continuation of traditions and traditional types of function and use. This will necessarily involve gradual changes in the built environment that are may be seen as an expression of an authentic cultural and social spirit². Only then will such evolution maintain its credibility. Transforming a living historic area into a museum will mean killing its tradition vitality. The linkage between heritage and identity is crucial to understanding not only the significance of heritage as something to be valued but also the difficulties managers face in identifying and conserving heritage.

Without having to go far as John Ruskin, who believed that old buildings were held in trust for future generations and were not ours to destroy, there are a number of good reasons why we should preserve buildings³. The first is based on the profound psychological need of performance. The wide spread destruction and renewal of old quarters, which have affected most of the major cities of the world, have made us realize that the loss of the familiar can go too far. A second reason is the realization that the old buildings often do their job better than the new ones. It should perhaps be a condition of any demolition that the new building must always be better than the old which it is replacing.

The starting point for discussion among practitioners, scholars, and decision makers on matters pertaining to historic cities should be to establish a common understanding among the various interested parties about key philosophical questions that frequently remain not only unanswered but even unasked. First, what are we trying to preserve? A number of major buildings?, the urban character? The way of life? Clearly, each answer will generate a completely different set of solutions. Second, why we want to preserve whatever it is we choose to preserve? Because it is part of our heritage? then all citizens and in some cases even the world at large should be made to pay for it. To improve the lot of the inhabitants of the old city? Or is it to generate a new resource to earn money from tourism? Again, depending on how these questions are answered, the types of interventions to consider, the pattern of finance required, and the way to implement them will differ. And third, for whom are we preserving? Are the present users to be prime beneficiaries of whatever intervention is to be made? Or the country at large? Or is it for the sake of generations yet unborn? Again the responsibility for action and the type of the intervention will differ depending on how these

questions are answered. And unless they are answered , the parties will continue to talk at cross-purposes and confront administrative paralysis.

Even after having confronted these questions, having identified the key actors, and having reached a common understanding of the basis for the future action, we are inevitably confronted by a knotty institutional and economic problem. Because dealing with historic cities involves more than the restoration of monuments or the protection of an urban character, any effort to restore and conserve them must include adequate attention to the renewal of the economic base, an increase in investment, and the revitalization of the economic and financial structure. These are essential to enable both the payment of the restoration costs and the maintenance of the restored environment.

CONSERVATION OF HISTORIC CITIES

Historic cities, beyond being more repositories of cultural memory, should be able to act as effective nurseries of cultural continuity⁴. Accordingly continuity cannot be achieved by simply reproducing frozen architectural forms, but must be fostered by reviving internal shaping processes. Only then can it lead to the construction of an inspiring built environment reflecting the qualities man needs for his physical, emotional and technical aspects which enable cultural rehabilitation to be pursued from within , the scope and the limits of conservation need to be put into perspective.

The value of historic cities resides in the complexity of their structures, which are impregnated with the record of life and human thoughts and activities: the whole is much greater than the sum of the parts. Indeed, the meaning of an urban entity draws on the interaction between monuments, houses, meeting places and places of work, pattern movement, social habits and ritual commemorations. Through subtle transformation over time , the urban matrix incorporate and perpetuates the memory of past generation of users. It thus reflects the *genius loci*, as conditioned by the given site factors and by the imprint of respective communities who collectively shaped their living space and were, in turn, moulded by their environment. The continuity – one can say the tradition- of this rhythmical “ give and take” accounts for the essential quality of historic cities, which must be carefully managed in order for it to remain alive in succeeding generations.

Ismail Serageldin proposed a framework for dealing with culture in development , cogently arguing against the risk of ignoring the positive aspect of local cultures in pursuit of pattern of modernization that destroy the institution without providing viable alternative⁵. Again this was not a call to live in the past but rather than an argument for an integrated and integrating cultural framework that makes modernization a truly endogenous process. He called for a space of freedom in which intellectual inquiry and expression go hand in hand with the empowerment of people. The extent to which this approach is now filtering through to

particular management strategies in historic centers is uncertain. In some cases, specific policies will have been implemented, in other sustainable goals may be implicit or at a preliminary stage. One aspect of this is the realization that not only is it important to preserve cultural heritage assets per se, but also whether the capacity to allow change within the historic centers can be preserved. Change within a historic environment may often be the key to long-term preservation and sustainability⁶.

Adaptive re-use and historic preservation fall within the wider term conservation. Conservation implies the act or the process of preserving something in being, of keeping something alive⁷. And in keeping something alive- that something being in this case anything from a single building to a whole city quarter- it may be necessary to infuse new life.

Over the past ten to twenty years, there has been a growing awareness that both informal sector and emerging non-governmental organization can react much more flexibly to the needs of the population, that they are virtually self-sustaining, and they can assume tasks which the formal sector and the governmental administrations are unable to carry out- even if they had the financial resources to do so, which is rarely the case. Yet successful partnership between the two parallel systems has rarely the case. Yet successful partnership between the two parallel systems have rarely been achieved so far, mainly because conventional government structures failed to mobilize the hidden resources of grass root initiatives.

RHABILITATION OF HISTORIC CITIES IN PALESTINE

Following the Declaration of Principles agreement (Oslo Accords) signed between the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel in September 1993, the international donor community pledged considerable amounts of assistance to the Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The main objectives were to provide tangible benefits to the population through improvements in standards of living and increased income, which in turn, it was hoped, would provide a conducive environment for the peace process.

Among the most active local organizations in Palestine during this period were those involved in the conservation of cultural heritage. Based on analysis of their objectives, locations and the implementation of their programs, the three most important local organizations were the Old City of Jerusalem Rehabilitation Program (JRP), the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee (HRC), and Bethlehem 2000 and its Center for Cultural Heritage Preservation. These local organizations were established in the same period, between 1994-1995. Although these bodies seem very similar in their objectives to protect the cultural heritage and the Palestinian identity and community, they differ in the managements procedures and the level of freedom they have given to adopt certain policies.

1. Bethlehem 2000 Project

Bethlehem 2000 project was initiated by the international community to support the peace process in the area, and to make the city of Bethlehem a universal center for dialogue⁸. The stated objectives by the international communities and particularly by the World Bank are : to strengthen the economic and cultural base of Bethlehem area municipalities and foster their sustainable development, to strengthen the infrastructural, financial and managerial base of the area and to begin to foster the preservation of cultural heritage assets in the West Bank and Gaza by initiating a national process of policy and institutional reform capacity building⁹. To ensure the sustainability of the cultural heritage component of the project , an Urban Rehabilitation Unit was created to manage and maintain the cultural heritage in the Bethlehem district. Public servants, tourist operators, and the private sector were involved in maintaining and preserving cultural heritage for the benefit of all concerned. Based on the mission of the Urban Rehabilitation Unit, a new Center for Cultural Heritage Preservation at Dar Mansour (CCHP)) was established to carry on the legacy of Bethlehem 2000 Project and to provide a sustainable mechanism for the protection and management of cultural heritage resources in the Bethlehem district and to enhance awareness of cultural heritage in the public conscience. The CCHP adopted a holistic approach to satisfy economic and social objectives as well as high quality cultural tourism needs. This approach requires, first and foremost, that all current and future rehabilitation projects as well as those projects completed under Bethlehem 2000, be maintained in a manner to guarantee their sustainability. It also entails heightened awareness among the local public of the value of cultural heritage as a national and economic asset. This center has established three units: a rehabilitation unit, a community awareness unit and a research and training unit¹⁰.

2. Hebron Rehabilitation Committee (HRC)

Hebron, an old and sacred town 32 km to the south of Jerusalem, is an important religious center for Islam, Judaism, and Christianity. The old city lies to the southeast of the modern turn-of-the-century city and possesses a remarkable stone architecture, most of which was built in the eighteenth century. Since its occupation by Israel in 1967, Hebron has been a focus of Jewish settlement. Trying to enlarge the settlements, Israelis have done their best to evacuate the area from its original Arab inhabitants. Most of the old city residents have left the area, except those who had no alternative, but to stay. As a result, buildings of the old city became semi-empty, on the other hand, the area has been filled with social and economical problems in addition to the political ones. Since its occupation by Israel in 1967, Hebron has been a focus of Jewish settlement almost a decade ago.

In January 1997, Israel turned over 80 percent of the administration of Hebron to the Palestinian Authority, thereby enabling the actual reconstruction of the old town to begin. The Hebron Old City Rehabilitation Committee -HRC- was established in 1996, in light of

the Palestinian Authority's aspiration to preserve Hebron as a historical Arab Palestinian town.

The sector under revitalization consists of large, extended family houses built of thick stone walls with vaulted superstructures and arranged in a compact urban texture characteristic of eighteenth and nineteenth century urban homes in Palestine. Most of the clusters do not suffer from major structural problems. No extensive reconstruction is contemplated, only work necessary to make them structurally sound and functional. The rehabilitation includes running water, sewage, and drainage services.

The Hebron Rehabilitation Committee has three main objectives: To preserve the city's cultural heritage by safeguarding the constitutive elements of its old buildings and ultimately save its entire architectural identity, to contain and encircle Jewish settlements inside the Old City by erecting rings of buildings around them in order to stop the horizontal expansion of the settlements and to prevent their urban interconnection by increasing Palestinian population density between them. And to revive the Old City by reinforcing the bond with its inhabitants, reclaiming abandoned buildings, rehabilitating the infrastructure and connecting it to other city neighborhoods¹¹.

In 1998 the activities of HRC were gradually shifted from architectural restoration that aimed at bringing people back to the old city to urban rehabilitation of the Old City of Hebron in order to revive the city as whole. The committee began implementing activities aimed at either conserving some of the historical structures for community use and cultural activities or improving the infrastructure, water, sanitation, and electrical grid in the historic city.

3. Old City of Jerusalem Revitalization Program (JRP)

The cultural heritage of Jerusalem lies predominantly within one square kilometer of the Old City. The Old City is a museum that includes many beautiful historic buildings dating back thousands of years. Since the Israeli occupation of the Old City of Jerusalem in June 1967, no Palestinian national institution has been able to operate in the Old City, although the municipality of West Jerusalem and the Israeli Archeology Department control construction activities, building permits and maintenance work in the Old City. As a consequence, the existing religious institutions have had to take on the role of restoring their own historic buildings¹². The Awqaf (Islamic Trust) deals with Islamic property in the Old City (both general properties and properties related to families), whilst each Christian denomination takes care of its own church property. About 15 per cent of the Old City buildings are general Awqaf properties, including mosques, schools and public buildings, and 15 per cent are rented to families by the Awqaf. The churches own 20 per cent, and the rest, about half of the properties in the Old City, are privately owned¹³.

Considerable effort is now required to save these existing buildings. Israeli regulations insist that Palestinian residents have to live within Israeli municipal borders in order to keep their

Jerusalem identification cards. This regulation has forced more people into the Old City, leading to haphazard building practices with overcrowded, unhealthy and aesthetic displeasing conditions. In the Moslem areas there are 45 people to the dunum (equal to 1,000 m²), compared to only 18 people per dunum in the Jewish area. In every hosh or courtyard, there is a need for restoration. There are 5,000 houses in the Old City in need of an average of \$25,000 in major repair works.

As part of its efforts to protect the community and cultural heritage within the Old City of Jerusalem, the Welfare Association, a Palestinian NGO, established a special technical unit in 1995 called the Jerusalem revitalization program (JRP). This unit is dedicated to the revitalization of the Old City, rehabilitation of housing and related services, preservation of cultures, historical and religious monuments, and improvement of living standards for residents¹⁴.

The main components of the Old City of Jerusalem Program are:

1. Emergency restoration, which involves immediate and limited intervention for buildings that have structural and physical problems or that are targeted politically.
2. Total restoration, which involves a more comprehensive approach in order to restore residential areas and historic monuments and to rehabilitate their services. This component includes housing renewal and adaptive re-use.
3. Revitalization plan for the old city based on extensive sectoral studies and physical and historic surveys.
4. Training program in conservation for professional architects, contractors and craftsmen.
5. Community outreach programs to ensure the participation of the city users in defining their needs and priorities and to promote public awareness of the value of cultural heritage preservation.

DISCUSSION

Although local organization's involvement in the conservation of cultural heritage was relatively new in Palestine, they were among the key actors in development and promotion of cultural heritage. The international donors were interested in supporting NGOs as the main providers of services. These forms of civil organization have inspired governmental organizations to establish similar bodies to manage such projects. These organizations have had varying levels of freedom and autonomy to implement their activities and projects to conserve the cultural heritage. In Bethlehem 2000 Project, the World Bank was the major donor, and thus the project, had to create with the support of the Palestinian Authority, a new body which was the Bethlehem 2000 Authority. This new body was, directly related to Palestinian Authority and monitored by the World Bank and was responsible for

implementing all activities related to the celebration and the physical changes in the area municipalities.

The new body has been faced with hostility from the local institutions, such as the Municipality of Bethlehem and religious bodies that existed and been working on similar activities before. Dr. Nabeel Kassis, the Minister of Bethlehem 2000 mentioned in an interview in Turath magazine in 2000¹⁵.

“On the local level, the experience was not as positive as it could have been. There were many local parties to contend with -- religious, private and governmental -- all wanting to exert their authority to further their own interests in Bethlehem’s revitalization, sometime to the exclusion of others.

This Situation was not shared by the Hebron Rehabilitation committee. Although a new body was created to carry out responsibilities for cultural heritage protection, this body represented all the governmental institutions and local authorities. From that collective body, a technical committee was established having the full authority to achieve the main objectives: to conserve the cultural heritage and the community in the Old City of Hebron. In Old City of Jerusalem, the situation was similar to Hebron. The JPR technical team coordinated with the community representatives, local institutions and NGOs acting in the Old city in implementing their activities and facilitates their work. The strategic goals for Bethlehem 2000 project that have been formulated by the international committee is mainly aimed at developing the Palestinian tourism industry in the Bethlehem area that had suffered from three decades of negligence under the Israeli occupation and also to promote the city as a ‘World Peace Center’. The conservation of cultural heritage was included in this goal in order to support the development of tourism infrastructure, the main goal of the international donors and the Palestinian authority, in a way that captures the historical importance of the area. Dr. Nabeel Kassis placed these goals in political perspective when he said,

“Of course our major constraint in the development of tourism is that access to Bethlehem is still controlled by the Israeli military forces at the road block north of the city, and by the Israeli guides who determine tourists’ schedule and where they can also shop”.

This is not the same case for HRC and JRP, where the main goals are to rehabilitate the historic cities and to conserve their cultural heritage. These two committees efficiently implemented their programs and as well as their activities in rehabilitation the historic cities and bringing people back to live in them. These two committees have been able to protect the community and Palestinian cultural identity by being more related to the community and their needs.

After three and half years the HRC was able to achieve several results in spite of difficult circumstances. Most of old building surrounding the Israeli settlements have been renovated, and number of the old city inhabitants has been increased from (400) people in 1996 to more than (2000) nowadays. Today, (800) families are still waiting for the approval of their applications to Live in renovated houses in HOC. (400) residential apartments, forming one third of Hebron Old City buildings, are included in the rehabilitation work so far. Shopping stores, markets, streets, and archways have been rehabilitated, in addition to rebuilding the missing parts of the old city architectural fabrics¹⁶.

Hebron people have become more related to the old city since many of their relatives had moved back over there, living in nice renovated houses, where public services, beautiful streets, tourism & holy places are available. Meanwhile, tourism and commercial life have moved up. The committee has succeeded in rehabilitating buildings of HOC in accordance with the international renovation standards while converting these buildings into residential apartments. The average cost of renovating an apartment is (17,500) U.S dollars, which considered to be cheaper than the cost of building a new one. The committee was able to change peoples' thoughts about HOC, from a bad, insecure environment to a nice secure place to live. The huge demand for living in the old city is a clear evidence¹⁷.

HRC has created more than (300) direct job opportunities (trained and untrained labors) and more than (200) indirect job opportunities for a three years term. About (90) workers of them are from the Old City of Hebron. Labor cost forms 60% of the general renovation cost, while the rest goes to materials¹⁸.

Internalized control and decision-making mechanism obviously call for planning procedures that are quite different from conventional modern planning methods. Instead of imposing , from outside, abstract schemes preconceived in the minds of estranged 'professionals' or simply copied from other projects. Development plans and strategies have to be nurtured from within , involving the active response and participation of the communities concerned, or at least of their legitimate representation. Apart from the obvious procedural implications, such an approach entails changes in the function of architects, planners and designers with regards to conventional modern role models. In order to overcome the division between subject and object in planning, architects must learn to act as agents and facilitators of the involved social group, which means listening to creatively absorbing and interpreting people's needs. At the same time, community representatives and local institutions will have to gain more insight into the consequences of technical decisions, to be able to exert leadership and assume responsibility.

While analyzing the genesis of cultural identities and the significance of historic cities, It is found that their revitalization needs to be tackled from within. By reverting to the inner forces that are able to nature a living culture and re-establish a sense of presence, integrity and

continuity. Reactivating the hidden inner resources means discovering that the timeless and the contemporary do not need to contradict each other but can work hand in hand. It is this type of empowerment which enable societies to absorb inevitable changes, by remaining in control of outer development forces and using them in a productive and synthetic manner. Instead of futile controversies between opposing forces, a real transformation from within can then take place, drawing on the forces of man's creative imagination and its ability to shape an envisioned new reality.

CNCLUSION

The value of historic cities resides in the complexity of their structures, which are impregnated with the record of life and human thoughts and activities: the whole is much greater than the sum of the parts. Indeed, the meaning of an urban entity draws on the interaction between monuments, houses, meeting places and places of work, pattern movement, social habits and ritual commemorations¹⁹. Through subtle transformation over time, the urban matrix incorporate and perpetuates the memory of past generation of users. It thus reflects the genius loci, as conditioned by the given site factors and by the imprint of respective communities who collectively shaped their living space and were, in turn, moulded by their environment. The continuity – one can say the tradition- of this rhythmical “give and take” accounts for the essential quality of historic cities, which must be carefully managed in order fro it to remain alive in succeeding generations.

The issue is then how to use the architectural and urban heritage of the past. Should it be frozen, as it were, to be handed over as a museal legacy to the future generations? Should it be commercially exploited by turning it into attracting meeting places or playgrounds providing relief to visitors frustrated by their normal life? Should it cater for the residences of a happy few who can afford to adorn themselves with prestigious identity? Or can historic cities become a source of inspiration which enables a resulting from a single minded pursuit of a narrow vision of “progress” can a creative exploration and a careful evolution of historic structures give birth to cultural processes which re-establish an organic link with the past- not for the sake of nostalgia, but for the sake of re-integration a human whole ness, drawing on motivations that merely the national²⁰.

Beyond providing substantial social and economic yield, the vernacular mode of development also constitutes a formidable cultural potential, capable of regenerating and transforming traditional cultural patterns from within. By operating the grass-root level, it will avoid the risk of superficial transfer or dependency on foreign ideologies and can eventually generate a meaningful new system of cultural references. Such processes may not always favor

conservation in museal sense, but they carry the promise of authentic and homogenous cultural expression which can contribute to bridging the gap between tradition and modernity. This suggests that conservation cannot be pursued as a separate discipline, but needs to be seen as an integral part of a more comprehensive environmental planning and economic development process- although a very special part, since it deals with highly sensitive, nonreplicable resources and is therefore dependent on a special set of rules and regulations. Experience shows that conservation objectives, unless included in an overall development framework, will be difficult to implement, or will lose their *raison d'être*²¹. For without such a pro-active approach, the heritage to be preserved may already be partly gone once conservation measures are ready to be applied. Integrated procedures are therefore mandatory, acknowledging that compromises will have to be made and certain trade offs will have to be accepted as part of the overall negotiating process between divergent objectives and constraints. In short, conservation cannot be conceived in an ivory tower if it is to be successful. It may take into account (and integrate as far as possible) the society's current aspirations and living patterns. It must look out for appropriate uses in restored or converted structures in order to keep them alive.

Regeneration from within is a concept which must grow its roots in people's heart and imagination. Once the need for it is felt profoundly enough, there are perfectly rational rules which can be devised to develop it in terms of social, institutional and educational procedures. Yet its full implementation will be dependant on its economic vitality. The most powerful arguments against the rehabilitation of historic cities and softer, culturally rooted forms of development always rely on economic justifications, claiming that the sheer costs of such an additional burden makes cultural priorities impractical, particularly in the third-world context.

Internal rehabilitation process must therefore rely on the integral vision of human development, exploring and exploiting to the greatest extent possible the interrelations between cultural and economic factors. In any event, we must acknowledge that the rehabilitation of historic cities is an attempt to keep alive values which are not measurable with instruments of quantitatively oriented modern civilization but which are instruments of quantitatively oriented modern civilization but which are essential for people's spiritual, emotional and physical welfare. Special efforts must therefore be undertaken to recognize, protect, and promote such values, and to support cultural rehabilitation as an integral but highly complex and sensitive part of the overall human development.

Thus we have to become aware that progress is not a blessing in itself and should not be pursued for its sake, but that it must integrate pre-existing values which can fill it with life and meaning. We acknowledge that human life is much more complex than the conventional

tools and mechanism used by simplistic planning techniques. We accept that in times of rapidly accelerating outer change, inner continuity has become of vital importance.

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