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A STUDY ON THE COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF ALEPPO

Master's Thesis

BASEL PASA HACLAVI

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THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
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GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
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Thesis Supervisor: PROF. DR. SEMA SOYGENİŞ

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Istanbul, 2019 Basel Pasa HACLAVI

ABSTRACT

A CASE STUDY ON THE COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF ALEPPO

Basel PAŞA HACLAVI

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The ancient city of Aleppo had witnessed the most severe destruction for almost five years, due to the escalating armed conflict taking place in the city. The city's inhabitants obliged to flee, leaving behind their homes, relatives, and friends. As consequences of this dislocation, people had to adapt to a new foreign environment. After 2017, the conflict has reached to an end in the city, and the ancient site of the city became accessible. The tangible cultural heritage was targeted systematically, leaving aggravating damages in the urban fabric of the ancient city.

The present study highlights place memory of the city's inhabitants who live away from home in order to depict the city's past landscape and urban life. The conducted method for gathering the needed information is qualitative, depending on semi-structured interviews. The study bridges the gap between the theories of memory, city, and architecture, and environmental psychology; theories embody place-people bond like place attachment, which all address and draw the road map to support the theoretical background, and to carry out the survey. The recollections people had by remembering their memories of Aleppo was sub-divided into themes, which each illustrates different forms of memories from the pre-war Aleppo according to what each has told of their stories of the past. People have recalled strong images of the physical spaces in the historic city; sites, buildings, and structures, at the same time, cityscape, urban images, city's atmosphere. The aspect of war was demonstrated by some, whether related to the physical environment of the torn-down city or the trauma of war. On the other hand, what people have recalled the most was the memories embedded their relationship with the city, childhood memories, what they felt when being at a certain place in the ancient site of the city, and daily routines. Some forms of memory contributed to help them overcome the past in exile, besides, developing their attachment to the immediate environment. Based on that, an understanding of the people's memory of the city was drawn, where cultural heritage was evidence of devastation and violence. This study would underlie concerns regarding re-constructing the city in the future, in which the collective memory of people could be a tool in reviving what has been forgotten and demolished of the city's past.

Keywords: Collective Memory, Architecture, Place Attachment, Environmental Psychology, Urban Memory, Aleppo.

ÖZET

KENTIN TOPLUMSAL BELLEĞİ ÜZERINE BIR ÇALISMA-HALEP

Basel PAŞA HACLAVI

Mimarlık

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Sema SOYGENİŞ

Ağustos 2019, 117 sayfa

Antik Halep kenti, artan silahlı çatışmalar nedeniyle yaklaşık beş yıl boyunca çok ağır yıkıma tanık oldu. Kentin sakinleri, evlerini, akrabalarını ve arkadaşlarını geride bırakarak kaçmak zorunda kaldı. Bu durumun sonucu olarak, insanlar yeni, yabancı bir ortama uyum sağlamak zorunda kaldılar. 2017'den sonra, çatışma kentte sona ermiş ve kentin antik bölgesi erişilebilir hale gelmiştir. Kültürel mirası oluşturan yapılarda, antik kentin dokusunda ağır hasarlar meydana geldiği görülmüştür

Bu çalışma, Halep kentin kentsel yaşamını anlatmak amacıyla, başka ülkelerde yaşayan kent sakinlerinin anıları üzerine odaklanmiştir. Araştirma için yürütülen yöntem, yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmelere bağlı olarak niteldir. Bu çalışma, bellek, kent, mimarlık teorileri ve çevresel psikoloji arasında köprü kurmaktadır. Teorik arka planı desteklemek ve araştırmayı gerçekleştirmek için süreci yönlendiren teoriler, mekan-insan bağını irdeler. İnsanların anıları üzerinden Halep'e ait farklı anıları temalar halinde değerlendirildi. İnsanlar, tarihi kentteki fiziksel mekanların güçlü görüntülerini hatırladılar; yapıları, kentsel peyzajı, kentsel görselleri, kentin atmosferini. Savaşın etkisi bazıları tarafından, yıkılmış kentin fiziksel çevresiyle ya da savaşın yarattığı travmayla ilgili olarak yorumlandı. Öte yandan, insanların en çok hatırladıkları ise, kent ile olan ilişkileri, çocukluk anıları, kentin antik bölgelerinde yer ile ilgili neler hissettikleri ve günlük rutinleri içeriyordu. Halep kenti ile ilgili anıları, başka ülkelerde yaşarken geçmişin üstesinden gelmelerine yardımcı olup, yakın çevreye bağlılıklarını geliştirmelerine katkıda bulundu. Bu tez, insanların kültürel mirasın yıkımına şiddete tanık olduğu bir kente ait, anıları üzerinden, toplumsal belleği ve insan-mekan ilişkisini incelemiştir. Bu çalışma, toplumsal belleğin, kentin geçmişini, unutulmuş olanı, yeniden canlandırma konusunda bir araç, kentin yeniden inşasına veri olabileceği amacını taşımaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumsal Bellek, Mimarlık, Aidiyet, Çevresel Psikolojisi, Kentsel Bellek, Halep.

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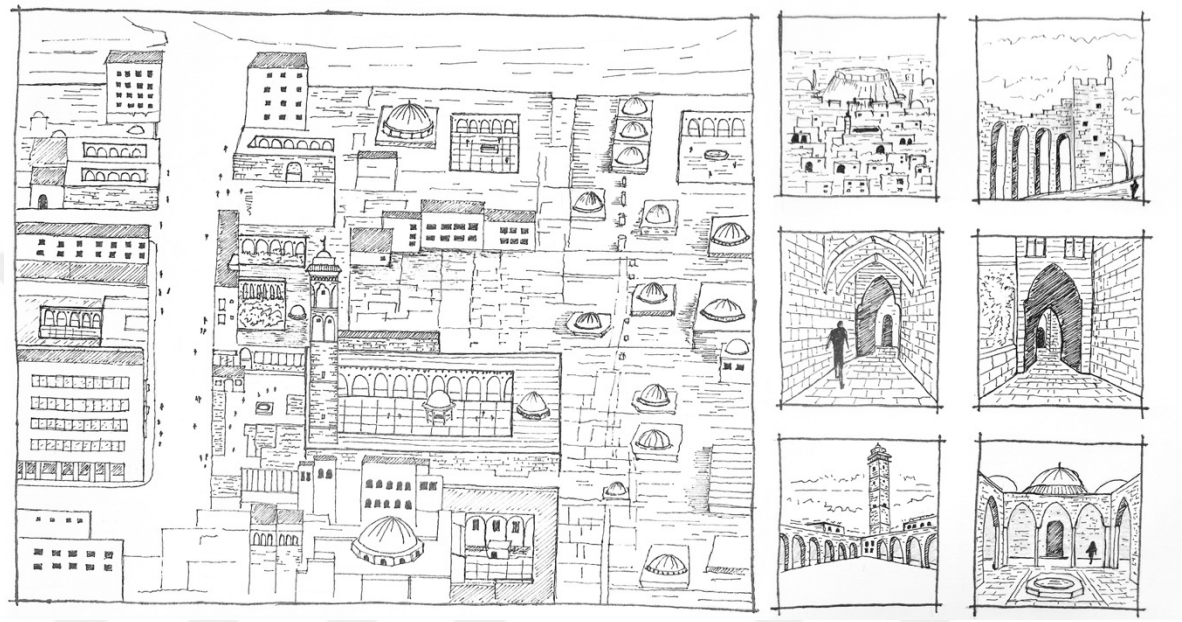
1. INTRODUCTION.

1.1 PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

Figure 2.1: Memories of Aleppo.



I always recall my father telling me detailed images of the past of Aleppo, all embedded within his memory of places where he lived and spent time, formed of early pieces of his childhood times. When I was a boy, I didn't really understand how a person would recall this much of details about a certain place or a city in general. As if he is a source of memory, these recollections of the past, he is able to bring to present is something he lived it for a long period of his life. Events, people, building, the sweet days, and the bitter ones, all together crystallize his memory of Aleppo. Now, after this displacement we had and leaving our 'home', I started to understand my father when he was talking about his memory and how it is still persistent and vital up to the present day affecting his daily living. Being away from home has made him more and more attached to the city. Today by losing the direct relationship with the built environment by not being there, some memories started to diminish in time, and even disappear for some. Or the form of memory has changed. What has become more important for him, or for me, or anyone

who has been displaced from home is what we have seen and testified of war as if it is a threshold in our memory. Day after day nostalgic feelings increase with no self-control or deliberate act. This what could be related to our attachment to places and people (emotional bonds) we have shared with them the same place and time. I do personally feel nostalgic to people more than the places themselves. For sure, places are taking significant part of this linkage between me and those people, but when I do remember certain place, I don't only recall the place but also people with whom I shared the same moment in time and space. Many relatives and friends of mine have left the city which has affected my memory and attachment to the city today. Also, war which has created a gap in time in my memory of place and people. Maybe for someone who hasn't experience the war won't understand what it means for the one to lose home, loved ones, memories behind and be obliged to move somewhere else where the one doesn't belong and has no memories with people which could relate the person with the new place. Especially, if someone lives somewhere where he/she is unwanted.

When I visit a place, I do remember all the people I have been with, and once I am in this place, it digs deep in my memory to recall these images of the past, and it draws for me that moment of time as if it is a dream. We all carry in our memories different images of a certain place, and each one has a story in the same place, having different time, people, and circumstances. As if this place is a machine memory that conserves our memories and stories.

As time passes a lot of memories come to my mind about familiar places, I go in my city of residence (Istanbul) which remind me of places in my city Aleppo. Most of the time I refer to places I have visited back in the days when I was living there. Before when I remember something from the past, I was more able to recall certain things from a place. Now, they are only fragments of the past. Nothing is as clear as my father was able to recall places in the city. But as the days are folding, I feel it is harder and harder to recall the past. Everything is blurring from the past, nothing is getting a clear or legible shape for me. Today, in the bustle of life everybody is moving fast towards the future. This accelerated life of our society leave people no time for the act of recollection, or perhaps past is not that much important for some, or maybe after people have encountered this

war, now they want to forget their memories from the past and have better memories of today for the future.

I always feel that my father wants to return back to the city in order to revive his memory, feeling safe again in his home, in familiar places he gets used to visiting with his friends back in the old days. In fact, for him this city represents the theater of all his memories.

I have lived in a city where everything was built out of stone, no other material. My home was in a neighborhood that didn't have a historical character, in one of the new districts of the city. My contact with the old city of Aleppo has been developing when I was visiting it with my father so often who had a very strong connection to it. I have admired and get inspired of this part of the city when I was in my early age. Although, I have grown up in a typical apartment building with some stone façade, like most of the buildings in the quarters outside the historic city, and in a neighborhood that isn't within one of the many historic layers of the city, I did fall in love with the old city and its atmosphere.

Figure 1.2: My home.

When I left the city, I traveled to Mersin, Nicosia, Jeddah, then I finally settled in Istanbul. For me, each city has its own unique character, but whenever I was moving from one city to another and stay for a period of time, I start to discover new places and historical buildings. Whenever I did go and see a new place in the city where I stay, I was refereeing to familiar places and buildings in my memory of Aleppo. I was sometimes observing

this familiarity in Nicosia and Istanbul, where authenticity, history, and heritage have been presence in both. This familiarity was always constructing spatial links to Aleppo in my memory. In other words, Aleppo has been always in mind and I was refereeing to it all the time whenever I go and whatever place or building, I do experience.

I would refer to Refer to Italo Calvino's "Invisible Cities": an imaginary exchange between Marco Polo and Kublai Khan:

"Sire [said Marco Polo to Kublai Khan], now I have told you about all the cities I know."

"There is still one of which you never speak."

Marco Polo bowed his head.

"Venice," the Khan said.

Marco smiled. "What else do you believe I have been talking to you about?"

The emperor did not turn a hair. "And yet I have never heard you mention that name."

And Polo said: "Every time I describe a city I am saying something about Venice."

"When I ask you about other cities, I want to hear about them. And about Venice, when I ask you about Venice."

"To distinguish the other cities' qualities, I must speak of a first city that remain implicit. For me it is Venice"…..

"Memory's images, once they are fixed with words, are erased," Polo said. "Perhaps I am afraid of losing Venice all at once, if I speak of it. Or perhaps, speaking of other cities, I have already lost it, little by little." (Calvino, 1974, p.86-87). Interestingly what I perceive and think of any city is always relating to Aleppo, as if I am seeing all of the cities through my city Aleppo.

1.1 GENERAL BACKGROUND

War is a devastating instrument against our living and existence, which is not only a mean that targets human beings. Therefore, demolition of buildings and erasure of cities have been an inevitable part of this war. Therefore, there has been another kind of war against architecture, in other words, the physical environment of cities, in which the destruction of artifacts or nation is the outcome of the war or any armed conflict. In such circumstances, cultural heritage and legacy are under risk caused by whatever type of conflict occurring, in which architecture is placed as an inevitable condition of erasure for identity and history. The war in Syria has been an example of devasting destruction with respect to the immaterial aspect, representing the loss of souls and displacement or involutory dislocation of people, in addition, to the material aspect; where cities have been encountering violence and destruction of their built environment.

The conflict in Syria has begun in 2011, which is considered to be the most horrible and dreadful crises after world war II. Since the start of this war, more than half of the population had to leave Syria seeking to find a shelter, particularly after the gradual increase of the armed conflict in cities. Almost half of the population had encountered involuntary dislocation and were forced to move from their homes to a safer place in Syria. While more than 5.5 million people were obliged to leave Syria without realizing when they could return back to their homes, ended up being in the condition of displacement and dislocation. The refugee crises have been a catastrophic issue, Syrians are facing a dilemma in finding alternative shelter where they can get basic humanitarian needs to live at least. Thousands of people have fled in order to survive the violence taking place in Syria after 2012. Neighboring countries like Turkey was one of the countries which have received the highest number of refugees, likewise Lebanon, Germany, Sweden, Canada, and other countries. Roughly around 3.2 million people out of the total number of almost 5.5 million live in Turkey today. This number constitutes almost 4% of the whole population of Turkey. Syrians are considered the majority compared to other refugee groups in Turkey.

Figure 1.3 : Aleppo destruction, 2017

Source: https://janoberg.exposure.co/the-destruction-of-eastern-aleppo-syria

This research is intended to focus on the memory of people from Aleppo in order to perceive and understand their memory of the historic site of the city in the pre-war times while they are away from home. In other words, the expectation of the research is to see how they remember the past of the urban life in the pre-war city of Aleppo, which has witnessed scenes of destruction after the start of the armed conflict. Memory and place attachment are two major concepts discussed intensively throughout the research, corresponding to the case of Aleppo. Therefore, the study is looking into what people remember from the destructed historic city which bears and contains a high cultural and historical value, representing the oldest piece of the city. Questioning what people would remember from places in the old city is a subject of worth investigation in the case of Aleppo, a city which went through a high level of damage and loss of its architecture, identity, and culture, in addition to the negative impact on the collective memory of people.

Memory and identity are both targeted in war times by tearing down monuments and historical buildings and tradition which are all considered as intangible and tangible heritage that carry high cultural and social value. The urban life of the city is a part of the intangible heritage as well. Historical buildings, sites, and landmarks represent the

interface and image of the city and its architecture in everyday lives of people before the war. Therefore, the erasure of collective memory which is embedded within the architecture and the built environment of the city place the cultural heritage and history of the city under the risk. Memory and place attachment theories are discussed in this study with respect to the issue of displacement, dislocation for people who left behind their homes seeking to adapt and appropriate themselves to their new environment.

1.2 MOTIVATION

Robert Bevan (2006) has argued that war is not necessarily against a group of people. There can be another kind of war against architecture, which is meant to destroy the cultural artifacts of people or nation that is considered as an enemy, bearing an intent of dominating, terrorizing, dividing or eradicating it. Therefore, Bevan was describing the destruction of buildings and structures in the circumstances of conflict as an active and systematic way, with deliberate intent against particular building types and architectural traditions, where, the erasure of memories, history, and identity attached to architecture and place are the goal itself in this systematic and deliberate destruction, or as it could be named as “enforced forgetting”.

In this respect, the city of Aleppo has been facing deliberate destruction of its history, identity, and architecture since the beginning of the war causing a devastating effect on the physical environment and on the city’s inhabitants ending up being displaced for those alive. Therefore, regarding the destruction caused to the city’s architecture and urban fabric, the collective memory of city’s inhabitants could be an operator or the key concept in reconstructing whatever has been erased and forgotten from the physical environment. In this case, the loss of great number of buildings and landmarks that they are diminished, inhabitants still carry the memory of these buildings among them. Most importantly, about the life in these spaces and places, each person might have in mind a certain image, story, feeling, and what people remember would illustrate how the environment was before the war. Since buildings and landmarks play a substantial role as a reminder of certain places, activities, and people.

One day the conflict in Syria will gradually come to an end, or at least to a more stable condition, and people will start returning back to their homes and cities after a long journey of bitter displacement throughout the years. Regarding that, the architecture and life of cities in Syria after this severe destruction won't be the same as it has been in the pre-war times, and people will try to find ways to adapt once they will be back. There will be a necessity for rehabilitation, reconstruction projects, and post-war housing interventions, whereas, the attachment of people to these new proposed interventions and designs would be a major concern in such a circumstance, additionally, people's memory of the city's architecture, built environment, and life. Subsequently, the topic of place memory would become a significant concern in the future of reconstructing these cities.

On the other hand, the aim of this thesis is to focus on the collective memory and place attachment of hometown people of Aleppo. The outcome of this study would be a useful tool set an example in a post-war condition as a durable and powerful reference in re-shaping the built environment of the city as much as it was before the war.

Paul Keedwell (2017) has mentioned in "Headspace: The Psychology of City Living", explaining the relationship between users and the immediate surrounding environment: "Most of the time we don't notice the effects of the environment on our mood because we are too preoccupied with the normal trials of life. But the built environment affects us, nonetheless. As individuals and as city communities, we need to think more about how we can shape the world we live in" (Paul Keedwell, 2017)

The architectural theorist Aldo Rossi has referred to Halbwachs's concept of collective memory and this concept has been re-energized recently by the architectural historian Christine Boyer as well. Rossi in "The architecture of the city" (1966) has mentioned that "the human body and the city are seen as similar in being the creation of a unique set of experiences. A city remembers through its buildings" , which reveals a close relationship between the preservation of buildings and the preservation of memories in the human mind. On the other hand, identity as has been defined by Crinson (2005): "is the sum of all the traces in the city but likewise if development sweeps buildings away, then memory loss and identity crisis threaten and the city loses its typology (its memory forms), and can no longer act as a kind of guide or exemplar for the people living in it". All of these,

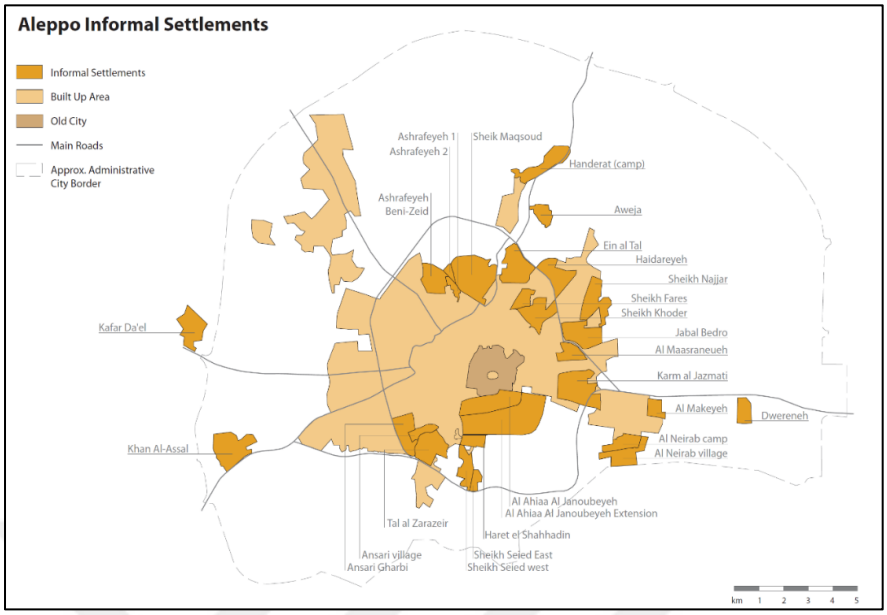
addresses the significance of the memory of city's inhabitants regarding their city's architecture and its built environment.

1.3 THE STUDY AREA OF ALEPPO

The urban structure of the city of Aleppo before the war was divided into several different areas according to history, architecture, and function in regard to the social structure and economic conditions. The distribution of the diverse quarters in the city are as follows:

a. The historic district situated in the middle of the urban city center due to the layout of central planning, which holds almost all the historic buildings and structures that are listed in the UNSCO world heritage site since 1982.
b. The modern Aleppo around the historic district which has emerged at the end of the 19th century and at the first half of the 20th century during the French mandidate and the following years. This district is characterized by modern urban planning principles, bearing no architectural reference to the traditional architecture and the urban fabric of the old city.
c. The slums, or the informal settlements were constituting almost 60-70 percent of the urban fabric of the whole city before the war.

Figure 1.2: The map informal settlements in Aleppo



Source: http://madinatuna.com/en/aleppo

d. The contemporary districts of Aleppo have emerged in the late 20th century, this part of the built environment of Aleppo didn't have anything to do with the local architecture, rather, the architecture of these districts act as an alien to the traditional architecture in old city. The dominant function of the buildings in those districts is residential, with some commercial activities.

e. The industrial district which is located to the northern part of the city.

The armed conflict which has started in 2012 has resulted in great devastation in the old city and the informal settlements of the city, many neighborhoods were on the front line of the battlefield. Besides, the social destruction caused loss of people and immigration for those who survived. Buildings and landmarks, on the other hand, were leveled down and turned into ruins. Therefore, studying the people's memory after the acute damage and destruction which took place in the old city and other neighborhoods is a subject worth investigation for a city that has lost much of its cultural heritage.

Shading light on the case of the old city of Aleppo would be meaningful and legible in the scope of memory and place attachment theories. Architecture and memory are interpreted as the main themes of the study. It aims to describe the image of the city from

the memories of the displaced people through their stories of Aleppo, conducted by interviewing the group of people who left the city due to the circumstances of war in Syria.

1.4 PROBLEM DEFINITION AND AIM OF THE THESIS

“Cultural heritage, is an essential component of identity, as well as a vital repository of memory and traditional knowledge, has also been profoundly affected” Audrey Azoulay (2018), Director-General UNESCO mentioned in respect to Aleppo about the impact of destruction of the city on people’s memory. Replying on the case of Aleppo cities in Syria that have been bitterly contested between rebels and government forces since 2012. Years of fighting have caused massive destruction, the architecture of the city has been encountering major devastation since the beginning of the conflict. The social structure and the built environment of the city have been one of the main targets attacked in this war. Based on these facts, one of the research aims is to investigate and examine the loss of urban heritage through the memory of Aleppo’s townspeople who left their country due to the armed conflict after 2012.

The study will question what people still remember from their hometown Aleppo, particularly the old city after they have been displaced from their homes. Urban remainders like buildings, landmarks and artifacts are significant in the process of recalling the past of the city (Lewicka, 2006). Besides, people are not expected to remember only the physical or built environment of their city, a smell, story, an image, a person, certain tangible and intangible things are key memories of the urban life in the landscape of the city. Therefore, the five senses are involved in remembering a place, in which the above-mentioned senses would support and simulate the remembered memories of the city by participants. Therefore, people have a fundamental position in helping rebuild and restore the past/memory of their city one day, particularly in the case of Aleppo where the material and immaterial aspects have been facing a systematic act of destruction. However, framing the images of the city from people’s memories would

dramatically shed light on how urban life, architecture, and the built environment were one day before the war.

The destruction and loss of home, human cost, material and immaterial cultural heritage are all significant issues for people who have been displaced to a foreign environment where they would encounter the difficulty of integration with the new place, culture, and community. This loss which embodied physically or in a more intangible way when someone loses home due to a war condition carrying negative emotional impact upon the psychology of the displaced people, plus, their own memory and attachment. The case of people from Aleppo is an example of a severe story of involuntary dislocation from home, city, and even from the country seeking to find a peaceful place to survive and live. It also brings questions regarding memory and place attachment of those displaced people through focusing on the architectural aspect of the city.

The city and people who inhabited the city are the victims as the consequences of this harsh war. Therefore, many problems will be encountering the displaced people in the post-war time once they return back to their city and homes. People might be obliged to inhabit in different houses and neighborhoods in the same city because of the destruction of their homes and neighborhoods, which will have a negative impact on their psychology. Even in the case of returning to the same houses and places where they had lived before the war, the life and architecture of the city will be perceived differently. Similarly, social relationships would get affected as well relying on these negative impacts resulted from weak bonds with the new place.

Today, according to a study that was conducted by UNESCO and UNOSAT in the old city of Aleppo, 25 percent of the historic buildings are damaged, 40 percent are partly destroyed, and the Souk; the old market place, was burnt down completely. This is a serious threat against the cultural property of Aleppo. Therefore, the thoughts mentioned previously would bring concerns like; how will the people feel about their city that is not the city they knew and used to it. Therefore, to conclude the thoughts mentioned previously, the goal of this research is to review the memory of participants from Aleppo in order to perceive the urban life of the city's landscape, and cityscape in the pre-war

times. People who have displaced as a result of the Syrian crisis since 2011 are the target group in this research.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

The intention in this thesis is to depict the people's memory of the today's destructed environment and experienced architecture of the city before the war through narrating the story of Aleppine people who have lived in the city in pre-war times. The survey is mainly depending on a questionnaire constituting of three groups of questions. The interviews with participants are semi-structured and concentrating particularly on the old city throughout the research. The study would have a common conceptual basis or framework which could be applied for further studies and other cases.

In the body of this thesis, the theories of architecture, memory, city, and place attachment which are explained in detail because they structure the foundation of this thesis. On the other hand, to support the theoretical basis of this research, as an evaluation of other cases which have similar approaches were made, methods, and thoughts in order to grasp and understand the subject. Thus, other case studies are explained and are part of the literature review, and they develop similar ideas about the memory and place attachment of displaced people in exile who were forced to leave behind their homes and cities to a totally foreign and different environment and how their memory of the past has affected their present life.

The proposed questionnaire conducted throughout the study aims to reveal the memory and attachment of people towards their old city. therefore, the research is meant to be qualitative by carrying out questions made face-to-face with people in order to ask more about specifics. There are three groups of questions, the first group is meant to get demographic information, the second one is related to place memory, and finally, the third one investigates the continuity of memory in relation with place attachment theory.

At the end of the questionnaire, participants will be asked to draw a sketch, depicting their memory of the city; by drawing whatever they remember from certain districts or

buildings of the city as a representation of the city's past, or perhaps they would recall something immaterial. This part of the survey is optional for the ones who won't be able to draw for some reasons. This method of sketching is carried out to understand deeply the memories of people regarding what they have told of their own narrative of the city's memory. The outcome of the interviews is evaluated under themes in accordance to the information given by the people. Moreover, what each one of the participants has remembered, and others did not remember, what was emphasized for some participants and what was not emphasized for others are discussed in themes according to what form of memory each group had. Each theme will be explained with respect to the questions conducted throughout the survey, in addition to the outcomes that are evaluated from participants' drawings of their memories. All of the outcomes are reflected in the findings in order to review their memories of Aleppo, and their attachment to Aleppo, and their current environment.

1.7 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The urban fabric of the historic city of Aleppo considered to be valuable and deserve investigation. The historical district of the city represents the most continuous portion of the past having many layers of the past, unlike other recently emerging contemporary districts of the city. Nevertheless, lack of planning policies shows how those new neighborhoods; slums, and districts with contemporary architecture, constitute an alien presence in the urban texture of the city. The lack of planning could be observed in other Syrian and Arab cities which bear high tangible and intangible heritage. This makes the legacy and authenticity of cities under risk, even for those cities that are not encountering armed conflict in the Middle East. For Aleppo, the cultural heritage of the city has been under risk of erasure and destruction, including almost all the districts, historical and non-historical.

Thus, only the historic portion which is a UNESCO site will be the focus of the research. The study will be carried out through interviews with Syrians (Aleppine people) who left the country after 2011, and particularly who escaped from the harsh conditions of the war,

seeking for a better place to live in peace. The questionnaire concentrates on gathering information regarding participants' memory of Aleppo, also their attachment to Aleppo and their current residence place. All the people who participated in the have settled abroad, scattered and displaced in different places outside Syria. People who are from other Syrian cities are not included in this research.

The survey includes questions taking into account demographic information indicating the educational background of the participants, age and occupation as significant predictors of how a person would answer the questions during the interview. In addition, the intent of this group of questions is to build a relation if any with the second group of questions which is meant to review people's memory of Aleppo because each group of people would tell their memory distinctively. The place of residence whether in the historic neighborhood or new quarters, occupation, educational background, age and gender of the participants are significant as how each participant would speak about the city. Also, the length of residence and time spent in the city designate the level of place attachment. The main interest of the questionnaire is to gather memories of what people still remember from the city's past, like buildings, monuments, public spaces, and what they were perceiving while being in the old city in term of their spatial perception. Lastly, the third group of questions is designed to look at if the current city of residence as a reminder of Aleppo, and their attachment and satisfaction of the current city of residence, because their response to their new environment, would affect their memory of Aleppo bedsides their attachment.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The theoretical background involved in this thesis is related to the studies of collective memory and place attachment. The relationship between architecture and memory is discussed as well because they are related to the two theories. Reviewing the theory of collective memory in the thesis will open the way to discuss directly relevant concepts to the case of Aleppo, with respect to the architecture of the city in the circumstances of war. Thence, urban memory and place memory are two main concepts that are discussed here.

2.1 MEMORY

The human ability to retain and recollect a fact, event, or person from memory has been a topic of considerable interest to both scientists and artists for a long time (Misztal, 2003). Memories help us preserve past events, and when an event occurs, and time elapses, what remains in our mind is the space, where this event has occurred. It is memories that make our lives meaningful and make the temporal and spatial dimensions of our lives directional (Oloonabadi & Ardakan, 2011, p. 986; Lim, 2000). Memory has many forms and performs on many different levels, and the things that we remember are of many different kinds and are remembered for many different purposes and intents (Misztal, 2003).

Memory might be either individual or collective. Individual memory is defined as autobiographical or personal memory, which is mostly focused in this research because it is a resource of personal experiences, the person goes through life. Cognitive psychologists have been distinguishing between diverse types of memory (Lewicka, 2011; 51). There is the memory of how to ride a bicycle (“I know how”), which has been defined as a procedural memory. On the other hand, there is the memory which is based mostly on our common sense that we acquire, refereeing to such facts that bicycles have two wheels and sometimes a bell (“I know that”), which has been defined as a declarative or semantic memory (Misztal, 2003: 8-9; Baddeley, 1989: 35-46). Declarative memory may be either episodic; What, where, and when something is remembered, or semantic;

What is remembered, which are usually conscious and verbalized (Lewicka, 2011; 51). Episodic memory is related to the self, is uniquely human, subjective; individual, and is responsible for 'autobiographical memory'. The semantic memory is more conceptual, unrelated to self, and consists of "neutral" knowledge, in other words, it consists of automatized routines, skills, and ways of doing something. Consequently, the difference between semantic and episodic memory could be explained by the dichotomy: "I know" verses "I remember".

Another type of memory is personal memory or autobiographical memory, which is the way we tell others the story of our lives, providing a sense of identity and continuity. In other words, it is considered to be a source of information about our life and personal experiences, as one reconstructs the past when telling someone a story, that has been experienced at a certain time in life (Misztal, 2003 p. 155). According to another definition, autobiographical memory would refer to emotions, which means the "facts" that describe a person and makes that person unique. The facts of our life and the experiences we have, are all contained in separate domains, and processed differently, in addition to its indication of 'event-memory' which is the largest component of autobiographical memory (https://www.memory-key.com/memory/domains/autobiographical). Although, autobiographical memories are mostly not accurate, but at the same time they correspond to one's self knowledge, life themes, or a sense of self' (Misztal, 2003 p10; Barcaly and DoCooke, 1988: 92).

Another type which is habit memory, which allows us to recall the signs and skills we use in everyday life as well as to reproduce routine activities and ritual performances (Misztal, 2003). Habit memory differs from other types of memory because it brings the past into the present by acting which is more or less practical, while other kinds of memory retrieve the past to the present by summoning the past as past; which is performed here by remembering it. In other words, one is practical when it is recalled, while the other one is only performed by the act of remembering when it is recalled from the past to the present, which is more or less a mental performance.

Additionally, as mentioned by Barbara A. Misztal (2003) cultural memory refers to people's memories which are "constructed and derived from the cultural forms available

for use by people to construct their relations to the past" (Misztal, 2003; Schudson, 1995: 348). Misztal (2003) has explained that these cultural forms are existent in social institutions and cultural artefacts such as films, monuments, statues, souvenirs and so on. Nevertheless, cultural memory could be also integrated and be part of regularly repeated practices, commemorations, ceremonies, festivals and rites.

The memory might be either individual or collective, sociologists and social psychologists use the terms "collective memory", which explains and addresses the memory shared by group of people or societies, or as it is also named "social memories". These social memories may concern events that happened during our life or that took place before we were born, therefore their belonging refer to the history of the family, ethnic group, city, state, or the world (Lewicka, 2008). In other words, what we "remember" regarding the previously mentioned cases, doesn't depend on the personal experiences as Lewicka's point of view (2008), but on the oral history, cultural transmissions or own motivation of the individual in the process of discovering the past. Lewicka (2008) has defined the collective memory as a series of events collectively remembered by a group of people who share it and involve themselves in shaping it which makes it an interactive process, with each individual taking part of it. The greater the number of people remembering the event, the more memory finds a collective feature (Lewicka, 2008).

The classic sociological studies of Halbwachs, besides the work of scholars as Nora have heavily traced an influence on how we theorize memory studies as well as analyze the social frameworks and sites of memory. In addition to other scholars who went so deep in theories of memory and collective memory have by no means adopted and evolved them like Connerton (1989) and Misztal (2003). Barbara A. Misztal (2003) has discussed widely on collective memory, how it is generated, maintained and reproduced. She suggested that memory is socially organized and mediated, but when it comes to the individual memory, it is never totally conventionalized and standardized. In other words, the memories of people who have experienced a common event are never identical because for each person a concrete memory evokes different associations and feelings

depending on the person and the circumstances (Misztal, 2003). Each individual might perceive a certain event distinctively from others.

Memory is socially based as some sociologists have proposed because remembering does not take place in a social vacuum or void. We remember as members of a social group, which means assuming and internalizing the common traditions and social representation shared by our collectives. Regarding that, memory can't be subtracted from its social context whenever we recall something. For instance, about our first day in the university, we recall the social circumstances in which the event has taken place: which means the city, the university, friends and so on (Misztal, 2003).

Collective memory constitutes shared social frameworks of individual recollections as we share our memories with some people and not others, plus with whom we remember, and for what purpose and when, all of which take part in the contribution to what we remember. Moreover, memory is social because the act of remembering is interactive by itself, and its interactivity is enhanced and promoted by cultural artefacts and references employed for social purposes (Misztal, 2003, 12; Schudson, 1997).

Maurice Halbwachs was the first who systemically explore the ways in which present concerns determine what things of the past we remember. He continued the legacy of his teacher Emile Durkheim and his belief that "every society displays and requires a sense of continuity with the past". Similarly, Halbwachs's thoughts have been clearly emphasizing the collective nature of social consciousness, in addition to his assurance that a collectively imagined past is crucial for the unity of a society (Misztal, 2003).

Halbwach's had contributed effectively to construct foundation of social memory studies through his establishment of the linkage between a social group and collective memory. He had also spotted the light on how the collective memory is always 'socially framed' since social groups determine what is 'memorable' and how it will be remembered, to clarify this idea; "individual memories of one's family cannot be dissociated from the whole images that comprise the 'family memory' "(Misztal, 2003). For Halbwachs, studying memory "is not a matter of reflecting on the properties of the subjective mind under the scope of studying; rather, memory is a question of how minds work together in

society" (Misztal, 2003). In other words, how their operations are structured by social arrangements (Hatuka, 2010, p. 193; Olick, 2008).

There is always an influence of society on the individual under whatever conditions, an individual is still a part of a group and its members, and will always refer to it. Halbwachs (Misztal, 2003; 1950) had asserted that memory is provisional and senseless for an individual to be separated from the collective memory. Based on the fact that we are 'participants in the events' as individuals, our memories continue to be collective because we always think as members of the group we belong to, mainly because our thoughts and ideas are originated within it and because our thinking makes us in direct contact with that group (Misztal, 2003; Halbwachs [1926] 1950: 23). Thus, an individual doesn't need the actual presence of others to preserve the memories.

2.1.1 Architecture And Memory

Place has a strong impact on supporting and illustrating memories, and for us, these memories constitute a framework we look through it at any space. Thus, architecture and memory are correlated effectively together, and that is why the physical environment contributes to shaping and recording memories, besides people and events which did exist in the same period of time. Every detail of any building, structure or space imprints its image in our memory.

> *"The cupboards we hid in, the paths we cycled along, the stairs we sat on – our early experiences of architectural space have a profound impact on us. We see events, people and objects intertwined with the built environment almost from birth, informing our attitudes to it in adulthood. The buildings and spaces we create are imbued with images, sensations and interests gathered from our childhood onwards, consciously and unconsciously. Memories feed our architecture, and architecture feeds our memories" (James Tait, 2018).*

Tait (2018) had emphasized on bridging the relationship between events, people, and objects with the built environment as an inevitable thing that affect people and their attitudes since one was born through the images, sensations that is grasped from our immediate environment. Images of the buildings and spaces surrounding us embedded in

our mind are was not only mentioned by Tait but by others as well. Hopkins has also stated that architecture is formed out of images, as she has mentioned “Architecture, like memory, is composed of images. Memory, like architecture, constructs through a relationship between images, a framework for understanding space and time” (Hopkins, 1996). For Hopkins (1996), the personal definition of a certain place is formed when a person positions oneself in this framework. In addition, what complete the realization of a perceptual whole is by the recognition of a relationship between one place to other.

Italo Calvino (1972) has talked about the city of Zaira: saying “….I could tell you how many steps make up the streets rising like stairways, and the degree of the arcades’ curves, and what kind of zinc scales cover the roofs; but I already know this would be the same as telling you nothing” (Calvino, 1972). What Calvino wants to convey here is not the details of these objects in the built environment of the city, but it is ‘the relationships between the measurements of its spaces and the events of its past’ (Tait, 2018). In other words, Calvino describes the city as a series of interconnected objects, events, and experiences. All of those objects described by Calvino here are all significant components of the events and stories that have shaped the city. At the same time, the city has its past, and this past as mentioned by Tait is “like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the gratings of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lightning rods, the poles of the flags……”. Calvino wants to highlight the dialogue between events, architecture and the city, all of them as an entity, and memories are the resources feeding the city (Tait, 2018; Calvino,1972). For him, the fabric of any city is inseparably linked to its past, every object in the architecture of the city has sustained by the events taking place in the city and the actions of its people inhabiting it. Additionally, memories are the ‘life-blood’ of a city (Tait, 2018).

By looking and perceiving a building we capture an image of its design: and what essentially catches us is its form with supporting details, and these details are abstracted at the beginning, telling us about the place where the form is located and embodied. Another look draws our attention to its character and its relationship to its environment. This environment is formed of interrelationships between physical artifacts, like buildings, landscapes, signage, all of which together describe and tell about this

environment. Hopkins has claimed that "memory moves from initial relationships of from as translatable image to a new concept of place as a memory demonstrating the role of the site", and what has been memorized within this place concept is the experience of the physical artifacts coupled with the interaction between people (Hopkins, 1996). Regarding that, Hopkins has suggested that the experiences the person gets of a certain place are captured as memoires which structure the ability of differing between one place and another. Accordingly, the place becomes a reference point for navigation around the city. In her interpretation, memory serves architecture which is not only restricted in constructing a sense of place and series of reference points which contribute in the process of navigation, but also as means of building a linkage between these places and points through aiding in the comprehension of the transitions (Hopkins, 1996).

Pallasmaa (2012) who has introduced phenomenological aspects of kinesthetic, haptic and the multi-sensory perception of the human body into architecture theory, discusses space, place, memory and imagination, stating that 'architecture is essentially an art form of reconciliation and mediation' (Pallasmaa, 2012). He also stated once we experience architecture, we become part of it. Therefore, landscape and buildings articulate the experience of duration and time between the past and future. He mentions that, "Landscapes and buildings constitute the most important externalization of human memory. We understand and remember who we are through our constructions, both material and mental", in addition to describing the architectural structures and their abstracted, and mere remembered images and metaphors as significant memory devices (Pallasmaa, 2012).

Some particular building types, like memorials, tombs and museums are built and conceived for the purpose of preserving and evoking memories and specific emotions. Therefore, some buildings would evoke us to feel of grief and ecstasy, melancholy and joy, also fear and hope. On the other hand, all building types are built in order to maintain our perception of temporal duration and depth as Pallasmaa has proposed. "Buildings record and suggest cultural and human narratives" (Pallasmaa, 2012), and once we remember time as a mere physical dimension, we can only grasp time through the traces, places and events of temporal occurrence (Pallasmaa, 2012).

Another interesting point regarding how architectural structures facilitate memory is the understanding of the depth of time. For example, the abstract image of a pyramid marks and embodies time. When we remember our childhood, all the memories we recall passes through the house and places where we have lived and spent most of our times, so what makes us remember in Pallasmaa's interpretation is that physical space where we have lived or experienced. Pallasmaa has pointed out to that "we have projected to hidden parts of our lives in lived landscapes and houses" (Pallasmaa, 2012), so we do trace influence of our lives on the immediate landscape where we have been once.

The remembered image in the performance of recalling appears gradually, piece by piece, from fragments of memory, it is no complete building, all of the remembered things might be remembered as fragments, Pallasmaa mentioned: "I have written about my own memories of my grandfather's humble farm house, and pointed out that the memory house of my early childhood is a collage of fragments, smells, conditions of light, specific feelings of enclosure and intimacy, but rarely precise and complete visual recollections. My eyes have forgotten what they saw once, but my body still remembers" (Pallasmaa, 2012).

Memories are attached to places and events, the recollections we get when we remember are situational and spatialized memories. Thus, when we recall a depicted object, person or event, we try to remember it in its full spatial reality. Because the space we experience is never two-dimensional pictorial space, instead "it is a lived and multi-sensory space saturated and structured by memories and intentions" (Pallasmaa, 2012). When we experience a space, we live in that space with all of our senses; as a process of exchange with the surrounding. For Pallasmaa, pictures, objects, fragments, insignificant things, all serve as "condensation centers for our memories". Objects are highly significant in the performances of remembering, that is why we like to collect familiar objects around us. These objects expand and reinforce the realm of memories, and eventually, of our very sense of self. These objects are not necessarily meant to be for utilitarian purposes, but their function is social and mental.

There is always a continuous and steady exchange with our settings, at the same time, we internalize these settling and project our own bodies, or aspects of our schemes on the

setting (Pallasmaa, 2012). Regarding that, the process of remembering is only a mental event, but it is an act of 'embodiment and projection'. Thus, memories are stored in every segment of our body, not only in the secret electrochemical processes of the brain. We do remember and think through all of our senses and organs. Pallasmaa has attributed that as the embodied memory; because by recalling something every part of our bodies involve and engage in the act of remembering. It is not only a cerebral capacity. Regarding that, Edward S. Casey was cited by Pallasmaa as (2012), "There is no memory without body memory".

Landscape or any architectural structure does not create feelings, but they do evoke those emotions we have and strengthen them, then project them back to us, as if our own feelings had an external source. Pallasmaa has pointed out how memory and emotions regarding architecture work together. Despite the fact, that landscapes and buildings are memory devices, they are amplifiers of emotions as he attributed them; "they reinforce sensations of belonging or alienation invitation or rejection, tranquillity or despair" (Pallasmaa, 2012).

Slowness and remembering, speed and forgetting were crucial thoughts regarding architecture were discussed by Pallasmaa. He has given a citation from Milan Kundera, who suggests;

> *"there is a secret bond between slowness and memory, between speed and forgetting…. the degree of slowness is directly proportional to the intensity of memory: the degree of speed is directly proportional to the intensity of forgetting",*

He talked about the speeding up of our experimental reality, emphasizing on the general cultural amnesia that faces us today. Perceiving verses remembering, we live in an accelerated life which makes us only perceive, not remember. In today's society which is analogous to a spectacle, we are only able to marvel, not remember. Thus, speed and transparency weaken remembrance (Pallasmaa, 2012;197).

2.1.3 City And Memory

"Cities represent powerful symbols of memory and repositories of memory"

(Crinson, 2005; Ladd, 1997).

The correlation between memory and urban space is one of the emerging concerns in the field of architecture and urban design, and a variety of recent projects have explored the dynamics of what Crinson (2005) calls *"urban memory",* in addition, to Boyer's (1994) interpretation of the topic of collective memory of cities with respect to modernism and post-modernism. There are number of general themes that have emerged from plenty of case studies and theoretical studies that were conducted in this field. One of these themes is about the relationship between memory and urban space. Srinivas (2007) has suggested a definition which states that urban memory provides "means of accessing how various strata of society and different communities construct the metropolitan world." (Rose-Redwood, Alerman & Azaryahu, 2008; Srinivas, 2007).

Crinson (2005) has defined the term 'urban memory' as an anthropomorphism which means the city has a memory, and "which designates the city as a physical landscape and collection of objects and practices, all of which enable recollections of the past and that embody the past through traces of the city's sequential building and rebuilding". Whatever embedded within the city, whether tangible or intangible, contribute to remembering the past, thus, enables the past to be embodied through the layers that have shaped the city by building, demolition and reconstruction (Crinson, 2005;24). At the same time, 'Urban memory' also designates the cities as places where people who have lived there and passed by. People demonstrate themselves physically in the memory of the city, in which they take part in the act of what is remembered beyond the discourses of architects, developers, preservationists, and planners. But this doesn't neglect the strategic position of those professions in forming the urban memory of the city.

Maurice Halbwachs (1992) has focused his studies on social transformations. His interpretation of history is "an instrumental and overly rationalized version of the past", while, memory is associated with the collective experience. The concept of "collective memory" was firstly introduced by him, distinguishing individual memory from the

collective one. In his perspective, it is socially based, because it is shared and passed on, and constructed by the social group. Additionally, Halbwachs has also referred to the act of remembering that is not only an individual act but "it is performed by re-living shared experiences and reconstructing events" (Crinson, 2005; Halbwachs,1980).

On the other hand, Bevan (2006) has discussed how individual memory and collective memory are always intertwining together in the same sphere, similarly to Halbwachs. Collective memory as Bevan (2006) has also argued, it encompasses a bundle of individual memories that gather "by means of exchanges between people and develop into a communal narrative about its architectural record" (Bevan, 2006; 15). As individuals, we recognize the place by interaction with the built environment and remembering these experiences we had in this place, and by being informed of the experiences of others. Michael Hebbert (2005) has talked about a crucial point regarding appropriation of people to their material environment, saying;

> *"What affects the material aspect of an urban quarter matters to its residents than high polices, and in the life of the city – war, upheaval, new roads, economic decay – people will always try to restore some elements of their familiar material environment" (Hebbert, 2005; 584).*

Halbwachs's theory and thoughts were forgotten for a long time after of the World War II. The theory was revived and re-energized by Aldo Rossi (1996), and by the architectural historian Christine Boyer (1994). Rossi (1966) has considered that:

> *"The city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places. The city is the locus of the collective memory. This relationship between the locus and the citizenry then becomes the city's predominant image, both of architecture and of landscape, and as certain artifacts become part of its memory, new ones emerge. In this entirely positive sense great ideas flow through the history of the city and give shape to it" (Rossi,1982;131).*

Rossi's argument is that the city remembers through its buildings, therefore, for him, the preservation of old buildings is equally crucial as the preservation of memories in the human mind. The urban change is considered as a domain of history, but the succession of events structure and form the city's memory, and for him, this is the preferred psychological context for making sense of the city. This change whether preservation or

deconstruction of buildings led to shape our collective memory of the city, as Halbwachs (1980) also mentioned regarding the city; “the urban space is the receptacle of collective memory” (Crinson, 2005, Halbwachs, 1980). Therefore, any development or change in the urban fabric of the city, causing a demolition of the buildings, leads to the memory loss and identity crisis, orienting the city to lose its typology; memory forms. Subsequently, the city won’t be acting as a guide for those living in it. Rossi has also explained the concept of locus, which is a place isn’t only indicated by space but by time as well and other events. Therefore, the more events there are the more it is a locus not only a place.

In addition, memories remain in people’s minds or are discussed and written down as history (Bevan, 2006). The built environment act as a corporal reminder of the events engaged in the construction, use and destruction of it. As individuals, we attach meanings and memories to the stones and they remain there (Bevan, 2006). These memories are contested as they have described by Bevan, and they change over time. This process keeps revealing and is never ending. William Siew-Wai Lim (2000) has talked about urban spaces and how their transformations and alternations affect the city’s memory. It is argued that memories and local identities are a measure of how much an urban environment is enjoyed by people. Any change in the urban fabric of the city would trace an influence on people’s memories living in the city, even for the smallest scale objects in the built environment of the city. He mentioned:

> *“Memories disappear and reappear. Some die along with the people who remembered. Some die as a result of that physical manifestation, an artifact, a tree, or a house, being removed or destroyed. Sometimes, memories change unconsciously over times as people remember differently, for political and cultural reasons” (Lim, 2000)*

Memory crisis has been a phenomenon after both World Wars in Europe. Cities were subject to the loss of memory and identity, resulting many debates regarding whether looking back or forward to what's new and not being related to traditions and history. Therefore, what to (re)design becomes a discourse for architects and urban planners, in which preserving the collective memory of the city or reviving it becomes a major concern for many. Christine Boyer (1996) has gone through a series of different visual

and mental models by which the urban environment has been recognized, depicted, and planned. She did argue the shift of view from present to the historical, from the modern to the traditional, form the ninetieth-century to the twentieth-century city forms. Modernism has broken the linkage between history and the city, attempting to deconstruct the perception of architectural illusions that the ninetieth century has put into place. But architecture during the 1970s and 1980s have put efforts to restore the public realm of the city, to redesign the shredded urban fabric of the city, and to reconstruct a sense of collectivity and cooperation (Boyer, 1996;2). At the end of the ninetieth century and once again in the last few decades of the twentieth century a memory crisis was occurring between the modernists and traditionalists at every rupture, problematizing the relationship of the present to the past. Whenever a memory crisis is provoked, it is mostly to make a rupture, or to break with recent traditions (Boyer, 1996; 26). According to Boyer (1996) there has been a loss of "interpretative systems that translate memories and traditions into meaningful contemporary forms,……..The purities of the modern urban planning have left us face to face with displacement, disengagement, and disenchantment when it comes to the urban experiences" (Boyer, 1996;28), in which, we have come to a level questioning our place in the city. Boyer has mentioned regarding Walter Benjamin;

> *"can we like Benjamin before us, recall, reexamine, and recontextualize memory images from the past until they awaken within us a new path to the future?".*

Memory and physical elements in the city are always in the act of changing and developing throughout history, in which each element or building in the city would tell or describe a certain era or time, and all of those buildings, structures, and events come together as layers shaping the memory of the city. Therefore, everything in the physical environment of the city operates in the act of reminding us of the city's past or history. Boyer (1996) has discussed the basic relationship between architecture, urban form, and history. pointing out the city is the collective expression of architecture, and it carries in the weaving and unraveling of its fabric the memory traces of earlier architectural forms, city plans, and public monuments. Despite the name of a city not exposed to any change and remain the same, the physical structure of city continues evolving, facing deformation or getting forgotten, appropriated to meet some demands, or destroyed for certain

purposes. Therefore, “some demands and pressures of social reality constantly affect the material order of the city” (Boyer, 1996;31). Not only that, but the city also acts as a theater of our memory. The city’s collective forms and private realms inform us of the changes, also remind us of the traditions that make it differentiated from other cities. Our city’s memories are embodied in the physical artifacts and traces for the past, transmitted and carried them forward to the present by these physical artifacts: a city’s streets, monuments, and architectural forms;

> *“architecture in the city is not only a spectacle shaped by the representational order of planners and architects; it involves the public as well” (Boyer, 1996).*

Based on that, she has attributed memory of the city as scenic and theatrical. People are the spectators who travel through the city observing its architecture, constructed spaces, and reflections from the past. They also travel back in time through images that recall bits and pieces of an earlier city. Then, they project the earlier representations and forward them into ‘unified stagings’ as it was described by her.

Moreover, as a way to define the relationship between people and place, Lewicka (2008) has suggested the term ‘place memory’ refers to the contents of people’s memories. It is symbolizing and depicting the concept of place, thus, places are remembered throughout their monuments, architectural style of their buildings, inscriptions on the walls, etc. (Lewicka, 2008; Hayden, 1997). In other words, they are the ‘mnemonic aids’ to collective memory. Some traces are made to serve certain ideologies and thoughts, but the majority of them are considered natural traces. The architecture which refers to different eras, or type of religious buildings, and other characteristic buildings representing powerful authorities would be indications. In this respect, the concept of urban reminders is an inevitable subject when we talk about the collective memory of any place. People always remember a certain place where there has been an event, in which this place will always be remembered and this event will contribute in the process of remembering. Here, ‘Urban reminders’ play a crucial role because they are the remains of the previous inhabitants of a certain a place, which have a major influence on the memory of places whether directly by conveying historical information, or indirectly or

by evoking curiosity and enhancing people to discover the place's forgotten past (Lewicka, 2008).

As a summary, the city represents the physical space where all memories are contained. Many theoretical studies regarding the relationship between memory, people, and urban space have been emerging in the 20th century; Crinson (2005) who called it 'urban memory'; meaning the city has memory, or the 'collective memory' of the city (Boyer, 1996) (Bevan, 2006) (Rossi, 1982); "the city is the locus of the collective memory" (Rossi, 1982; 131), or 'place memory' (Lewicka, 2008). All have based their thoughts on the concept of collective memory by Halbwachs who discussed the difference between individual memory and collective memory, emphasizing on the idea of memory to be socially based (Halbwachs, 1992), which is conspicuously associated with the group's identity. On the other hand, many have argued on defining history and memory in literature, who also built a distinction in understanding them, and the relation between the two (Nora, 1996) (Halbwachs, 1992). Lastly, some have linked the concept of collective memory with environmental psychology, and sociology (Lewicka, 2008) (Lewicka, 2014), and others with people, urban space, and architecture (Rossi, 1982) (Bevan, 2006) (Boyer, 1996) Crinson (2005) Pallasmaa (2012).

2.1.4 City, Memory, War, And Reconstruction

Destruction of memory and architecture have been one of the major goals during the war times, and seen as a systematic act against the cultural heritage. Targeting the physical environment or multiple-layers of history in cities which represents the immaterial cultural heritage or as it is called a cultural genocide have been conducted in both the World Wars besides targeting civilians, assuming for the destruction of people's identity and memory.

> *"The leveling of buildings and cities have been inevitable part of conducting hostilities and has worsened as weaponry has become heavier and more destructive……..Continents rather than cities can be devasted. This damage may be the direct result of military*

maneuvers to gain territory or root out a foe, or a desire to wipe out the enemy's capacity to fight" (Bevan, 2006).

Robert Bevan (2006) have discussed the impact of war on architecture, shining a light on how war would be against architecture, not only against a certain group of people, and their language, literature, art and customs, but "a repression or destruction of architecture". "One of the ways to get rid of history is by removing all the physical traces of history," as Daniel Libeskind has mentioned in "The Destruction of memory" film. This destruction is an outcome of the war which threatens the cultural artefacts of an enemy people or nation as means of dominating, terrorizing, dividing or eradicating it (Bevan, 2006; 8). In terms of an architectural building type, a mosque has a totemic quality, it is associated with the existence of a certain community which is marked for erasure in the eyes of its enemies. Similarly, for other building types that represents tradition, culture, religion, or all that have been mentioned regarding a certain group of people, as Bevan has pointed out "a library or art gallery is a cache of historical memory" (Bevan, 2006). Structures and places that bear certain meanings are selected for oblivion with deliberate intent in the circumstances of war, as Bevan (2006) described it as a 'systemic destruction of particular building types or architectural traditions' during the time of conflicts. Particularly, when the purpose of these conflicts is intended to erase the memories, history and identity attached to the architecture or places (Bevan, 2006); which is a deliberate one to enforce forgetting.

On the other hand, Bevan has built an argument regarding the erasure or destruction of any physical reminder which represents people and its collective memory, and the killing of people are inevitably interconnected. This means having a physical reminder in the city under the risk of destruction does not mean that only the stones and bricks are threatened, but it is the people and their memories that are targeted.

Bevan's study anchors on the fate of the buildings rather than the fate of the people to whom the buildings belong to, that have given them meaning, but this doesn't mean that people have been forgotten. Bevan had conducted many interviews with people, many stories were told to him on his travels or recorded by other journalists and writers. According to Bevan, the destruction of architecture which belongs to them did not affect

people in the way they value their architecture. He has concluded that people have reinforced the value they place on their architecture even in times of conflict.

> *"The leveling of architecture has real-world consequences for the future well-being of communities" (Bevan, 2006;17)*

The increase of military inventions in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth caused devastating damage for the cultural properties of cultures. The Brussels Declaration of 1874 was the first attempt to protect historic monuments from deliberate damage, but nothing was ratified. The International National Peace Conferences at The Hague in 1899 and 1907 used the concepts of the former, establishing the first international treaties to protect cultural property during war times. It was agreed in this convention to place an emblem on buildings for protection. Over all the forms of devastations in both World Wars ensured the weakness of the 1907 convention. Nevertheless, the 1954 Hague Convention for the protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict was held to tighten up protection, because of the sufferings encountered for the cultural properties in the armed conflicts of world war I and world war II. This Convention stated that "any damage against cultural property of any people means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind" (Bevan, 2006). In 1977 the Hague Convention's provisions were incorporated into the humanitarian laws of the Geneva Convention. This convention has drawn more restrictions regarding genocide and cultural genocide in the international law (Boyer, 2006).

During the war times, the attacks in the urban settings cause great material and immaterial damages to cities, like in the case in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Kosovo during the 1991–1999 Wars of Yugoslav, that were all subjected to massive destruction to their cultural and religious property, in addition to the ethnic cleansing against civilians. The urban warfare conducted in urban areas like in Beirut and cities in Syria due to the armed conflict has been wiping out the memory of cities through the destruction of the built environment. Elias Khoury (1995) said, "cities are invisible stories, and stories are invisible cities", talking about the memory of Beirut which has torn down by the civil war. People and their memories contribute to the way cities get shaped. Also, events which took place in the city involves in forming the collective memory of the city.

Cities in Europe after both the World Wars, and also cities in the former Yugoslavia had been facing the issue of the physical rebuilding of their centers which held memories and stories of people, besides their immaterial cultural and historic value. Therefore, the conducted city-wide construction plans have contributed in the emotional, physical and economic recovery and either by looking to the past or to the future. Architects and urban designers were encountering this double-faced issue of dealing with rebuilding cities wither by the influence of the pre-war designs or by creating modernist city centers.

Based on that, many cities, buildings, and structures have faced the issue of dealing with memory in the process of reconstruction, Mostar old bridge was an instance of tying the idea of memory and reconstruction together. It was built in 1566 which has replaced a rickety wooden structure. The old bridge was designed by Mimar Hayreddin who was the student of the famous Ottoman architect Mimar Sinan. It was bombed by the Croatian Defense Council (HVO) forces on November 1993, or as people of Mostar says it was 'killed' by a tank. The bridge had been carrying a strong symbolic meaning for the Muslim population. After 10 years period, the bridge was rebuilt in 2004 using salvageable pieces of the original bridge and some new pieces from the same stone as well (heritage.sense-agency.com). Mostar is one example of the hundred buildings and structures that have demolished in Europe due to the armed conflict which was targeting the landscape of cities, and erasing history and memories of those cities meant in the act of destruction.

Figure 2.1: the destruction of Mostar old bridge.

Source:https://www.worldbulletin.net/balkans/24-years-since-destruction-of-bosnias-stari-most-h166155.html

Another example of protecting the memory and identity of city's architecture is from Poland during the inter-war period. This revealed interest in identifying and preserving the built heritage had reached to high levels with conservation schemes and laws which meant to preserve what was left of the historic architecture in the country. Architects and art historians have been working on recording architecture which was ready for rebuilding (Bevan, 2006). Enormous records of the city's buildings were stored in the Technical University's architecture department and the monk's tombs at the Piotrkow monastery. Although, almost 800,000 people were dead in the Warsaw and 85 percent of the city's built environment was destroyed in the uprising time, the rebuilding phase has begun immediately after the Soviets took control of the city in 1945. The city has been under hard conditions at that time, but despite of all of the difficulties, reconstruction works started in 1945. Three houses in the Old Town Square were the beginning of a gradual increase in rebuilding the city (Bevan, 2006).

Regarding that, memory plays a curial role in the reconstruction phase of cities during post-war times, hence, it could be a useful instrument for reconstructing or recovering the

wiped-out memories and forgotten past of the city. Most importantly, people would be the major players who could contribute to this phase of reviving their city's memory. Untold stories by city's residents, and what they could remember from the city's past becomes important in reconstructing the city's collective memory. All of those recalled memories and images of the past would come together to reshape the city again.

The distraction and violence which took place in the historic city of Aleppo draws a story of a city which has encountered erasure of memory and identity. Regarding that, a relevant example of building a common ground between people, memory, and cultural heritage have been linked together by 'Crossroads Aleppo' platform which aims to raise awareness of Aleppines and Syrians towards their city's and county's cultural heritage, emphasizing on the old city's values, particularly, its social and historic ones. Some historical buildings have already being studied according to different aspects, providing urban and social historical background, architectural history, damage assessment, and people's memories of each studied building. The example in the figure below (see figure 2.2) explains their documentation of people's memory of Waqf Ibshir Mustafa Pasha building in the old city of Aleppo. Involving people in the process of retrieving or reviving the building's history and memory has been a powerful tool in documenting what is missing about this distracted or damaged building.

Therefore, preserving the memories is a crucial matter as much as the preservation of places during the war. The memories people have of the city, and social and cultural bonds represent an important aspect encountered by Syrians in exile. Mackenzie (2019) who discussed the topic of rebuilding Aleppo concerning saving memories, in case there is no chance of preserving places, suggested that:

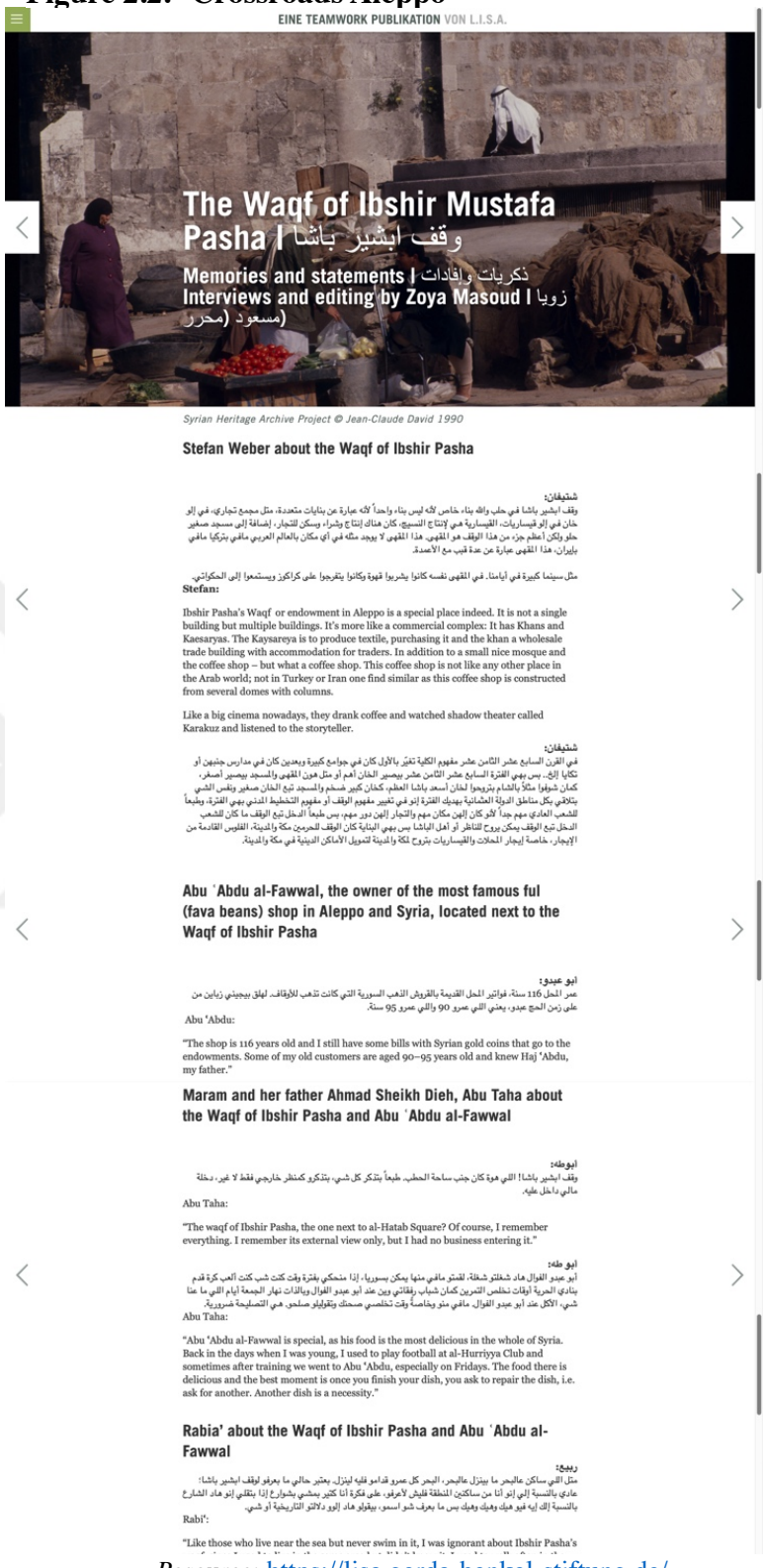
> *"as the war in Syria appears to be nearing some kind of end there is much talk of reconstruction. But it's not just buildings and infrastructure that need to be rehabilitated, it's also the historical and cultural ties that once held together now fractured communities" (Mackenzie, 2019).*

She explained how people from the city have come together in order to rescue their heritage, by creating a closed Facebook page where more than 52,000 Aleppine people from different backgrounds share memories of their traditions and way of life before the

war. As people have called it ‘Encyclopedia of Popular Aleppian’ did start as a way to share local proverbs. The group was created at the beginning of the war, and then it has evolved to become a source of knowledge regarding all the aspects of the city. According to Mackenzie, someone has affirmed how this Facebook group had made them more connected to the city. Another one has added his concern regarding the displacement and migration from Aleppo will influence the preservation of the community’s cultural heritage, emphasizing how parents are worried about transferring Aleppo heritage to their children while in exile. Lastly, one of the many people who were sharing stories of places in the city had talked about the importance of preserving memories and other intangible cultural values, saying:

> *“we cannot preserve the place … But at least we can preserve our non-material things, our memories or proverbs.”…….“You can’t imagine how precious the things are. Somebody might say, for example, ‘Do you know that place where that person used to sell a certain fruit?’ So people start telling their stories and it’s a kind of [way] of getting back to the old days, the beautiful days” Shamsi said, who was one of the members in this group (Mackenzie, 2019).*

Figure 2.2: 'Crossroads Aleppo'



*R*esource: https://lisa.gerda-henkel-stiftung.de/

2.2 PLACE ATTACHMENT

There are many different expressions which are used to describe the relationship which people develop with certain places, called place attachment, sense of place, genius loci and place identity (Sandholz, 2017). The emphasis of this chapter is on theory of place attachment. Place attachment could be defined in this sense according to social psychologists Irwin Altman and anthropologist Setha Low as ;

> *"The symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/ affective meanings to a particular space or piece of land that provides the basis for the individual's or group understanding of and relation to the environment" (Low & Altman, 1992: 165).*

Regarding that, place attachment could be defined respectively as an effective and emotional bond that people develop and establish with specific settings where they prefer to remain and where they feel comfortable and safe (Hidalgo, Hernandez, and Salazar-Laplace & Hess, 2007; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). Hidalgo & Hernandez's interpretation of attachment is seen as a positive, affective link between the person and a specific place, and the major tendency here is to maintain close relations with this place. This affective link could be shaped towards places that differ in scale and function; the house, the neighborhood, the city, recreational settings, communities, rural places, etc. (Hidalgo, Hernandez, Salazar-Laplace, Hess, 2007; Tuan, 1974, Altman & Low, 1992; Hay, 1998b). The term "affective bond" implies a special emotional relationship, like other forms of attachment (e. g., interpersonal attachment, Ainsworth, 1989). Thus, attachment as a concept isn't only restricted to place as place attachment, but attachment could be related to people as well as interpersonal relationship.

Place attachment implies "anchoring" of emotions in the object of attachment, feeling of belonging, willingness to stay close, and wish to return when away (Lewicka, 2014). Therefore, attachment can operate at an individual level as well as at a small-group, as well as on the level of a neighborhood (Giuliani, 2003). Giuliani has emphasized on the functional value of the attachment bond which can be identified as the promotion of residential stability, and once the place is no longer able to satisfy people's needs, attachment accordingly declines, while, intensity of the bond is designated by the physical and social characteristics of the environment, and by individual needs and peculiarities.

Other outcomes of attachment may be postulated at a level of both social involvement and mobility, and at that of well-being and mental health (Giuliani, 2003).
Place attachment develops slowly but can be disrupted quickly and can create a long-term phase of dealing with the loss and repairing or re-creating attachments to people and places (Brown and Perkins, 1992). Lewicka (2014) has argued the assumption of being grounded in a place, and she referred to the empirical evidence which shows that higher place attachment is linked with higher life satisfaction, better social capital, and higher overall adjustments (Lewika, 2011b; Rollero & De Piccoli, 2010). From her point of view, to be anchored in a certain place doesn't mean that people should spend their whole lives in the place of their birth. In other words, in the concept of mobile attachment, people could be attached to multiple places simultaneously, even if the individual wasn't born in that place which the one was attached to at certain time of one's life span, or even if these places are not related to the family history, long-time residence, and are culturally alien.

Feldman's (1996) found an interesting notion of 'settlement-identity' in defining place attachment among mobile persons. He proposed that people often identify themselves with a type of settlement; such as rural area, small town, suburb, and inner city, and when they move to different environment they tend to choose new home places that match their previous residential experiences (Gustafson, 2014 ; Feldman, 1996). This embodies a continuity when an individual experiencing a change in the environment, as well as in self-identity. All of these facilitate the development of emotional bonds to the new place in regard to the concept of 'home'. The existence of those emotional bonds with places takes place in qualifying one's existence, whether positively or negatively, and it doesn't stop on the level of individual, private existence, but also the existence of entire human groups (Giuliani, 2003). Therefore, to be attached to a place is perceived as a fundamental human need, and particularly as home, which constitutes and shapes the foundation of oneself and one's identities. Based on that, places are perceived as centers of human existence (Brown & Perkins, 1992 p.281; Eyle, 1989, p. 109). All of that explains the consequences of one's losing a 'place', which might cause or create some confusion or disorder in one's identity (Boğaç, 2009). Similarly, mentioned in a research carried out by Schward, Brenth, Philips, and Danley (1995), who quoted Eric Fromm (1976) :

"If I am what I have and what I have is lost, who then am I?" (Fromm, 1976; 96)

This sheds light on the efforts made by people into transferring their houses into homes which is a representation and reflection of their individuality and/or identity (Bogac, 2009; Moore, 2000).

Place attachment is conceptually the reflection and projection of stability, framing the significance of long-term bonds between people, their homes and communities. Many definitions are ensuring that attachment involves processes such as familiarity, stability and security, and such processes develop over long-time spans. Consequently, place attachments are not statics, rather they are seen flexible because they get affected by the changes in people, their activities and process, and in the places meant in the attachments. Whereas, they are shaped by continuing series of events that reaffirm human beings' relations with their environment (Brown and Perkins, 1992). On the other hand, attachments are responsive to human aspiration, attitudes and experiences, and they often adjust automatically to the circumstances, and sometimes they are companied with minimal disruption. While, severe disruptions occur when the changes are great in which individuals should work hard to define the continuity or stability in their living (Brown and Perkins, 1992).

Appropriation of space is intertwined with place attachment, and constituted of two main components, the action-transformation which is a behavioral component, and the identification which is a symbolic component. Once the individual or certain group move to a new environment, they begin to transform their space and they spend time and effort in tracing their individual and social identity in order to appropriate themselves with this environment. A recognition of the self-identity starts to emerge once people adjust themselves to the new environment, and in this process, people start to make sense of their existence using the environment's qualities as part of their identity (Bernardo & Palma, 2005; Pol, 1996; Moreno and Pol, 1999).

The process of developing place attachment has been a slow one as mentioned before by Brown and Perkins (1992), at the same time, it could be disrupted quickly which creates a long phase of dealing with the loss of this attachment, and reforming, recreating attachments to people and places simultaneously. Brown and Perkins (1992) have proposed that disruptions of place attachment can be perceived by examining their

individuality-communality and stability-change functions over three phases defined as pre-disruption, disruption, and post-disruption phases (Brown and Perkins, 1992). According to their point of view the definition of place attachment:

> *"Place attachment involves positively experienced bonds, occurring without awareness, that are developed over time from the behavioral, affective, and cognitive ties between individuals and/or groups and their sociophysical environment" (Brown and Perkins, 1992).*

For them, this environment might contain homes or communities, places which are directly experienced by the individual. Therefore, a failed attachment is resulted when negative bonds are established with a certain place. The noticeable transformations in place attachment are mostly based on the affective changes in the people, processes or places (Brown and Perkins, 1992).

Therefore, most frequent definitions of place attachment have been underlying various psychometric scales. Measuring this reveals that one of their most outstanding components is the emphasis on duration: attachment is diagnosed by declared intention to continue being in the place. Therefore, one of the first measures of place attachment according to Lewika (2011) was the length of residency: it was assumed that attached people stay longer in the place than those who are unattached (Lewika, 2011; Riger & Lavrakas, 1981). Therefore, the length of residence in the place considered to be a significant predictor of place attachment.

Feelings towards places are embodied in cultural milieu, and will always differ as Low and Altman had mentioned. Thus, there are means of beliefs and practices that embody people's linkage to the places (Sandholz, 2017; Low & Altman, 1992). Urban anthropologist Low & Altman (1992) have suggested a typology of place attachment which is based upon six kinds of symbolic linkage between people and land. These points overlap, and they act separately:

i. *Genealogic linkage through (family) history.*
ii. *Linkage through loss of land or destruction of a community;*
iii. *Economic linkage through ownership, inheritance, or politics;*
iv. *Cosmological linkage through religious, spiritual, or mythological relationships;*
v. *Linkage through religious or secular pilgrimage and celebratory, cultural events;*
vi. *Narrative linkage through storytelling and place meaning;* (Low & Altman, 1992).

The concept of place attachment had been interpreted by many scholars who defined the people-place bond or named them as the affective bond people establish with a certain environment where they show a tendency to settle and attach themselves to this specific setting and people, and this tendency is maintaining strong connections with this place and people. These places that people have affective bonds with, could differ in scale and function as the house, the neighborhood, the city, and communities. The development of place attachment is a slow process (Brown and Perkin, 1992), and could be interrupted quickly, consequently cause a long period of treating the loss of attachment. Also, place attachment involves such processes like familiarity, stability, and security. Lastly, the concept of attachment would have other forms because it is a flexible one, which is mainly dependent on the nature of the "affective bond" that would refer to special emotional relationships; interpersonal attachment (Ainsworth, 1989). Therefore, attachment is not only restricted to places but to people as well.

The Syrian war has been a gap in the people's attachment to their homes, cities, and country. It has created a rupture in their memory as well. What has been mentioned previously regarding place attachment theory crystalize and clarify what it means for someone to lose the place of living and shared memories, and people lived with. The case of Aleppo in this study is an example that draws its traces on the loss of the bonds that people had with their city, home, and the whole country, which they have been attached to and their attachment has been interrupted by the war conditions took that place in 2012.

2.2.1 Memory And Place Attachment

The two theories of place attachment and memory in the field of environmental psychology are somehow interrelated because they trace the impact on individuals, particularly mobile ones who have been in displacement conditions. Not many scholars have talked about the connection between the two, and most of the materials regarding both were studying each one separately without bridging the gap between them. When

someone is under displacement conditions due to certain circumstances, attachment to the environment where one is displaced from will be interrupted, and will need to patch and repair the bonds with the place and people. Meanwhile, memory will be functioning in the process of this attachment on different levels, which will be part of the integration with the new environment, and the link with the previous one.

One example by Rishbeth (2014) which has linked the significance of memory and place attachment together, focusing on the migrants' experiences of landscape in their new environment by understanding the dimensions of memory and migrants' act of remembering. The study has shed light on the participants' memories of the past landscape, and their involvement and importance in shaping the qualities and nature of new attachments to the new place (Rishbeth, 2014; Rishbeth & Powell, 2013). On the other hand, Lewicka (2011) has proposed that memory is a 'glue' that connects people to their places. However, she pointed out that some types of this "glue" seem to be more dependent on residence duration than other factors. She has also argued (2011) that memory could be an enabler of past continuity and place attachment, and suggested that "this sense of continuity can also be achieved in places in which one has not lived long", and that can be done through symbolic (vicarious) means which integrate intentional focus on the past, either one's own, one's family or the place's itself. In a way or another, a conscious focus on the past may be a successful means of restoring disrupted places continuity among individuals, especially mobile ones (Lewicka, 2011). This provides the possibility to intertwine both concepts of memory and place attachment simultaneously.

Memory has many forms and operates on different levels as it has been explained in detail at the beginning of this chapter. The relationship between procedural memory and place attachment has asserted by Lewicka (2011) as well when she stated that people's emotional bonds with places are grounded in procedural memory. while the role of autobiographical memory is declarative episodic; What, where, and when something is remembered, and related to the self, which is more complicated compared to the procedural memory. Place-related memories, especially the ones that concern childhood places are the significant and essential resources of personal identity and continuity

(Lewicka, 2011; Cooper Marcus, 1992; Kenz, 2006). On the other hand, present residence is a source of autobiographical memory as well, the longer one lives in a certain place, the richer place-related memories will be observed, which, along with the time-space routines, procedural memory which develops in time by residing in a certain place and place attachment simultaneously, contribute to the sense of belonging to the place. Besides, autobiographical memory can also be used as means in the process of adaptation and appropriation to new places and thus could also characterize mobile individuals (Lewicka, 2011).

In other words, people may seek to establish personal connections with new places through various forms of memory, procedural, autobiographic, genealogical, and place memory as mentioned before, in which procedural memory or place-related memory (autobiographical) refer to attachment through time spent in the place. On the other hand, the relationship between attachment and the other forms of memory specifically declarative semantic memory which is related to family (genealogical), and place history is less dependent on residence duration (Lewicka, 2011).

3. CASE STUDIES

Environmental psychology has been the area of study in contemporary literature for the theories embody this relationship between people and their environment as place attachment, place identity, place- making, and many others. Similarly, collective memory has been an area of interest in architecture, psychology, anthropology, and other multidisciplinary areas of study. Most of the studies conducted in the field of place attachment and collective memory were mostly relevant to psychology. While, some other scholars have revealed their research interests in linking the theory of collective memory with the city, architecture, and inhabitants, all together as one mechanism, all of which was based on the collective memory theory that was firstly introduced by Halbwachs (1926), and then (Rossi, 1966) (Crinson, 2005) (Boyer, 1996). Others have shown a legible link of collective memory with the conservation of architecture, urban areas, nature, and landscape (Ardakani & Oloonabadi, 2011). Likewise, in this research, the two theories of memory and place attachment were concentrated and looked at through the framework of the city and its architecture, as a tool to present the city in the mind of Aleppine people who left Syria after the many entanglements caused by the armed conflict.

Scholars have looked at place attachment in relation with other concepts that embody place-people bond (Ehrkamp, 2005) (Lewicka, 2008 & 2014) (Rishbeth, 2014) (Hernandez, Hidalgo, Salaza-Laplace, & Hess, 2007) (Boğaç, 2006), while some has tied the concept of memory with place attachment (Lewicka, 2014)(Rishbeth (2014). Lewicka (2008) has mainly studied the theories of place attachment, place memory, and place identity, investigating the collective memory in two cities of Lviv and Wroclaw, shining a light on the memory of inhabitants with relationship to place identity and place attachment. Qualitative and quantitative research methods were used in the study; qualitative investigating what people knew about the place's past and quantitative concerning how much they knew about their previous environment.

On the other hand, Boğaç (2009) has looked at the involuntary relocation of Turkish Cypriot refugees in Northern Cyprus after the ceasefire in 1974. Two main points were under the scope of Boğaç's qualitative research; one had to do with how place attachment to physically foreign settlement and the effects of involuntary relocation, and the second was meant to show a comparison between the degree of place attachment of refugees who continue to carry memories of their lost attachment, with the attachment of their children who has no direct relationship with their parent's city where they were living before the war. Interviews were done with both generations. In addition, participants were asked to sketch their previous home for both age group of people to review their level of place attachment to their homes and immediate environment (Boğaç, 2006; Kitchin, 1994). This is one of the methods that is used in this study to present participants' memory to see what's the image of the city in their memory other than what they have talked about during the interview; conducting a qualitative method. Lewicka (2014) has added that memory would be a 'glue' that contributes to connecting people to their places. For her, place attachment and memory are correlated. She has suggested that place attachment is not a uniform concept, and depending on what type of place attachment wither active or traditional, different forms of memory would contribute to people's emotional bonds with places.

Nevertheless, some other researchers like Gibbons (2017) have shown common ground with this study. Gibbons has looked at the cultural identity and memory of Syrian refugees and introduced the effects of cultural trauma on the future of the displaced Syrian people by focusing on individual stories of loss, relocation, and change. Her interviews with Syrian refugees have detected what is Syria in their memory when they are in the act of remembering their past. Another case study by Naili (2009) was also conducted on the memory narratives of the peasant past by Palestine women from the West Bank village of Artas who fled because of the 1967 war and were living first in Kuwait, and now in Amman (Jordan). She mainly Emphasized on the role of memory of homeland in refugees' life in exile, and what are the main themes of this memory? all of these examples build a strong connection with the case of Aleppo where the place-people bond was interrupted by war causing displacement, and loss of home. Therefore, the process of

place attachment of Syrians to their environment has been exposed to many ruptures preventing people to adapt and integrate to their surroundings, which has accordingly affected their memory of homeland; Aleppo, and the whole country as well. Moreover, this study aims to bridge the gap between place memory and attachment - environmental psychological aspect - of Aleppine people who live in exile with the theories of the city, architecture; the material cultural heritage. Furthermore, other case studies mentioned above have contributed to build the structure of the questionnaire used in the survey intended to gather participants' memories.

4. THE CASE OF ALEPPO.

In the last century, several cities have encountered the dilemma of overcoming the past, preserving memories or rebuilding them, modern versus traditional. After both of the World Wars, cities in Europe and Japan have witnessed devastating destruction in their built environment. The war has left those cities confronting many entanglements, inconsistencies in dealing with replicating or rebuilding those damaged historic buildings in the destroyed fabric of cities, or with designing modernist buildings and urban interventions bearing no reference to history. Preserving what was left from the damaged fabric of cities have been a testimony informing and telling us about a difficult period in time. Such as the Berlin Wall, which exemplifies a city like Berlin a historically conscious city.

The conflict in Syria is an example of a devastating war in the 21st century, and it has been a home for the destruction of memory, identity, culture, and architecture of the entire country. The ancient city of Aleppo is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world. It is mostly predicted that the city has been inhabited since the 6th millennium BCE. Aleppo was ruled successively by many empires throughout history, each period left a trace on the city's characteristic architecture and culture. As the city was listed as UNESCO world heritage site in 1986, the urban fabric wasn't under the risk of destruction until the beginning of the Syrian armed conflict in 2012. The conflict in the city has damaged most of its cultural heritage landmarks and urban infrastructure, the citadel, the great mosque, and countless other historical buildings which bear cultural, economic and social significance, in addition, to the enormous number of people who have died in the past years.

In this study, the people's memory of Aleppo is the main focus; those who have been displaced due to the armed conflict in Syria. People from Aleppo will be the target group in the survey using a qualitative method, which will be explained in detail next chapter. In this section, a glimpse at the location of the city, its social structure, and historical background will be explained.

4.1 ALEPPO: LOCATION

Syria borders Turkey to the north, Iraq to the east, Palestine, Israel and Jorden to the south, and Lebanon and the Mediterranean Sea to the west. The area of the country is around 71,000 square miles, which is about 183,900 square kilometers. One-third of the land in the country is arable, and the other one-third is pasturable. While the dominant terrain is almost green in the western part of the county, the east region is almost a desert.

Figure 4.1: Map of Syria, Aleppo location

Source: edited by the author.

Aleppo and Damascus carry the title of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world, all the evidences tell the facts addressing Aleppo to have this title. Aleppo is Syria's largest metropolis after Damascus located on the northern part of Syria near the Turkish- Syrian border. It has long been a prominent economic, cultural, and political center. The historic portion of the city was selected as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1986. The city got the title of Islamic Capital of Culture in 2006.

The strategic geographic location, on a high plateau halfway between the Mediterranean coast and the Euphrates River marked it as the crossroad of several important trading and pilgrimage routes, including the Silk Road, the city is located at one end of the Silk Road.

The city geographically protected by its elevation and rocky terrain and traces its history back to its days as a fort. The city was known in antiquity as Khalpe, Khalibon, and Beroea (Veroea). It was also known as Halep for Turks and Alep during the French mandate (Burns, 2000).

The main role of Aleppo throughout the history was a trading hub, situating at the crossroads of two trade routes and mediated the trade of India, the Tigris-Euphrates regions, and the route from Damascus in the south. The city was known as the greatest center of trade between Europe and the East in the third century C.E.

4.2. SOCIAL STRUCTURE (DEMOGRAPHIC)

The population of Syria in 2000 was 16,673,282, the country is 90.3 percent Arab. Kurds are estimated to be between 3 to 9 percent of the whole population. There are Turks, and Armenians who fled from Turkey between 1925 and 1945. Nevertheless, Syria has included small numbers of Circassians, Assyrians, and Jews. The Bedouins are Arabs, and they are the ones who originally nomadic, but they had been obliged somehow to settle in towns and villages (wikipedia). In Syria, by 1960, 30 percent of the whole population was living in the cities; in 1970, the percentage has increased to 46; and by 1988, this number has become 50 percent.

The city of Aleppo is multiethnic, brings together people from different backgrounds and religions, which makes it a multi-layered city shaped throughout history because of diverse influences by the people who lived in it, and empires which took control of it for decades and sometimes centuries. The majority of Aleppo’s townspeople are Sunni Muslims, number of Christians affiliated with various churches. Tens of thousands of Armenians refugees from Anatolia settled in

Table 4.1: Historical population of Aleppo.

Historical population of Aleppo		
Year	Pop.	±% p.a.
1883	99,179	—
1901	108,143	+0.48%
1922	156,748	+1.78%
1925	210,000	+10.24%
1934	249,921	+1.95%
1944	325,000	+2.66%
1950	362,500	+1.84%
1960	425,467	+1.61%
1965	500,000	+3.28%
1983	639,000	+1.37%
1990	1,216,000	+9.63%
1995	1,500,000	+4.29%
2000	1,937,858	+5.26%
2004	2,132,100	+2.42%
2005	2,301,570	+7.95%
2016	1,800,000	−2.21%

Source: wikipedia.com

Aleppo during World War I and strengthened the traditionally prominent Christian presence in the city. At the end of 1925, Armenians have constituted more than 25% of the whole population which was 210,000 (wikipedia) (newworldencyclopedia.org).

The local Jewish community has roots that goes back to the Pre-Islamic times, they also grew during the modern period, most them left in 1948, their presence continued to dwindle thereafter, until the last departure of Jews in 1994. The city holds another minority group like Kurdish and Shia Muslims (Marcus, 1992) (newworldencyclopedia.org).

The city has the largest Christian communities in the Middle East. The majority of Aleppine Christians were Catholics until the end of the Ottoman period, but the arrival of the Assyrians survivors from Cilicia and Southern Turkey was behind the growth of Oriental Orthodox Christians. On the other hand, a considerable number of Eastern Orthodox Christians from Sanjak of Alexandretta had arrived in Aleppo after the conjunction Sanjak with the Republic of Turkey in 1939. Therefore, the city is the home of a large number of Eastern Catholic Christians, including Melkite Greeks, Maronites, Chaldeans, Syrian Catholics and the followers of the Latin rite, plus, Evangelical Christians (considered as a minority) (Marcus, 1992) (wikipedia). Before the Syrian

crisis, the Christian population was slightly more than 250,000 (12% of the total population of the city). This number has decreased dramatically to less than 100,1000 at the beginning of 2017. (UNESCO and UNITAR-UNOSAT, 2018).

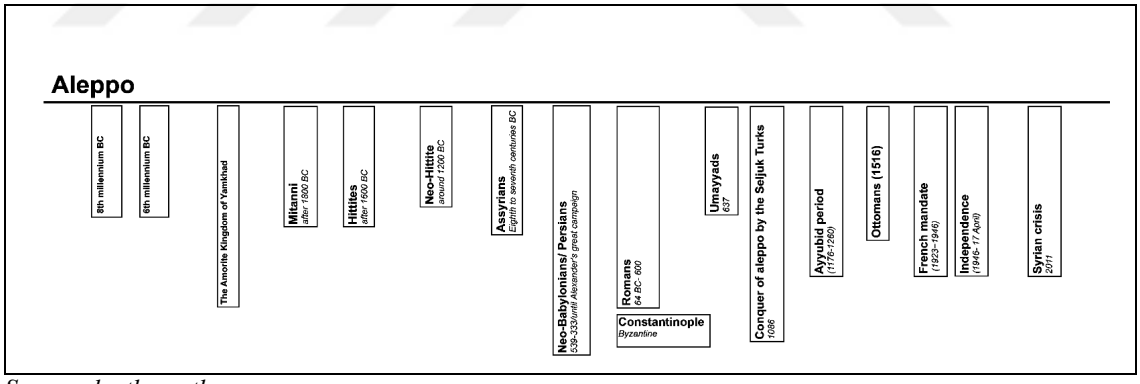
The Jewish population rooted in the Aleppo from ancient times, from the time of The Great Synagogue which was built in the 5th century which had housed the Aleppo Codex. The Jewish community were mostly Pizmonim and Baqashot. The city of Aleppo has received many Sephardic Jewish immigrants after the Spanish Inquisition, therefore, the number of the Jewish community has increased over the number of native Aleppo Jewish inhabitants. In the early 20th century, Jews lived in Al-Jamiliyah, Bab Al-Faraj and the area around the Great Synagogue which is called Al-Bandara. The Jewish community continued to increase during modern times. Then, most of them have begun to decrease gradually after the establishment of Israel in 1948. In 1968, the estimated number of the remaining Jewish community were around 700 inhabitants (UNESCO and UNITAR-UNOSAT, 2018) (newworldencyclopedia.org).

The estimation of the city population in the Pre-Syrian crisis time was 2,132,100 as it has calculated in the latest official census in 2004. And it has become 2,301,570 by the end of 2005 according to the official estimate announced by the Aleppo City Council. The total number of the whole population including the rural region is around 4.2 million in 2002. The number has dropped dramatically since the beginning of the war in Syria, millions of people have been fleeing and a large number of them has lost their lives while the country is drowned in war and chaos. Today, there isn’t an updated estimate of the city’s population (newworldencyclopedia.org).

4.3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

Aleppo rivals Damascus as being one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities due to the various cultures living in Aleppo, first settled over 8000 years ago. It has a documented history dating back to 2250 BC. The city was ruled by Amorites, Hittites, Assyrians, Neo-Babylonians, and Persians. Aleppo was a flourishing city during the Seleucid Greek, Roman, and early Byzantine periods, and was known as Beroea. The city was conquered by Arab Muslims in 637 BC, it became subordinate to Damascus and Baghdad for several centuries (Burns, 2000). Each empire built over the remains of its predecessor, this overlapping or superposition of various layers has shaped a historically rich and complex layered urban core, which is the old city of Aleppo (Burns, 2000). Seljuq and Ayyubid governors oversaw major development of the city beginning in the 12th century. They reinforced and expanded its fortifications and built several notable buildings. Also, the city was a significant trade center which led to the establishments of many markets and khans. During the Ottoman time, many new mosques were built, in addition to the vast development for the commercial fabric of the city; souks and khans.

Figure 4.1: Historical timeline.

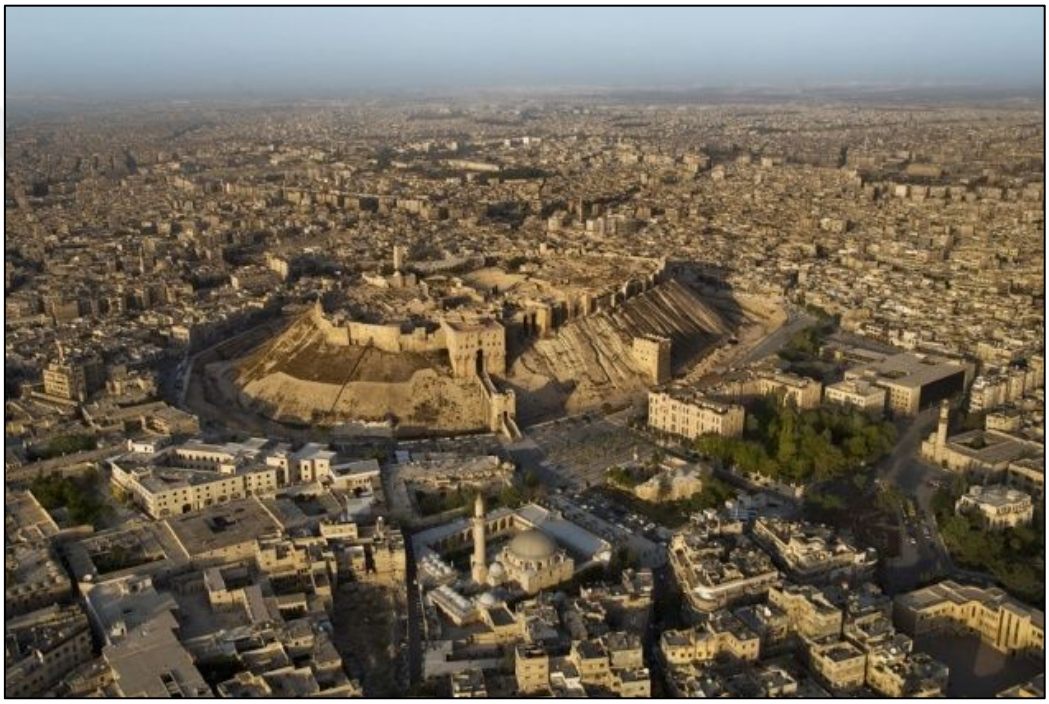


Source: by the author.

The old city occupies 400 hectares packed with courtyard houses, souks, mosques, churches and madrasas, with its tenth-century monumental citadel rising at the center. The citadel is the most prominent historic architectural site in Aleppo, which reveals itself dominantly in the silhouette of the city. The old city is a place where there are ruins as well as intact buildings that were standing and present since thousands of years before the war (archnet.org).

The urban fabric of Aleppo is like many historic cities in the Middle East, it is dense and characteristic with its narrow passageways decreasing the accessibility for the vehicular traffic. City' residents pass through these districts by using these narrow corridors which branching inside the urban tissue of the city in a hierarchical way. These tight corridors go through the residential districts. The predominant typology of the houses is the limestone courtyard house, planned in an adjacent way to each other and they share supporting walls separating them by creating an organic pattern of form in the residential fabric of the city.

Figure 4.2: The Citadel of Aleppo, aerial view.



Source: Yann Arthus-Bertrand.

The Great Omayyad Mosque dates back to the early Islamic era, considered one of the oldest and famous buildings in the city. The building was formerly a Byzantine church honoring Saint John the Baptist, built on the site of an old temple corresponding to pre-Islamic gods (Burns, 2000) (everyculture.com).

Aleppo has become part of the Islamic World in 637. During the Abbasid rule (750-1258) the city has gained prominence as a regional cultural center. the Citadel was constructed during that time, and it was built on the site of the former Roman acropolis which is

dating back to the ninth century BCE. The Abbasid prince Seif al-Din al-Hamdani (944-967) has commissioned this military fortress (Roman acropolis), after his establishment of Aleppo as the capital of his jurisdiction in 944. In addition, to the great Mosque which was built in 715 by the Umayyad Dynasty, and had subsequently many fires during the attacks of the Byzantines. The city was projected to two attacks during Crusades, the first one was in 1098, and the other one was in 1124. Therefore, the unstable political conditions required a stronger defense system to protect the city from those attacks (archnet.org) (UNESCO and UNITAR-UNOSAT, 2018).

In 1183, Aleppo went under the control of the Ayyubid dynasty. They have emphasized on Aleppo as a city of religion and piety, by commissioning the building of a plenty number of mosques, religious schools, shrines (mashhad) (archnet.org). In 1260 the Mongolian army has attached Aleppo, causing vast fires and killing of a large number of the population in the city. These circumstances have made the city struggle to regain its strong position and power as a political and cultural center. Consequently, the city had major number of restoration and reconstruction works while it was under the control of Mamluks (archnet.org).

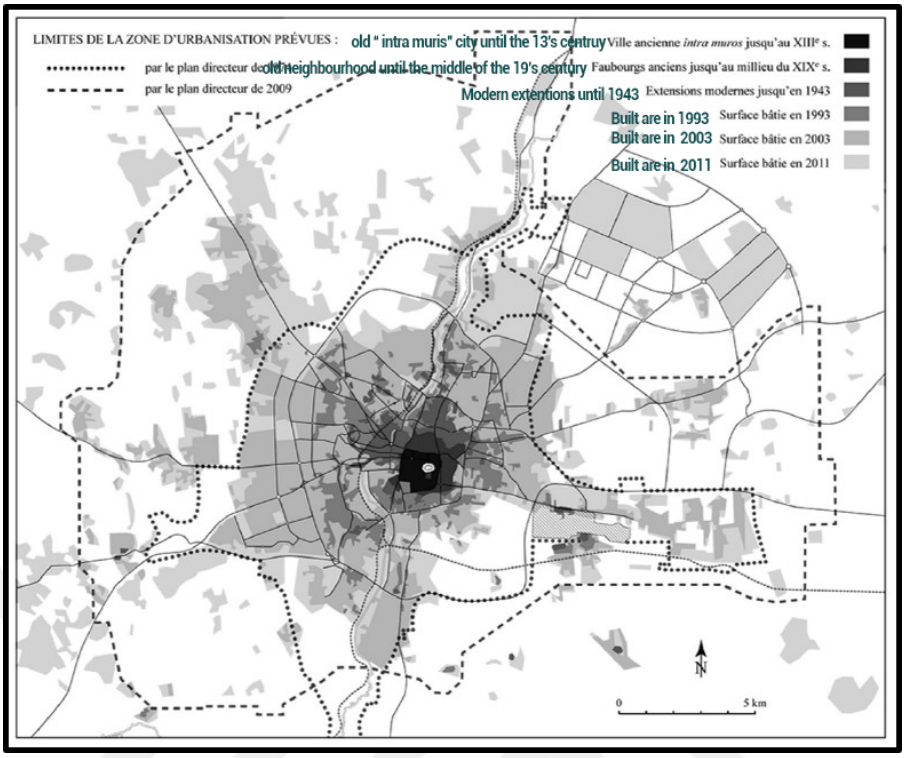
The city was ruled by Ottomans in 1517, which has become the major metropolis of northern Syria region. The city continued to develop as a center of trade, industry and commerce. In term of architecture, the ottoman influences were self-explanatory in the city, the notable expansion of the marketplace (Bazaar), including the establishment of new khans, and the tall and slender pencil minarets added to the mosques built near the Citadel, new other mosques and school buildings (Madrasa). The urban fabric of Aleppo has expanded outside the city walls, weakening the Citadel as a defense fortress (UNESCO and UNITAR-UNOSAT, 2018). The city had encountered natural disasters like earthquakes, the one which struck the city in 1822 left a massive destruction, 60 percent of the urban fabric of the city was destroyed, major parts of the citadel were damaged as well (www.archnet.org/authorities/3497).

Aleppo was facing profound changes in the 19th century in respect to social, administrative, and economic life, paving the way to modernize the country. The Tanzimat reforms, enacted from 1839 following a western approach designated to change

the city. In 1866, the first municipal body was created in Aleppo, which was the foundation to establish the new neighborhoods in the west. After 1882, the center of the city has shifted after the emergence of new districts beyond the historic walls, those new centers have started to develop outside the northwestern corner of the city's walls beyond Bab al-Faraj, corresponding to the need for services, transportation and regional links. These new districts begun to be known as the ‘modern city’, while the walled city with all its pre-nineteenth century extensions were addressed as the ‘old city’ of Aleppo. New public buildings were constructed in the ‘modern city’ offering services with modern standards. These urban alterations and changes were coincided with the 1884 Ottoman law affirming and emphasizing the protection of historical monuments and informed the work of the *Antiquities Administration* (archnet.org) (UNESCO and UNITAR-UNOSAT, 2018).

Syria had become under the control of the French mandate (1914-1946), the country was projected to a series of modern developments and plans, western-style municipal administrative arrangements have emerged, including a department of city planning. In the early period of the French Mandate in 1923 (archnet.org) (UNESCO and UNITAR-UNOSAT, 2018). The urban form continued with its organic character until the period of the French mandate. The city has already expanded outside the city walls during the Ottoman period, and controlling the city expansion and growth was a necessity for the city. Therefore, the first master plan was created during this period by the R. Danger, and another plan was done by Michel Ecochard. These two plans dated back to the 1930s, the grid pattern was the principle achieved in the new modernist and urban renewal planning. The intent of using the grid prototype was for organizing urban blocks for the new developments (the new emerging neighborhoods), and for re-organizing the organic pattern of the old city fabric (archnet.org) (UNESCO and UNITAR-UNOSAT, 2018).

Figure 4.3: The development of Aleppo's urban fabric



Source: https://books.openedition.org/ifpo/6648?lang=en

Aleppo had continued to be on the track of development in the years following the independence after 1946, modernizing at a rapid rate. Many middle and upper class old-city residents left their traditional homes in the 'old city' to live in residential suburbs that could provide more modern amenities and services. Moving the walled city's residents to the new residential developments in the extramural quarters ended up the traditional courtyard houses to be abounded, rented out to lower-income families (archnet.org) (UNESCO and UNITAR-UNOSAT, 2018).

Another new master plan by the French architect Andre Gutton was designed for Aleppo in 1954. This urban project was initially started under the French Mandate. But due to the fact of the wide-scale expropriations and highly destructive demolitions in many historical neighborhoods have slowed down the process of urbanization, driving the project to more complicated problems. Bab al-Faraj, al-Jdaydeh and the areas west of Bab al-Jinan were the neighborhoods, they have encountered many consequences by destroying tens of hectares during the implementation process. The main intention of this

proposal was assuring the city's position as a major, national and international transportation hub. Two ring roads have erected, one runs around the outer limits of the metropolitan area, the other one was encircling the intramural historic city (archnet.org). Around one-tenth of the intramural urban fabric of the old city ended up being replaced by transportation infrastructure, so the landscape of the city has changed dramatically as a result of this plan.

Another new master plan between 1968 and 1974 was conceived by a French/Japanese architect, Gyoji Banshoya who was mandated by UNESCO, in collaboration with the central government. He proposed a set of general guidelines and a protection plan for the old city of Aleppo, as in the maps and plans down below.

Figure 4.4: Gyoji Banshoya's urban proposal.

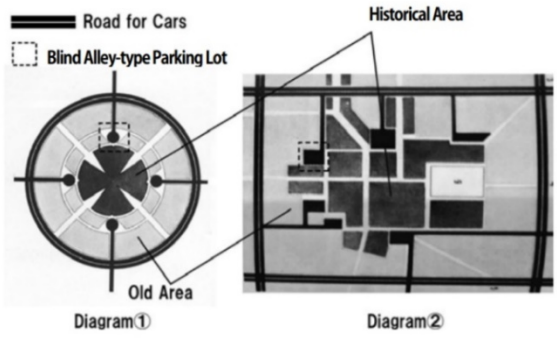


Fig. 13: First Diagram of Aleppo

Fig.14: Second Diagram

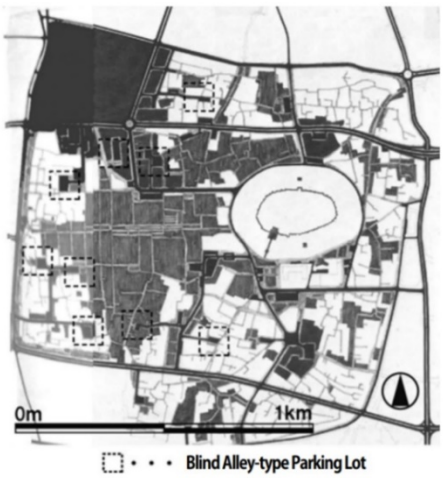
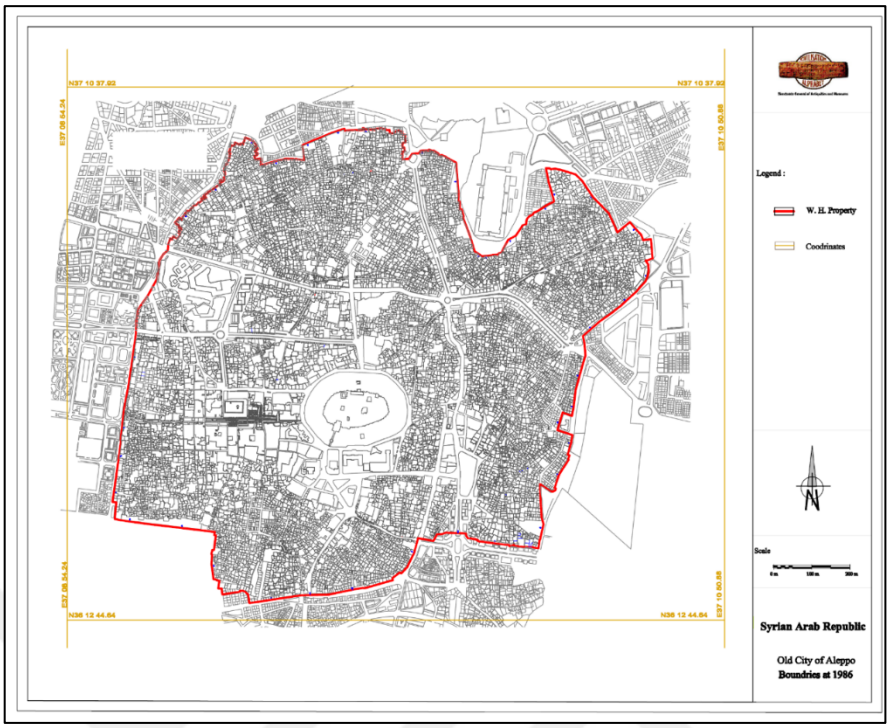


Fig. 15: Proposed Detailed Plan for the Old City

Source: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02665433.2015.1073610

This proposal has involved additional transportation axes through the old city, aiming to connect the main highways to the west and east of Aleppo, through the old city, requiring destruction of additional historic fabric. In the end, only some parts of this plan were implemented.

Figure 4.5: UNESCO World heritage site of Aleppo.



Source: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/21/multiple=1&unique_number=24

The old city's fabric of Aleppo continued to be facing demolition in the 1970s. therefore, the frequent number of the previously mentioned master plans and migration were fostering the physical and socio-economic division between the members of the old city community and the rest of the city's population. This boundary had marginalized the historic city from the rest of the city in less than thirty years. In 1976, the intramural old city was stated as a national historic area. The declaration of the old city as a UNESCO World Heritage property was in 1986, as shown in the upper figure (archnet.org) (UNESCO and UNITAR-UNOSAT, 2018). In 1992, the initiative of the friends of the old city of Aleppo, the DGAM and the municipality had worked on encouraging the German Technical Cooperation Agency (GTZ) in order to support the urban conservation of the old city. Between 1992 and 1994, several national institutions were established, inventors were carried out, stating a comprehensive conservation plan paving the way for a new development. The project of the rehabilitation of Aleppo was drafted and drawn up in early 1993. Between 2004 and 2010, The Aga Khan Historic Cities Programme (AKHCP)

as a partner with the DGAM and GTZ have carried out the Aleppo Citadel Perimeter project (archnet.org) (UNESCO and UNITAR-UNOSAT, 2018).

4.4. ALEPPO: THE SYRIAN CRISIS.

Figure 4.6: The public square in front of the Citadel's entry.

Source: washingtonpost.com

The war in Syria turned the landscape of the country into a battlefield, causing hundreds of thousands of people dead, millions displaced, unprecedented damage for the built environment and infrastructure. Aleppo, Syria's second city had a severe damage since the beginning of the armed conflict in 2012, ending up with urban city fabric either damaged or destroyed due to bombardments, underground bombs, shelling, fires and street combats. The old city of Aleppo, which dates back to the 6th millennium BC is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world as mentioned before, the city had been in the frontline of the battlefield between the Syrian government and opposition forces since July 2012, when the city of Aleppo fell into conflict. The immense escalation of the conflict during a five-year period of time has resulted in a vast humanitarian crisis.

The historic city which backs to the millennium era and known the longest, continues to be inhabited city throughout the history, and the third most important city after Cairo and Istanbul during the Ottoman time. In the past years, Aleppo has been projected to series of deliberately violence and destruction acts in all the forms, which led to erasure of its historical, cultural identity, authenticity and heritage. On the other hand, the conflict in

Syria has caused more than 400,000 dead and millions of refugees since 2011. Today the old city which is considered a UNESCO World Heritage had witnessed a horrible devastation of most of its monumental buildings, structures and urban spaces, tracing the same damage on the immaterial aspect of the city. Therefore, the historic city has been added recently to the list of endangered cultural heritage, due to the continuous destruction of the historic monuments and the cultural heritage. The armed conflict has been a strategic instrument to destroy the cultural identity of the Syrian population: 25% of historic buildings are damaged, 40% are partially destroyed, and the Souk (The Old Bazaar) has been burnt down completely.

According to a comprehensive study done by UNESCO and UNITAR-UNOSAT in 2018 revealing significant damage to cultural heritage within the World Heritage site of Aleppo: They have documented a detailed list of damage at 518 buildings within the World Heritage site and the National Museum. More than 1,400 locations were assessed, with almost 1,000 individual damage points recorded. Among these 518 buildings, the following damage was identified: 56 destroyed, 82 severely damaged, 270 moderately damaged, 20 possibly damaged, and 8 with no visible damage. The damage observed through satellite imagery was attributed to various factors, including airstrikes, bombardments, underground bombs, shelling, fire, street combat, and possible looting in some locations.

The battle of the city of Aleppo has begun in mid-July 2012. The rebels made swift gains in the city, coming from the surrounding countryside of Aleppo and heading towards the city's center, seizing control of several pro-opposition districts in the north-east, south and west. Since then, the armed conflict had exposed its most devastating bombing and fiercest fighting in Aleppo, often in residential districts. Many spots in the city had become in the frontline of conflict.

At the end of July, the fighting has intensified and spread progressively to the historic city center. The city's UNESCO World Heritage site had become a contested land. In September 2012, a blaze in the ancient souk (Old Bazar) of the old city had happened after clashes in the vicinity (BBC, 2016). Plus, the whole city was split into two regions after the conflict begun in the urban city area, one part of the city was under the control

of the Syrian regime and the other one under the control of the Free Syrian army; armed rebels, and number of militias. In 2017 December, the Syrian regime had taken back the control of the sixty percent of the city. Those neighborhoods were mostly slums, except the areas belonging to the historic city. Today most of those neighborhoods are not inhabited by people due to their lack of services and damages caused to the infrastructure, particularly the part of the city bounded by the city walls. The infrastructure of the old city had damaged dramatically, electricity and underground water network, in addition to other fundamental services in the center of the city (the part within the historic walls and the region surrounding it). Some repair works have begun in the damaged and abounded neighborhoods recently organized by the municipality as a way to bring the life back to those neighborhoods.

The photograph down below was taken on July 22, 2017 shows the destruction at the site of the ancient Grand Mosque of Aleppo, after the recapture of the whole city by the governmental forces in December 2016. In April 2013 the Great Mosque's 11th century minaret was bombed (BBC, 2016). The location of the destroyed minaret is on the right corner of the mosque's building (Darke, 2018) Once Aleppo's inhabitants returned to the Old city, some restoration and reconstruction of houses and shops have started to take place in the old city.

Figure 4.7: The destruction of the Grand Mosque of Aleppo

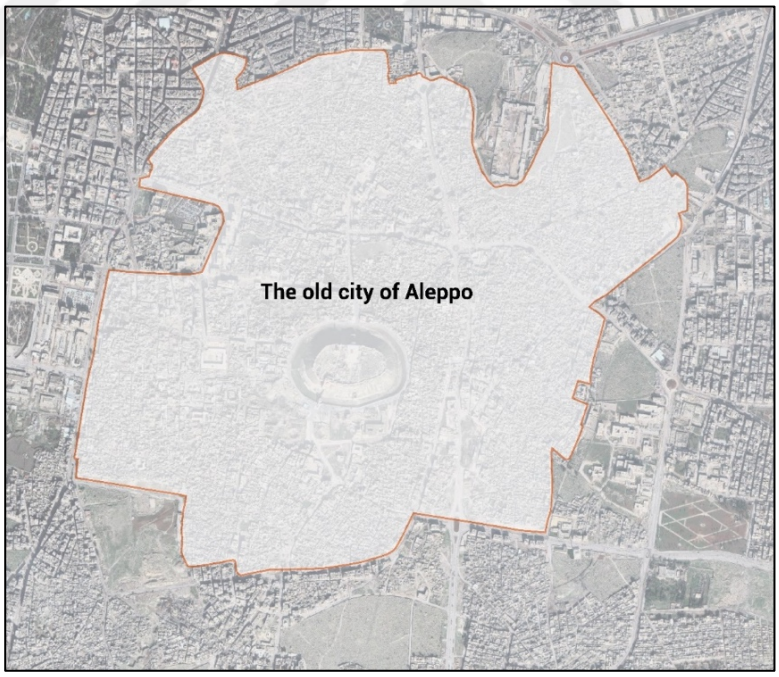
Source: https://www.thenational.ae/world/mena/is-reconstruction-of-aleppo-s-grand-mosque whitewashing-history-1.728715

These works were done by locals using available materials due to expensive and scarce traditional construction materials. The Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums (DGAM) wasn't able to control all the restoration work in the city, because the lack of local stuff and difficult coordination with other stakeholders (UNESCO, 2017). national steering Committee for the Restoration of the Ancient City of Aleppo headed by the Ministry of Culture and represented by the DGAM, has been established. It is composed of the Ministry of Public Works, the Ministry of Housing, the Ministry of Tourism, plus experts in the field of archeology and restoration, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC), the Syrian Trust for Development and representatives from the local communities. The first meeting on July 2017, this committee discussed logistical and financial details regarding restoration works and identified priorities and needs (archnet.org).

4.5 THE CASE STUDY AREA (THE LIMIT OF THE STUDY).

The city of Aleppo is Syria's second largest city, having a distinctive urban fabric. The ancient site of the city, the slums, the modern and contemporary, all of which interlock to create one urban tissue full of contradiction between the old and new, the organized and chaos. The study has only focused on the historic site of Aleppo, taking the part which is considered a UNESCO World Heritage Site as the case study for this research. Focusing on only the historic site of Aleppo was mainly because most of the townspeople would have memories of this part of the city, since almost everyone who's living in the city whether in the old or new districts had visited the old Aleppo, or perhaps lived and worked there. The map below shows the boarder of the old city (UNESCO World heritage Site), which is the district that has been focused on throughout the research. Everything beyond the shown boarder doesn't belong to the UNESCO site or the old city, which they are not studied in this research.

Figure 4.8: the site of the study.



4.5.1 Objectives and Research Questions

As the aim of the study is to question people of Aleppo in order to perceive their place-memory by recalling the historic city while they are away from home in exile. The survey is conducted for this study by face-to-face interviews with people of Aleppo who stay and live abroad since 2012. The survey questions designed to grasp information from participants with respect to demographic information, their memory of the city, and to find out the level of their attachment to the immediate surrounding and previous environment. The survey is done by two type of questions, in addition, people were asked to draw what they could re-call from the old city of Aleppo. The first type of questionnaire investigates demographic information of the participants, the place of the birth, age, and the educational background (see appendix A.1), as one of the aims of the questionnaire conducted in this research is to see participant's level of remembering from the old city of Aleppo. The second part of questionnaire is structured in the form of open-ended questions, in which they would provide the participants the freedom of expressing and explaining themselves, which is more or less like a narrative or a tale representing person's spatial experience of particular spots in the Old city. This group of questions were formed to inquire what people would recall of their city limited within the boarder of the old city. Some of the questions are purposed to investigate what people are remembering, in which, each question would have different characteristics and notions with regard to the collective memory of people, some are targeting to get feedback of what a person would re-call from a certain place with respect to the sensational experience, and architecture.

The third group of questions is formed to find out the level of place attachment of people to their present environment and their attachment to their home environment in Aleppo, most importantly, to see the continuity of memory in their daily life in the place where they currently live. Therefore, this group of questions bridges the satisfaction of individual to the current city of residence verses Aleppo, and how memory of Aleppo is still shaping the attachment in their immediate environment (see appendix A.1).

In addition to those questions, participants were asked to draw a sketch of what memory they recall of their city. This mental mapping aims to illustrate people's memories of Aleppo, with regard to places and buildings in the historic city district. This method of mental mapping has been chosen as a way to understand participant's memory of the spatial knowledge regarding the historic district of Aleppo. Besides the two types of questionnaire used in this study, this method has been incorporated in carrying out the survey. This mental mapping method is based on Kitchin (1994) interpretation of cognitive mapping, as a way to help understanding the direct experiences of people in their spatial setting in Aleppo in pre-war times, and detecting untold stories of the city.

4.5.2 Survey Group

The targeted group of people who are part of the survey are selected from different backgrounds in order to understand what each group of people would have memory(s) of the old city. Choosing the survey group is one significant aspect that was taken into consideration while conducting the research, as it was explained before. The first group of questions is meant to grasp the background of each participant, age, educational and occupation as significant predictors of how a person would respond to the second group of questions. Particularly, the educational background is important, because it would fundamentally indicate the interests of the person in the city's architecture and history, as well as social status and age. For example, architects due to their professional background would probably depict a strong image of the old city according to their responses to the survey questions, in comparison with other participants of different educational backgrounds, or even being educated or uneducated would affect as well.

On the other hand, people who lived or spent more time in the old districts of the city might show stronger place memory comparing with the ones who were living somewhere else in the city or not spending time there. At the same time, the age group would be relevant to indicate interests in the historic city, and to the strength of the bond the one would have with the old city, whether the person was born and lived there or lived there for a period of time.

There are many examples of research done on the collective memory of the city's inhabitants towards their city, and their attachment, particularly in the case of mobile individuals. One study by Lweicka (2008) who has focused on the case of two cities, the first in Poland and the second in Ukraine. One of the hypotheses (3) suggested that residence time, age, and education should be positively related to expressed interest in city history and city memory, and negatively to ethnic bias (Lewicka, 2008). On the other hand, the demographic variables were better predictors of expressed interest in city history in Wroclaw than in Lviv. The fact of being born in the city was negatively related to measures of place memory. Therefore, the people who were born in Lviv were less interested in the city history and people who were from older generations had less knowledge about city history than newcomers did or those recently settled in the city. On the other hand, in Wroclaw people of older city generations expressed less interest in city history (Lewicka, 2008).

The length of residence in the city is another factor which designates the level of place attachment of participants towards their city, clarified by the continuity of the memory from the previous environment in the current residence place, which means the more the people are attached to their past or previous environment, the stronger the memory they would have. In other words, stronger attachment means stronger memory of that place and vice versa.

Another research on Cyprus reveals the effect of age on place attachment, the conducted survey in this was meant to investigate the level of place attachment of the Turkish refugees in the Asağı Maraş in Northern Cyprus after the involuntary dislocation in 1974. The outcome of the research has shown that the majority of the young participants were more attached to their immediate environment than their parents did. At the same time, those participants assured that they would prefer to live in a district other than Asağı Maraş if they have the choice to do so due to political instability on the Island, which reveals that their bond is weaker with their current city of residence, despite the fact that they were born here, unlike their parents who have moved to Famagusta at an older age (Boğaç, 2006).

Despite the random selection of the participants, there have been different groups of people who participated in the survey in order to look at their memory of the city, these people were from different age groups, gender, and educational backgrounds, and all of them lived away from Aleppo and were living in the Aleppo in the pre-war times. Additionally, other conducted studies in the same field have contributed to developing the structure of the questionnaire, and selected participants (see table 5.1) (see appendix A.3)

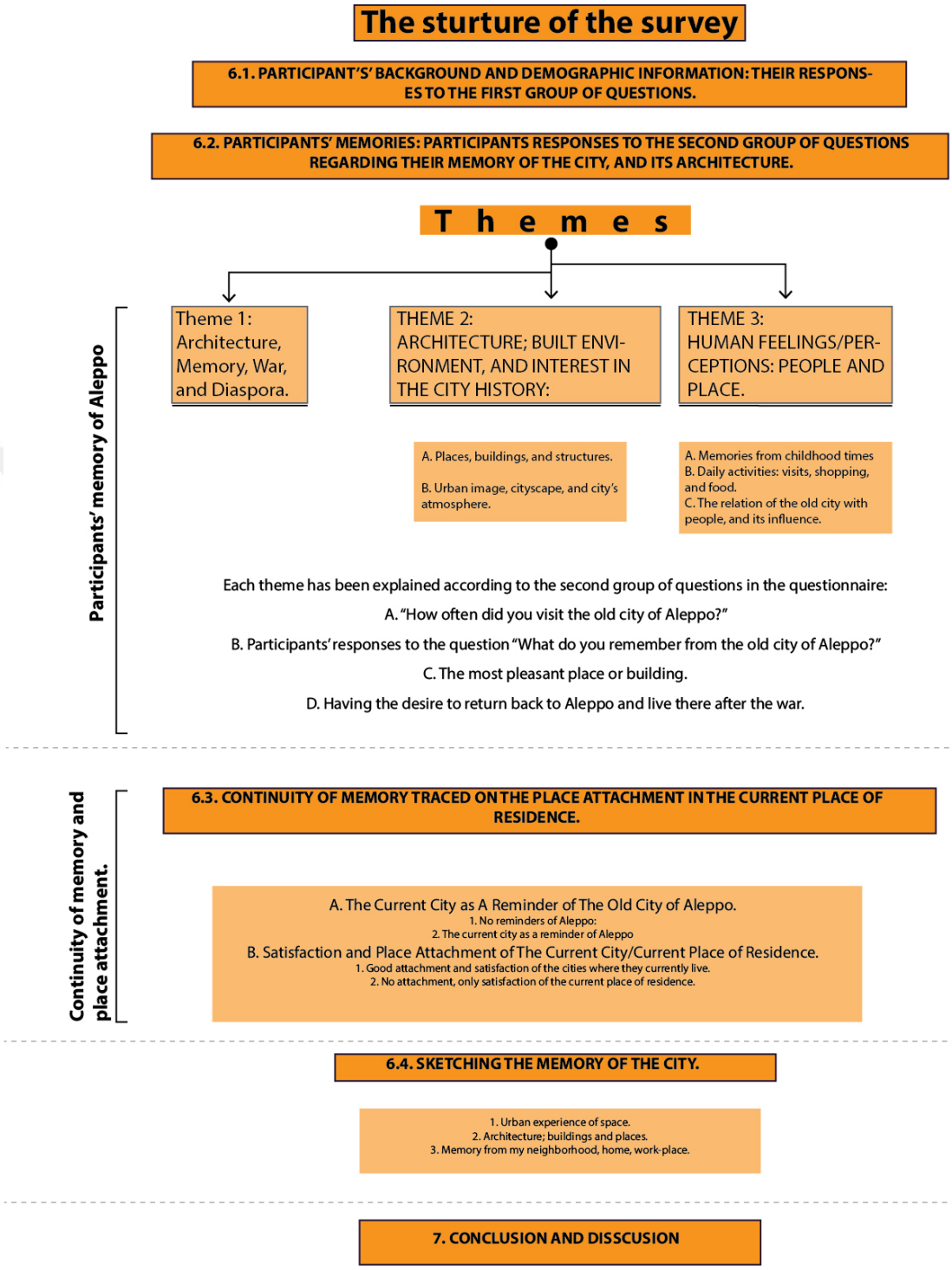
5. THE SURVEY

The methods of conducting the survey was explained in the previous chapter as a qualitative one replying on open-ended questions. The questionnaire is constituted of three groups of questions, each group is meant to gather certain aspects that encompass demographic information, people's memory of the city, and their place attachment. The survey was carried out between February 2019 until May 2019, covering a number of 20 people from different backgrounds. Some have been interviewed face-to-face: for the ones who live in Istanbul, and some were interviewed online. All the participates who were part of the survey have lived in Aleppo before the war, and left the city after the beginning of the armed conflict.

The survey and its findings are explained according to four main points (table #4), corresponding to the group of questions used throughout carrying out the survey, each point was meant to grasp certain aspects about participants' memories of the city. First, participants' background and demographic information. Second, participants memories of Aleppo. Third, continuity of memory traced on the place attachment in the current place of residence. the last one, is about sketching the memory of the city by participants (see table 5.1). All the participants' results have arranged in one table explaining each one's answer according to each question (see appendix A.4)

In the first part, only demographic information regarding the participants who have been part of this study is explained, in addition, to their occupation and other general information collected from them. In the second part which related to the second group of questions, is meant to gather people's memories of Aleppo which is explained and categorized in themes according to the form of memory participants have recalled, then each theme is divided into sub-themes, in which each one explains a certain aspect of the participants' recollections of the city's past. The third part does correspond to the third group of questions which aims to reveal the place attachment to the immediate environment with respect to the notion of memory. The last point, explains what people have sketched from their memory of Aleppo.

Table 5.1: the analysis of the survey.



5.1 PARTICIPANT'S' BACKGROUND AND DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

People from the various age groups were part of the survey conducted. The age of the participants ranged from 24 to 55 years old. In term of gender, it was almost an equal number for both genders. The majority of the participants have been in the age group between 24 to 30 years old and were so open to share memories, stories, and experiences they had in the ancient city of Aleppo. People who aged over 40 years old were mostly living and/or working in the ancient city and their memories were limited to relatives and showed more attachment to people than the city and its architecture. In term of educational background, almost all of the participants from the age group (24-30 years old) were architects; almost half of the total number of the participants, with some exceptions. This group of participants had an interest in the city's architecture, and history, having a sense of awareness of the city's cultural heritage by recalling details of many historical buildings and sites in this part of the city. Many of the participants have left the city between 2011-2012, and few of them have left the city after 2015, since the armed conflict in the old city of Aleppo has begun in the summer of 2012 continued until the very beginning of 2017.

A large number of people who have been interviewed were living in Istanbul, and others were scattered in different cities, Cairo, Hamburg, Barcelona, and Torino. All of the participants still have relatives in Aleppo, and most of them are living with their family members in the current place of residence, and some stay with friends for those age range between 23-30 years old.

Having a stable job and the good level of adaptation and appropriation to the immediate environment have impacted on the place attachment of the person to the city where they live now. Some of the participants who were between 24-30 years old don't have a stable job, either they are students, or working in a different profession after leaving Syria. This has reflected on their place attachment to their immediate environment, but this doesn't mean that dissatisfaction of the current place of residence was observed. Mostly they have shown a satisfaction of settling in the current city of residence (see appendix A.4).

5.2 PARTICIPANTS' MEMORIES

As it was explained previously the goal of the study is to question what people still remember from their hometown, Aleppo, the ancient city after they have been displaced from their homes. Therefore, in the process of recalling the city, the urban remainders like buildings, landmarks and artifacts are significant in the process of recalling the past of the city, besides, people are not expected to remember only the physical environment of their city, a smell, story, an image, a person, the tangible and intangible things are also important for people as well. Therefore, the five senses are involved in the spatial perception of any place. The diverse mentioned sensibilities would support and simulate the remembered memory of the city's past. Therefore, people have a fundamental position in rebuilding and restoring the memory of their city, particularly in the case of Aleppo where the material and immaterial aspects have been facing a systematic act of destruction. Framing the images of the city from people's memories would dramatically bring back how the urban life and the architectural/built environment was one day before the war.

In this section, the second group of questions will be explained, which has focused on place memory of people towards their city, Aleppo, depending on open-ended questions. The interview was like a flashback in person's memory of the city, many had shown an interaction with the survey's questions and some did not due to weak bond or connection with the Old City, or lack of awareness regarding the physical environment, or the cultural heritage of this site of the city. For some, their memory has been more or less linked with members of their family more than the physical environment of the city.

Participants have told many memories, stories of places where each one of them has worked, lived, spent time, or even passed by. Some had memories, and some did not have. For some, it has been hard to recall the things from the past, because they didn't want to recall memories and bring them to present. For others, memories and events were very vivid as if the person was recently there and didn't want to forget the past, and the city. The presence of those memories embedded in people's mind has been strengthened during the interviews. That's was based on a number of reasons. For most of the

participants, it was due to the influence of family members in developing the tie which they had with the Old city. While, for others, working in the Old City was the reason for the strong connection and attachment to the old city, or the presence of ‘Home’ in this part of the city.

Some of the general points observed when participants were asked about their memory of the city:

a. For many people the influence of family members had affected their tie with the old city too much, and some traces of their attachment to Aleppo is seen and observed in their current attachment.
b. A small number of people wanted to cut their attachment with Aleppo and forget all the memories that link them with the city, even with their past as individuals. For those, only some traces of the past are still attaching them with the city, and some sort of connections bridging the gap between people and Aleppo, like relatives, and home, not more.
c. Architecture and the physical environment of the city were significant in the act of recalling the past of the city. Historical buildings; landmarks, Old Bazar, public spaces, architectural elements, also neighborhoods, food; restaurants and cafés, and the atmosphere of the city as well. Mostly, what has been remembered by the person would strongly refer to the educational background and social status.
d. Memory, place attachment and the previous place of residence in Aleppo: whether living in the old city or in the new districts of the city, this didn’t really affect the relationship between the individual and the old site of the city, which in turn did not affect the person's place memory. In other words, some of the participants have lived in the residential neighborhoods of the old city and their memory was mostly unrelated to the physical environment of the city compared to the people who visit their relatives back in the days. Living in the historic part of the city didn’t mean that they would have a strong memory of the built environment.

The memory and tie participants had of the Aleppo refers to different themes. For some their memory was shaped by their interest in the city's architecture or built environment and history, while for others due to their family members who contributed in developing their bond with the old city, thus they had more memories of the city than others. At the same, for the ones who studied architecture, they had memories of the old city because of their educational background and few wanted to forget and not recall anything from their past. Therefore, the relationship with the city did differ from one group of participants to another. So, explaining the question of 'what participants have remembered from their city' is classified in three themes as the following:

A. Architecture, memory, war, and diaspora.
B. Architecture; built environment, and interest in the city's history.
    i. Places, buildings, and structures.
    ii. Urban image, cityscape, and city's atmosphere.
C. Human feelings/perceptions: people and place
    i. Memories from the childhood times.
    ii. Daily activities: visits, shopping, and food.
    iii. The relation of the old city with people, and its influence.

All the participant's responses have been classified according to these three themes to make the findings legible, showing the differences and similarities between the participants' memories, and what each has replied on in the act of recollection of the city's past (see table #3 and #4).

5.2.1 Theme 1: Architecture, Memory, War, And Diaspora

War was the dominant theme of the most participants' memories of Aleppo, therefore, for them the armed conflict was the event that had created a rupture in their memory and attachment to the city, leaving them immersed in this trauma and confusion. Their response when they were asked about their memory of Aleppo was relevant to the destruction, war, and their story of displacement, without mentioning anything specific

from the physical space of the city. On the other hand, other participants had only emphasized on the destruction in the physical environment of the city, explaining their perceptions and thoughts as city inhabitant's after witnessing the damage targeted their city. Therefore, this theme has been subdivided into two main points, one is related to the built environment of the city, and the other one is more related to their involuntary dislocation from the destructed city, and the loss of their relatives and friends.

The destruction conducted throughout the war was one of the aspects indicated by the participants while talking about their memories of old Aleppo. Therefore, they have mentioned the war in terms of material damage to the built environment of their city, and immaterial one which had infected them as the inhabitants of the city, obligating them to flee from their homes and city, and living the trauma of war. On the other hands, they were not asked directly about the war, but they have talked about it regarding their personal experience of what they have felt and what they have seen of hard conditions. At the same time, there have been other participants who haven't talked about war and destruction at all, and few who didn't want to remember.

One who expressed his feelings who was getting emotional and sensitive after what he has seen of the destructions in the old city:

> *"Everything makes you so sad. When we have been passing from one place in the Old city with no destruction and did not get bombed. We were getting this feeling of safety, and giving us some hope. Because there is something left" (Participant #08).*

City's inhabitants' thoughts of the ancient city were as an abandoned and destructed place, particularly, due to what they have seen in media, although, the harsh living conditions some people were so attached and still living there, as one said;

> *"If you watch the news you feel that it is a ghost city. But after the end of the armed conflict, we went to the Old City and we found people (of course not too many people) still living there, this gave me a lot of hope" (Participant #08).*

Another one has expressed his feelings after seeing the destruction in the ancient site by his eyes, saying;

"It was so difficult and sad when I saw the mosque damaged, and I was emotionally affected". (Participant #08).

Another one emphasized feeling regret of not visiting certain buildings and sites was what participant was upset about because she had the opportunity to go and see those buildings which most of them are damaged today:

"If there is something I regret for is when there is this city and everything was already there, I was saying to myself if I didn't have the chance to visit a certain place today one day I will go back there and I will walk in each alley of the city and take photos.....when my father was telling me there is a trip to visit that place in the Old City, I say it is fine we can visit it later, days are coming and now those days are gone. This thing touches my heart a lot because I haven't seen those places or buildings" (Participant #14).

One participant was constantly building a connection with the memory of certain places in his memory by following the news, he said:

"I always check the recent photographs of the historic buildings in the old city to see what has damaged and has not, and also to double-check the images in my memory of those buildings or places". (Participant #13).

"The massive destruction that took place in Aleppo has affected all of us" (participant #16).

Affirming the hope and willingness to be part of rebuilding the city after the war was one of the points few have talked about, as one of them said:

"The human has built this city and is able to reconstruct it the same city. We are only human so we can't rebuild a mountain. God has given us all the resources to build. So, we can't say the city won't be reconstructed again. But for sure it won't be the same as before" (Participant #13).

In other words, each participant had said something regarding the destruction of the city with respect to what one has perceived and felt, and talked about the memories they had in the ancient city of Aleppo, like places, buildings, and about times they shared with their relatives, also their daily activities. Therefore, they have also added what they think about this war and the damage caused to their city.

On the other hand, when a group of participants who are all females were asked about their memory of Aleppo, their immediate response was not linked with the built environment of the city, like historical and historic sites, buildings, or public spaces. Their memory of Aleppo was more or less embodied in war, and their story of displacement at the time when they left their 'homes'. None of them has been in the city after 2017. Few of them were affected emotionally when they have asked about Aleppo, and two of them cried during the interview. One of participants was a 53 years old woman who had lived in one of the neighborhoods in the old city. Her memory of Aleppo was the day she left her home, nothing before, the events of the armed conflict was mentioned or recalled by the person. Those circumstances of war before leaving her 'home' in 2012 was a threshold in her life. All of the things she recalled from pre-war times regarding the city were related to relatives she was visiting. This also applies to few women with a similar age and common background. The trauma of war in the country has shaped a barrier with the past for them, as the participant # 01 has mentioned regarding Aleppo:

> *"It is lamentable, the thing happened to our country, I don't want to go and see it destroyed, because we have spent our life there"*

The image she had of the city in her memory (also participant # 02,03,04,05) was the destruction caused by the armed conflict in the ancient city and the whole city in regard to their personal story of displacement. For this female group. Most of them have referred to destruction when they have asked about Aleppo, focusing on the city itself that everything is destructed there and there is no life there to live. As if the war hasn't only cleansed the architecture of the city, but also some people's memory of the physical environment.

One another participant who did not show any desire to remember anything from his past, or mostly he did not want to talk about the city that much. Based on that, he was one of those participants which war has traced a negative impact on him, making him grueling of recalling his memories in the city. As he said:

> *"For me, I don't like to remember, and when something comes to my mind, I try to get rid of it. I came here because of the war situation…...I am trying to cut my attachment with Aleppo*

and I am trying not to feel nostalgic to Syria. Without this linkage with my family, there isn't anything that means to me in Syria. I would go to Syria if I had the chance to see my family, otherwise I don't want to go there. Especially, in these difficult conditions" (participant #18).

To sum up, war and the conducted violence in the city of Aleppo was one prevailing aspect in the memory of some and not others, covering the intangible and intangible loss. Therefore, some participants' memories were embodied in war, the story of displacement, diaspora, trauma, and the built environment of the city. Thus, for those who testified and lived severe days of this war before leaving Aleppo, their act of remembering the built environment was always related to destruction caused by armed conflict, and the damages caused to their psychology as city inhabitants who had witnessed hard circumstances when they have fled their homes. As a result, the trauma of war was a threshold in their memory and life, in which all of the events which happened from the beginning of the conflict have dominated their act of remembering. In other words, it has become one layer of their collective memory of the city, which applies to the rest of the participants as well. What has been significant for some, was irrelevant to the architecture of the city, the historic buildings, places, and archeological sites, but it was the destruction that has taken a predominant space of their memory of Aleppo, and what is more and more important for some in their recollections of pre-war days was strengthened by their memories of friends and relatives. On the other hand, others have mentioned what their perceptions and thoughts of the vast destruction caused to the physical environment of the old city, those ones had interests in the city's architecture and history, so war wasn't the most dominant aspect of their memory of the past of the city. This reflects how participants' memories did differ from one group of people compared with another one, which was more or less dependent on the harshness of the circumstances the one has lived and suffered from.

5.2.2. Theme 2: Architecture; Built Environment, And Interest In The City History

As it has been explained previously, the survey tested participant's memory of the urban life of the city in the pre-war times and those who participated were coming from different backgrounds. The majority of them were architects who had an interest in the city's architecture, cultural heritage, history and other aspects regarding the intangible and tangible legacy of the city. A considerable number of all the participants were open to sharing their memoirs in the survey. Nevertheless, they had already spent time in the old city, at the same time they had an interest in the physical environment of the city. The fact that most of the participants have studied architecture was an important key fact contributed to their memory as the people who were born and lived in old Aleppo, noting that there were non-architects who had interest in the physical space of the city as well. Almost all of them have left Aleppo between 2011 and 2017 due to the increase of conflict and violence in the city.

Most of them did visit the ancient site of the city from time to time, each one was going to this part of the city for a certain purpose. Few of them worked in the ancient city, while others didn't. They have shown a high interest in the city's architecture and history and they have told the story of their memory explaining buildings and events.

This theme will be explained according to many subcategories of themes corresponding to the second group of questions, that explain participants' memories of the city. Each sub-theme is explained separately according to what a certain number of participants have responded to the same point. Both of the presented points represent the different forms of memories they had in their mind.

As one of the main aims is to review participants memory of the built environment, most of the participants in this group were able to remember buildings and places in the old city, in addition to certain details about each one, particularly, for the ones who had interest in architecture due to their study. Some recalled specific buildings because of their frequent visits to the old city, while others were more able to remember specific things in the physical environment due to their presence in this part of the city.

Working in the ancient city has shaped participant's memory of the city's built environment, one of them had worked in the documentation of damaged buildings and witnessed the destruction caused by the armed conflict, saying:

> *"I remember the wooden Mashrabiyas in Jdeydeh neighborhood and Al-Hatab square, it really had a rich cultural heritage, an indication of the old city. Also, I recall one time we went there to document the damages of one of the courtyard houses in Bab Al-Hadid neighborhood. We went down to the basement under the house and we walked through a long narrow corridor and the exist/end of this crypt was at a different house" (Participant #11).*

Being an architect was a motivating factor for some people to have strong memories of buildings and places in the city, which has also established strong connections with them, as one said:

> *"I liked the restoration of Al-Shaibani Madrassa, despite the fact, that this building is historic but for me, it was so spirited. It is a representation of the past in the present. When I go through the entrance of the building to the inner courtyard, it takes me back in time 300-400 years ago. The inner openings of the building were so characteristics. Plus, the stone material used for the flooring and walls". (Participant #08).*

Figure 5.1: Al-Shaibani School - Jalloum Area.

Source: Salah Maraashi photography, Facebook.

One of the participants has emphasized on a memory of mosque in Aleppo, connecting his memory of this mosque building with another one from the recent images he had in

mind of one of the mosques in Istanbul, which has strengthened his memory of that building in Aleppo, highlighting styles both buildings bear, saying: *"it is similar to the Blue Mosque in Istanbul because it had niches in the walls, the scale is smaller but similar style. The mosque had arcades bearing both of Ottoman and Levantine styles. Place of ablution was circular in the shape". (Participant #13).*

Landmarks and places like the Citadel of Aleppo has reminded the city's inhabitants of the past events and history illustrated strong images of them in their memory, which is still eligible in their recollections, without forgetting any:

> *"it was the most important attraction for me to visit this place. The special thing about that is the historical components that explain clearly the past history of the city. The citadel with the surrounded public square and old market, is a lovely place with stone used to give the strong impact of comfort and happiness that made me proud of my city" (Participant #07).*

> *"The special thing about that is the historical components that explain clearly the past history of the city. The Citadel with the surrounded public square and old market is a lovely place with stone used to give the strong impact of comfort and happiness that made me proud of my city" (participant #15).*

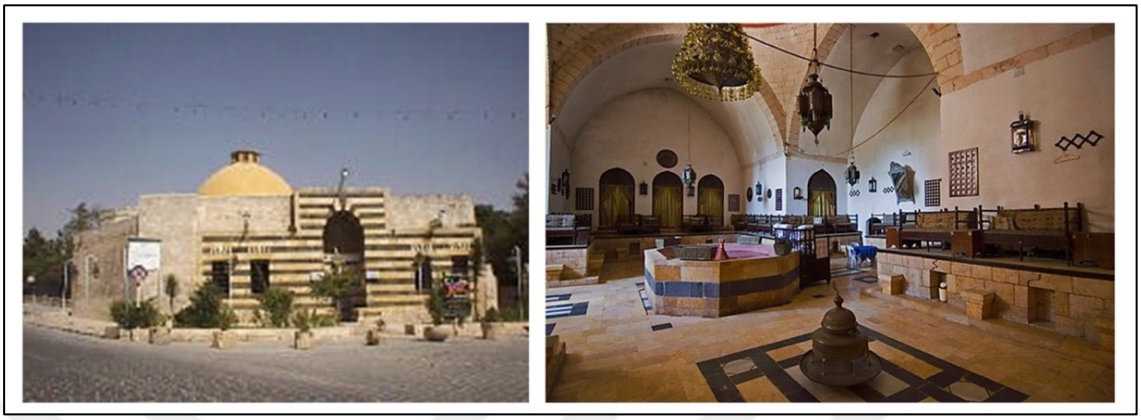
When precipitants have talked about Yalebougha bathhouse building, they have described its relationship with the surrounding physical space as one did, or by telling the spatial experience of one being there, depicting how interior spaces are interconnected together, and the special traditional name of each section in the building.

> *"I also remember the open space in front of Yalebougha bathhouse was so nice, and the bathhouse building was so distinctive one because it was a free-standing one (independent) and not surrounded by buildings like other bathhouses in the city (the participant has also talked about the sinuous circulation of the bathhouse) (Participant #08).*

> *"I visited this one long time ago, and I remember, entering the building, there was a fountain in the middle, and four platforms on the four sides of the central squared-shape space, and then you pass through a long and tight corridor goes to a smaller place than the previous one called al-wastani (the middle space), having a warmer temperature, then it goes to the*

inside which is called al-jwani which has a warm temperature. And it is the place where people bath, and there are small niches from this place, with low ceiling" (participant #06).

Figure 5.2: Yalbougha bathhouse



source: http://amateras.com/trip/syria/aleppo-e.htm

Depicting architectural elements of was the emphasis by one participant who talked about a historical governmental building in the old city, who said:

"*I can still describe things I remembered from this building that was catching my attention, like the characteristic staircases, and the proportion of the rooms inside the building, high ceilings. And then in the rooms of this building, the flooring finishing material had big pieces of stone which were as far as I remember 120 by 60cm". (participant #06).*

Memories that were remembered as a result of living for a long time in the old city, as one has explained his neighborhood by saying:

"which is near my house was a small one and had some shops (grocer, barber....), and I remember there has been a small cinema (in old days, in each neighborhood there was a place where spectacles were performing in this kind of cinema place, and they were mostly during Eid holiday). Also, there was a bathhouse in the same square" (participant #17).

This group of participants has all shown high interest in the physical environment of the city and its history, in which each one has mentioned a story of a building, place, or even the ancient city itself where one has worked or lived in the pre-war times. These memories were images of different spaces embedded in their mind, and these images illustrate the memory of each place mentioned by the participants' own spatial experience.

The urban life in the past urbanscape of the city was also part of the participant's memories, by telling their personal perceptions of certain spots in the city, including the city itself, places and sites, buildings, and structure. The recollections some participants had talked about regarding the physical space of the city, which was on the city scale; urban images, urban experiences, city silhouette, and the city's atmosphere. Therefore, some have talked about buildings and places in a specific way, and some have talked about only the city in general, and some from both the previous groups had told their memories regarding the city and its architecture.

One of the participants mentioned about the Citadel which were different perspectives and panoramic images of the city imprinted in her memory, adding, the many experiences she had in the Citadel, saying:

> *"the view towards the old Bazar when standing there and guessing the name of the historic buildings, what is that dome, what is that minaret? I remember this too much. other memories from the Citadel were from the structures under the ground in the Citadel, there was a stair going down to a big Ayubi cistern, it is really a different feeling, and also the well which had a spiral stair. Also, discovering the crypts, we did find many dead-ends corridors" (participant #14).*

Figure 5.3: The ancient city of Aleppo.

Source: Craig Jenkins.

Public space as a historic record or archive of the past events and history of the city which shaped the collective memory of the city, this is what one participant has drawn his memory of The Citadel and its periphery square, by saying: *"I remember the large square*

with palm trees that surrounded the citadel. This square gives the feeling of greatness recalling the historical stories regarding the citadel and the wars that happened. The stairs toward the citadel was very interesting to me because after getting up there you can have a breath-taking view for the whole city. In addition, I remember the old historical markets that surrounded the citadel area. The colorful fabrics and old metal and wooden products were always interesting to me" (participant #15).

Day after day, the silhouette and image of the city were imprinted in her mind gradually, in other words, overlapping those images of memory formed the silhouette of Aleppo in her memory by the time spent there, mentioning:

> *"Al-Fardous Madrasa when I was looking at this school from the Citadel I did feel as if it is in an oasis in the desert, covered with fog. Also, when I look north, there was the view of Jabel Al-Eizam cemetery, this was amazing me how there is a big cemetery like this one in the middle of the urban tissue. Not forgetting the domes of the old Bazar". (Participant #14)*

The architectural elements and details of the public spaces in the city have been the early fragments of experiencing and encountering spaces in the old city, adding the natural components as well, one has said:

> *"there was a drawing course and we did often go to the alleys in the Old city for hand-sketching…….Al-Hatab Square in Jdeydeh neighborhood, the vaults in the narrow alleys, the small Jasmine trees in Al-Sisi street and Beyt Al-Yasmine, those things I really remember" (Participant #14).*

Another participant who talked about Jdeydeh neighborhood in the old city, who also indicated certain elements in the public spaces, by saying:

> *"the warmness of the place provided by the characteristic type of stone with the natural green element of trees and Jasmine trees. In addition, the façade of the stores where they sell antiquities and traditional oriental textiles were catching my attention" (Participant #07).*

While other participant recalled the image of alleys in the old neighborhood of the city, saying:

"The allies in the old city of Aleppo are very intimate. All are identical (having the same soul) and possessing many styles simultaneously. and the dominant character is Levantine". (Participant #13).

5.2.3 Theme 3: Human Feelings/Perceptions: People And Place

The memories of the city's inhabitants of Aleppo wasn't only associated with the physical space of buildings and places in the city, participants have been also expressing the bonds which tie them with Aleppo. In other words, it is the human relationship with places; an invisible emotional bond with the city. A number of participates have recalled daily activities and routines, as visiting the ancient site of Aleppo for the purpose of shopping, or going to restaurants and cafes. Thus, the physical space has also been influencing their memories, besides, people who shared with them the same memories back in the old days. Regarding that, many told childhood memories which encompassed initial images of the city imprinted in their mind, recollecting those images from an early age had made them delighted and cheerful while telling them.

Therefore, as it was expected at the beginning of the research, people would talk about their personal life, their feelings while being in the city, remembering someone, feeling nostalgic to someone, also, their spatial experiences. In other words, expressing their attachment which was what some people tended to talk about regarding their memory, by expressing their relationship with the city itself rather than describing a certain place or buildings.

This theme was subdivided into different points according to what each group of participants has recalled and expressed, the emotional bonds they had and still have with the city. The three points are: Memories from childhood times, Daily activities: visits, shopping, and food, and the relation of the ancient city with people, and its influence. All of which, revealed how and what participants put their feelings of Aleppo into words.

Childhood memories or as participants have called it ‘early memories’ of the ancient city were the first responses when they were asked about the old city, and before mentioning anything else of their memories of the city. These childhood memories were influenced and strengthened by close family members who contributed to developing the bond participants had with the old city. Each one has said something regarding a personal story or memory in the ancient city with the person who have shared the same memory with the participant at that moment of time. Some have talked about their childhood times in Aleppo when they first came to visit the ancient city or their tale of the usual visits to the old city.

Having a sense of exploring when being in the ancient city was what one participant got use to doing when he was a child, mentioned:

> *“My father was working in the Old city, and I was going with him to his working place. During that time, he was asking me to buy bread from the area next Bab-Antakia (one of the city’s wall gates). So, when I did bring the bread from the bakery next to Bab-Antakia at the beginning of the Old Bazar, I was going deep in the Bazar to discover and see more (my love to the place, the crowdedness of people, the ancientness of this place, it brings me back to the past). Some sections in the Old Bazar guides you to go through its narrow alleys; the smell precedes the vision” (Participant #08).*

As one participant explained his visit to the historic bathhouse in the ancient site of the city, saying

> *“I remember it was really an old looking place. Also, the wooden details of the ornaments. When we first entered that place there was a seating area on the right side and the fountain in the middle. Once you enter the bathhouse, they give you towels. Then, you go through other space inside the bathhouse which is so hot. There was a distinctive thing about the way they had been mixing the hot and cold water. In the end, after finishing we have eaten something in the bathhouse”. (Participant #10)*

Another one has talked about his experience of his Grandfather’s workshop (khan), saying:

> *“when I was a child, I didn’t know many things in the bazaar because I didn’t live there”,* the family working place was the first contact the participant had with the old city, adding his

> memory of the grandfather's workshop or as it's called Khas Al-Aswad near Bab Al-Jenian (a gate in the historic wall of the city) which belonged to his family, *"it had a big arch (as the ceiling) and used to store grains" (Participant #13).*

This was similar with other participants whose first contact with the ancient city was due to their frequent visits to the historic part of the city influenced by their family members, and the existence of workplace of the family in this part of the city.

For one participant building up the first connection with the city was when she had the first memory in the ancient city with her father, mentioning:

> *"There is one thing I remember the most from my childhood is my first visit to the* ancient *city which was my first contact with this place. That visit was with my father, and I was a child who had no idea about buildings. Mamluk Throne Hall (Kaet Al-Areshe) in the Citadel of Aleppo, full of ornaments, this is still is embedded in my mind. I think it was one of the motives made me start loving this place, and knowing about it more" (Participant 14#).*

A memory embedded in the traditions of the city and religion recalled by one participant when he was a child, was about the minarets in the city,

> *"the minarets of the mosques in Aleppo have mostly had a square shape, with the staircase inside them. And I remember when I was a child, the person who was getting up to the upper terrace of the minaret to do the Eizane (call for prayer), and moving from one side to another side to make the voice spreads to all the parts of the city" (participant #06).*

Before the war, most of the people get used to buying bread from the bakery place every day morning before going to their work, one of the participants has talked about his own story, saying:

> *"I still remember this habit (as Aleppines) we have of buying fresh bread everyday morning. I often went to the bakery every day's morning to buy the bread. Then, I return back home and to have breakfast with my family before anyone goes to work" (participant #16).*

One participant has mentioned a conventional habit still embedded in his early childhood memories of a traditional drink seller (sues; in English 'licorice drink') in the old city, the seller would come to any shop to bring this drink to the people working or gathering in a certain shop. After giving the drink and while leaving, he would mark the number of

drinks on the external wall of the shop for paying later. Simply, he did do that to not take the money immediately from the owner of the shop, so he will come later at the end of the month to pick up the payment (participant #20).

Figure 5.4: Street traditional drink seller (suse drink).

As a summary, the previous stories articulated people's memory of childhood times in the ancient city of Aleppo. This form of memory has been contributing significantly to developing their attachment to the city and constituting the very initial layers of their memories, some images were illustrating the physical space at certain spot in the city, or a daily activity that was part of the urban life of the city, or part of the routines the person get used to doing in the pre-war times. All of which, draw their memories of life in the landscape of the city back in the days. Although, many have talked about their memoirs regarding places and buildings when they were an early age, still, few have spoken about food being part of their daily activities.

Daily activities had been a significant impact on participants' memory of the city, or it might have been a way of inspiring them to recollect all of those memories they had from places and buildings where they were before. Those who related their memory with daily activities were from different backgrounds and ages. Almost half of the total number of participants were remembering the daily routines they used to do in the pre-war times.

those memories were bonded strongly with the physical environment from wherever they did go when they were living in the city, having a strong detailed image of the city in their mind. Others did have in mind only their purpose of visiting a certain place in the old city, and those visits were for the sake of; shopping, going restaurants or cafes, relatives and people. In this case, participants concentration on the built environment did exist but it was more related to their daily life activities, and spatial experiences simultaneously.

Remembering images of the Jdeydeh neighborhood was mainly related to daily routines of visiting that part of the city, highlighting the restaurants and describing the neighborhood, by saying:

> *"I remember the mashrabiya(s), stone paved and narrow streets in Jdeydeh neighborhood. It had many shops (commercial activities), and they had a random character. I mostly passed by this neighborhood, and the purpose was to visit two famous restaurants there. In addition, to one place where they sell 'spicies cake' (famous in Aleppo), the shop was so small and tight (around 10m) I still recall that place" (participant #09).*

One of the participants had enough time in his father's store to have clear images of that spot in the city, which contributed to establishing strong memories of the adjacent places of their shop where he had work:

> *"I was spending time there because I did go to my father's shop a lot. There is one narrow street on one side of the Great Mosque. I remember the restaurants and other shops on the opposite side of the Great Mosque. One of them was a Byte Arabi (courtyard house). After these two or three restaurants on the left side, you face one of the corner's mosques (the one has minaret). Then part of the Bazar starts (the part which is not roofed)" (participant #09) (see sketch #n).*

Many cultures have lived together in the Aleppo, and that was reflected in the urban life of the pre-war city, one participant has depicted the robust and lively relationship between the places in the city, as she explained her experience:

"I remember one place close to the square where they make wooden tombs (Caskets) in front of people, and whenever I pass by that place, I feel depressed. We did often go Abo Abdo al-fowal restaurant (a famous restaurant in Aleppo), and we were watching those coffins while eating. This square was really a nice place. I remember there was a painter standing in there once I have been there. I recall the stone benches, trees and the owners of the shops they were sitting in front of their shops socializing with each other, and playing Backgammon (tawla) on Bambo low chairs and tables. I also remember the smells of the shops there. Most of the people working in this neighborhood were mostly Armenians. Even when you are a native visiting this place you feel yourself a tourist. They did sell silver stuff. Even though I am a native I feel like a tourist when I go anywhere in the old city" (participant #09).

Experiencing the urban space in the city was a significant aspect many participants have talked about, as one said while being in one of the restaurants in front of the Citadel:

"The places in the ancient *city which remind me of food; The cafeterias and the restaurants near the citadel. As I remember there were some tents that shade the tables and no walls with a lot of plants and social seating, all the tables were so close to each other so you can hear other people talking and you can share conversations with some tourists" (participant #12).*

While for other it was the shopping experience, saying

"I would like to explain the experience of buying gifts and souvenirs from the old covered market. I like how the shops are distributed on left and right and how they were close to each other which offered an interesting experience of shopping" (participant #15).

The relation between the city and its inhabitants was one of the memory forms participants have talked about, they have expressed the emotional bonds they had with the city, how they were perceiving and feeling towards the city before the war, and what kind of bond each had with the old city. For each participant, the ancient city has meant something, in which the bond between the city and people was expressed differently from one to another.

For participant #10, he was affected by his father due to his frequent visits to his shop in the bazaar of Al-Madina. He said regarding himself being in the alleys of the roofed bazaar;

> *"The safety I feel when I walk there. This is one of the memories I can't forget which walking there and feeling safe at the same time. My impression of that atmosphere would be the people, crowdedness, and gatherings" (Participant #10).*

The ancient city has influenced the city's inhabitants life, their memories, and attachments, for one participant, it was a source of inspiration for him as an architect:

> *"The old city is the place attaches me with Aleppo. If I didn't visit the Old city, I don't think I will be successful in architecture. I learned a lot from traditional architecture. Now I am able to design and understand both of what is traditional and modern at the same time". (Participant #13).*

One of the interviewees has expressed the bond she had with the city interested, and the way she has been perceiving and sensing the city until she has become so much attached to the city, she mentioned:

> *"when I was walking I did judge and criticize what those people are doing, how they have no respect for the cultural heritage…..then I started to put myself in their position, their feelings of the heritage are distinctive……..because they live it every day" (Participant #14).*
>
> *"The first memories were dazzle, then affinity. Then my feeling of critical sense was so high. After that, which is my last stage when I started to understand the city through people living in it" (Participant #14).*
>
> *History is what ties us with the city, as one said: "our history is the thing connects me with Aleppo, the ancient city is the site links the present with the past" (Participant #08).*

The narrative of one participant's memory was telling the story of his family life in the city when they have been moving from one house to another, until the time of the armed conflict.

> *"I have grown up in our home in the old city, then we moved in 2001, and I started to feel nostalgic to the* ancient *city when we moved to our new house (in the outskirts). Although our new home was far from the Old City, we were coming to one of the mosques near Bab-Antakya Gate (it was really a small one, and I don't recall the name of it) to pray in Ramadan month. Plus, every week on Friday, we go to Al-Bakhety mosque, also to see our relatives*

who live close to this mosque (see sketch #n). This mosque has really a special essence and soul." (participant #16).

For some, they have illustrated the image of the city embedded in their memory, by recalling the atmosphere of the city and the moments of time when they have been once before. In particular, The Great Mosque of Aleppo was mentioned regarding the atmosphere of the city and its influence on them. The building, time of the day, the crowd of people, and the silhouette of the city, all together were shaping their memories of that moment, or as they called it 'the spirituality of the city',

"the atmosphere of the city during the sundown. Particularly, expressing the spirituality of the city while going to pray in The Great Mosque, people doing ablution, the birds in the sky, and the sunset (everything in that atmosphere)" (see sketch #n) (participant #10).

"There was a likable thing, we were eating in a restaurant next to Sabaa Al-Bahrat square. It was a very crowded one. After taking the food we go to the park in front of the mosque. The scenery of the Old City during the night was beautiful, everything is lighted up and the street of Al-Jamaa Al-Umawi. Parts of the Citadel were visible in the background and also lighted up and stunning" (participant #13).

These are the points that the participants have referred to regarding the link between them and their city. The sub-themes correspond to the participants' responses to the question "what do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?", they have talked about other aspects regarding this memory, but they also wanted to express themselves about their feelings that gravitate them towards their city, daily activities, and childhood memories. Thus, the city has a sort of influence on each individual's personal feelings differently. Most importantly, for some of the participants, social relations have left an impact on their memory of the city as well, affecting and contributing to developing the tie they had with the ancient city of Aleppo, and gradually made them spend more time there, and subsequently have more memories and stories of this part of the city. This influence of family members and friends has also developed their interest in the built environment, knowledge, and history of the old city.

Having desire to return back to Aleppo (attachment to Aleppo):

Most of the participants from all ages had shown a common answer regarding the desire to return to Aleppo and settle there after the war ends, or at least when the war conditions would reach a better stage of safety and security. Therefore, most people's responses were "I would like to return back, but “this depends on the conditions in Syria", so many of them want to return back and live there but this is more or less depending on how the war and security conditions are gone to be in Syria in the future. Some of them had responded negatively regarding the desire of going back and settling in Aleppo, because of many reasons such as, adapting to their current place of residence, and not having the intention to interrupt their current attachment with the new environment. Since they have spent time and energy to adapt themselves with the current place of residence, because of their jobs or having a stable life now. Few of them did not want to return back because of political and security reasons. Few said there is nothing left there, and there is nothing to return back for now or even when the conditions are better. Three of the participants have mentioned that they lost their homes in Aleppo, so nothing is left for them in Aleppo.

Some, among the architects have shown their distinctive intent and aim to return back to Aleppo because they wanted to share their experience and knowledge to help and contribute to the reconstruction of their city. As one of the participants has mentioned that this is not related to the war conditions if it will get better or be the same. The participant #13,#12,#8 have focused on the same point. One of them has added his opinion about returning back Aleppo with respect to his memories of the city, saying: *“letting the old nice memory remains the same is better than the revealing of the new destructed memory of the Old City... But if I will go there and I won’t do anything useful, I would keep the old nice memories in my mind. I see destroyed buildings on the internet, but since the person didn’t see the truth through his/her eyes. the person won’t believe that this building is destructed”.*

To sum up, participants’ attachment to Aleppo has differed from one to another depending on the person’s affective bond with the city, and the level or strength of their current attachment to the city and place of residence. The form of attachment had been different for some people, what ties connects them with Aleppo wasn’t only the city itself, rather,

their bonds were interpersonal, related to friends and relatives, as one said: *"We are more attached to our family members" (participant #20).* The city's inhabitants who had strong memory and attachment to Aleppo was irrelevant to their willingness of returning back to Aleppo. A small number of participants had shown so much attachment and nostalgic feelings to Aleppo, whether their parents or family members are still living in Aleppo or elsewhere.

5.3 CONTINUITY OF MEMORY TRACED ON THE PLACE ATTACHMENT IN THE CURRENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE:

This chapter discusses two main points which correspond to the third group of questions (see appendix #A.1), the first one is how participants perceive their current city of residence as a reminder of Aleppo, and the second one, reviews the level of place attachment of participants to their immediate environment, and how the continuity of memory in the current place of residence was reflected on their attachment. Based on that, the way people perceive their current city of residence is relevant to what extent they are attached to their immediate surrounding. In addition, the memories of the hometown Aleppo that are an active act of remembering while being in exile contributes to the level of attachment to the immediate and previous environment. On the other hand, their satisfaction with the current environment was irrelevant to their attachment to the country, city, and neighborhood.

The notion of observing the current city of residence as a reminder of Aleppo, and the presence of urban reminders is the first point explained in this chapter. Followed by the relation between memory and place attachment.

5.3.1 The Current City Of Residence As A Reminder Of The Ancient City Of Aleppo.

A considerable number of participants haven't perceived the current city of residence as a reminder of their hometown, difference in culture, tradition, architecture, and language were the main points emphasized by the participants. At the same time, these former mentioned differences were not seen by some as reasons for not perceiving any reminders in the physical space of their current city.

For the ones who live in Istanbul, the question was mostly answered by saying nothing in Istanbul would remind us of our city. (participants, #1, #2, #3, #4, #5, #9, #11, #17). As one of them was concerned about the cultural aspects, for him, although there are many similarities between Istanbul and Aleppo on different levels, they affirmed on the difference they find in people, culture, and language which have affected them in remembering Aleppo in their immediate environment, saying: *"everything here is different" (participant #17).*

For the ones who were living in Europe they didn't consider their cities as reminders of Aleppo at all, as they have pointed to the distinct history, culture, and architecture in both of Hamburg, Barcelona, and Torino. For one of the participants who has lived in Cairo for a long time before moving to Barcelona, he emphasized on saying that Barcelona didn't have the same impact on him as Cairo did.

Participant #10 mentioned one street in Cairo called Moaz Al-Din Al-Fatemy which did give him the same feelings of spirituality that he did feel in Aleppo, adding how the street or urban life of this quarter reminds him of Aleppo, not forgetting the language, and street signages, saying,

"it had really a big impact on me. The details of the ornaments on the facades of the mosques are stunning. This street I did feel it as if I am in Aleppo".

Hence, the interpretation of this relation between the two is the similarity in the architecture and culture between Egypt and Syria. The same thing applies to participant #07 who was living in Cairo as well.

On the other hand, other group of participants have seen their current city of residence as a strong reminder of Aleppo, pointing out to the places and buildings as reminders of Aleppo, which also build a link with Aleppo. Most of the participants who live in Istanbul have seen the city as a reminder of Aleppo. This has been mainly based on common history, culture, tradition, religion, environment, and architecture (buildings' styles). Those points built a connection for the participants in the process of reminding and getting similar feelings as if they are in Aleppo. Accordingly, the current city has been acting as a reminder for those people, emphasizing on living in a city where rich history and authenticity do exist.

The participants have mentioned places and buildings in Istanbul which give them this perception of being in Aleppo. Observing that people have pointed out streets and public places as reminders for them, also, the style of buildings as well. As one of the participants has mentioned a market place near Fatih Mosque which reminds him of Al-Madina (bazaar) and makes him feel as if he is there, saying: *"the soul of the space is exactly the same" (participant #13).* In addition, to Valens Aqueduct in Istanbul and some streets in Eminönü at the historic peninsula are considered reminders for him.

Regarding that, those participants who have agreed on Istanbul being a reminder of Aleppo have mentioned almost the same spots in Istanbul. Like Fatih neighborhood in the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul, the quarter of Valens Aqueduct, Sultan Ahmet neighborhood, the Grand Bazar, and the mosques because they are similar to the Ottoman examples in Aleppo. As one participant has mentioned, *"the historical buildings, the paved streets, and the experience of walking in the narrow allies" (participant #15*). Therefore, being in such places and experiencing them would remind them of Aleppo, and give them feel as if they are in Aleppo. Similarly, another one has considered Mısır Çarşısı as a reminder of Souk Al-Nahasin and Khan Al-Shouna in Aleppo, or as one of the participants has emphasized on the familiarity and similarity in the architectural

elements and the built environment in Fatih neighborhood of Istanbul when compared with Aleppo (participant #16)

5.3.2 satisfaction And Place Attachment Of The Current City/Current Place Of Residence

Some of the participants have shown strong bonds with their city of residence and some didn't, each one had their own perspective in their interpretation of place attachment to their surrounding whatever its nature.

For participants #08, #14, #10, #13, the presence of cultural heritage, authenticity, and common history had been a affecting substantially in strengthening place attachment with the current place of residence, as one said:

> *"I feel attached to Istanbul. I love Istanbul, not like other cities in Turkey. I like to live in cities that have a rich history and authentic. Like Spain, Morocco, Cairo, and Italy".*

At the same time, many didn't show a strong bond with their current city of residence, or neighborhood, or the house where they reside at the time of conducting the research, adding their satisfaction of settling in the current place of residence, in the neighborhood or city. Their unattachment has been based on unstable job conditions, congestion existing in a metropolitan city (for the ones living in Istanbul), social and cultural barriers.

> *As one participant who was satisfied with his current place of residence but not attached, said: "I am attached to people more than the place itself "(participant #12), which is similar to participants #20.*

One group of participants who were female, and living in Istanbul at the same neighborhood have adapted themselves to their immediate environment, although many difficulties have been faced by some when they have come to Istanbul and they still consider themselves as strangers. Most of them have been emphasizing on the existence of a large number of Syrians in their neighborhood as a cause of developing their attachment to their current neighborhood, and the connection with the city as well (participants, #1, #2, #3, #4, #5). For them, many Syrians living in the same neighborhood

contributed to their integration to this neighborhood and having a desire of not changing this neighborhood, and even the city itself.

Another participant who didn't feel attached to his current city of residence Istanbul due to his struggling in the integration process with the local Turkish community, was saying

> *"I don't know that much about Turkish culture and traditions, but I am satisfied in living here" (participant #11).*

In other words, Participant's attachment was more related to the cultural and social aspect in terms of ways in communicating with people in Istanbul where he lives, which has been reflected on the level of his place attachment to the city. On the other hand, one of the participants who had Turkish origins and came to Istanbul in 2011 due to the armed conflict in Aleppo, said:

> *"since we have the Turkish citizenship because of my grandmother, we were coming to Turkey before from time to time. So, it wasn't too different for us when we have settled in Istanbul. At the same time, we still feel strangers until today, but we are satisfied with our living in the city" (participant 17).*

So, for this person, even he was familiar with the country and culture, he and his family didn't feel integrated with the hosting community. In other words, the familiarity of lifestyle, history, environment, and atmosphere are the ones meant and contributed to the process of their attachment to the current city of residence, even if it is weak for this group of participants, but those points are the ones meant in their satisfaction of living in their cities of residence.

Looking at the two questions asked in the third group of questions, the one that is relevant to the presence of reminders in the current place or city of residence, and the other one about their attachment to their immediate environment, it was observed that, for almost all the interviewees, the degree of attachment did rely on their interpersonal relationships with the immediate surrounding, and other sociocultural issues. People that have been treating them as burdens slow their process of integrating with the local community, or their integration and adaptation with the immediate surrounding where they currently

reside. They also added familiarity in physical space which supported repairing or creating some participants' attachment to the current city or place of residence after the interruption exposed on their attachment to the homeland, Aleppo. On one hand, for some participants, observing urban reminders in the current city of residence has prompted and contributed to forming place attachment to the immediate settings. On the other hand, for others, observing urban reminders in the current physical environment had nothing to do with people's attachments to their current physical settings. Lastly, living in a city having a similar cultural, language, lifestyle, and architecture was associated with seeing the current city as a reminder of Aleppo for some participants.

5.4 SKETCHING THE MEMORY OF THE CITY.

The fourth section in this study has intended to review people's memory of the city by asking them to sketch it, tracing how the past landscape of the city and urban life are shaped in their memories. The act of remembering in this method is completing what was asked in the previous group of questions, regarding their memories and attachments. This question was optional because not everyone was able to draw, therefore, only a certain number of them have completed 'sketching the memory' question. Each interviewee has responded differently to this question, sketching something relevant to what one has mentioned during the narrative, telling their memories and stories. The strength of the memory did differ from one to another, thus, their sketches have corresponded to what they have told when they were asked about their memories of the Aleppo.

Participants had described their urban experiences in the places where they have been in the pre-war times, most of them had only focused on one spot in the city, building, neighborhood, or one specific place which means something personal for each. Those memories they did sketch were mostly maps or perspectives illustrating certain aspects about each building(s) or place(s). This method has been a useful tool to understand more

about their perception of the city, which was also a way that allowed some participants to express their memories more.

Some participates have expressed their urban experience of the public space, like as two depicted the periphery area surrounding the Citadel of Aleppo, mentioning what buildings they have known, visited, liked, and still remember. Sketch 01 and Sketch 02 were from the same spot in the city, two participants did draw and explain their personal experiences of that place, and what was interesting for them in this part of the city. The sketches provided a glimpse of that part of the city's landscape and how locals spend their time there.

Figure 5.5: Sketch 01

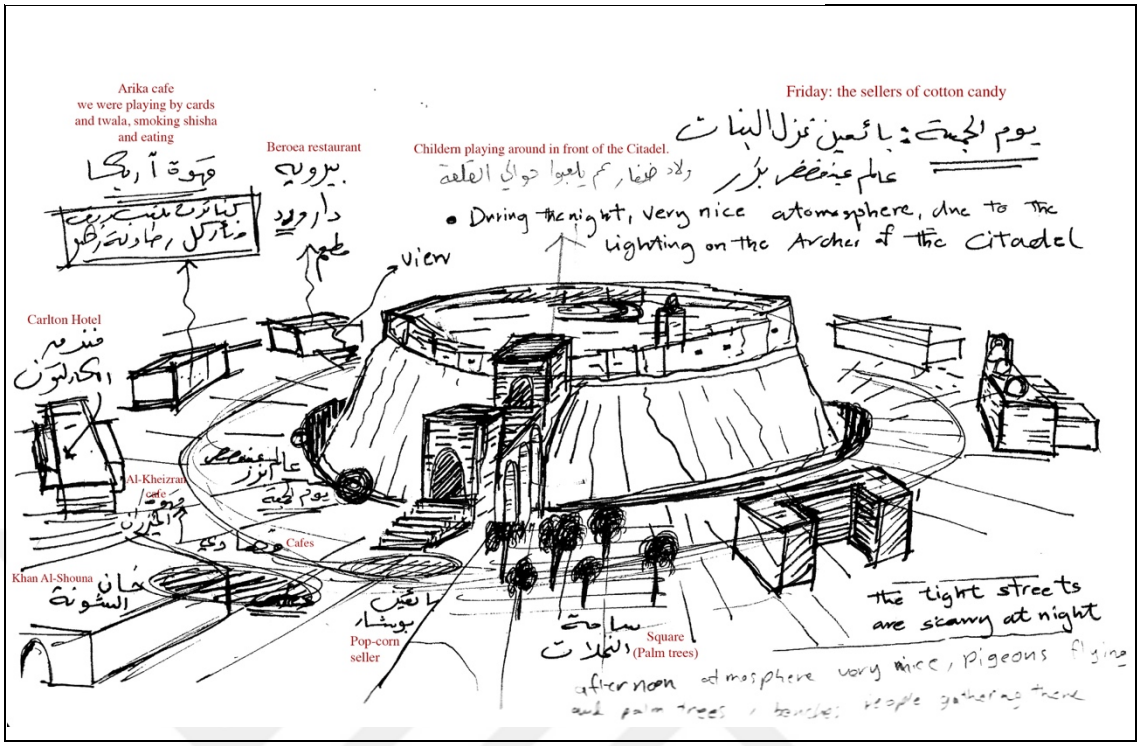
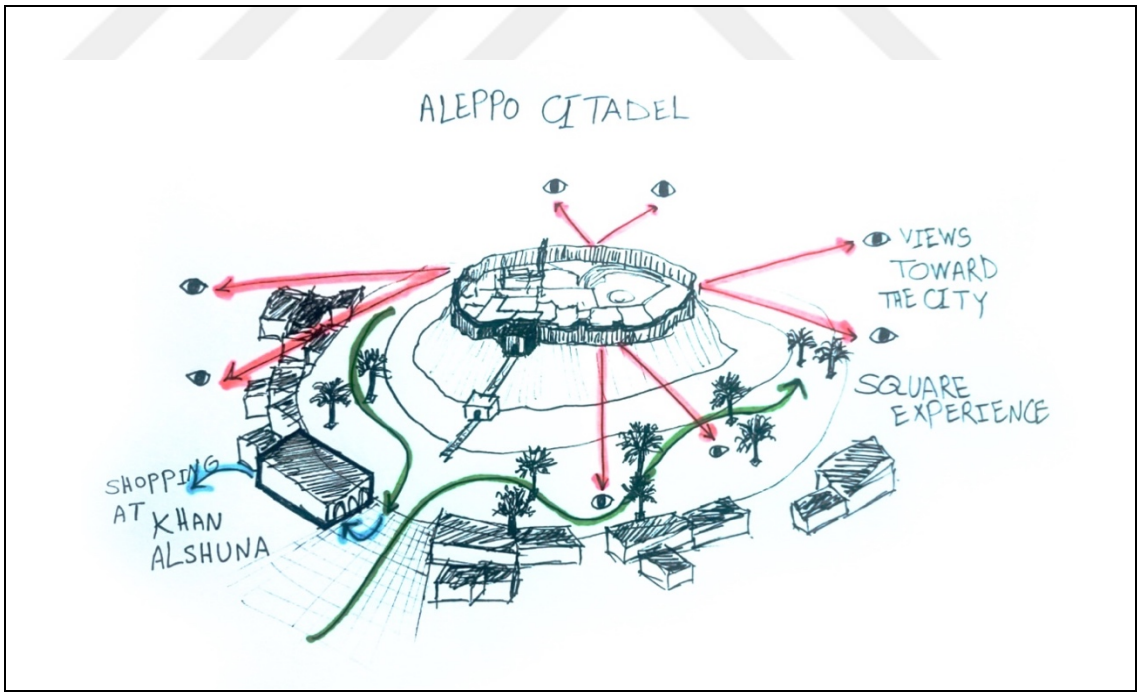


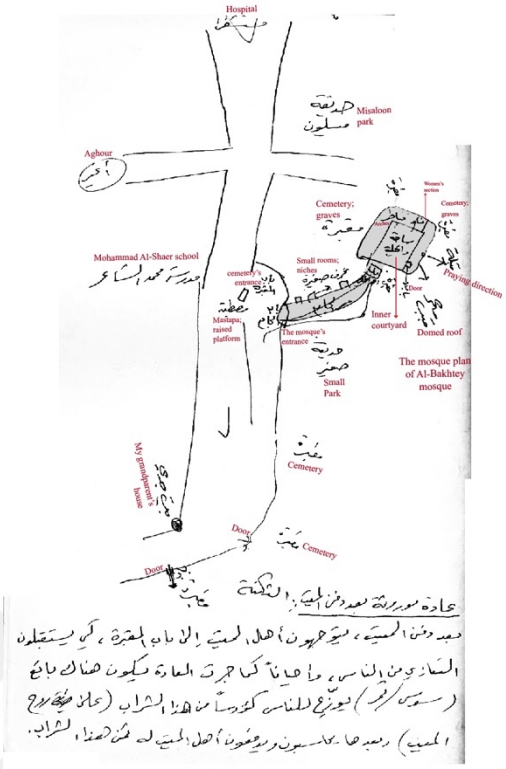
Figure 5.6: sketch 02



On the other hand, depicting certain buildings in the ancient city was what some participants have responded when they were asked about sketching their memories, thus, they wanted to draw and describe what they still remember from those buildings and the physical space surrounding them. Sketch 03 shows one participant's memory of a historical mosque building in a big cemetery in the ancient city called 'Jabel Al-Eizam'. The participant had a very strong image of the building in his mind and was able to sketch a schematic plan describing what each space of the mosque was for, adding details of the interior spaces. He said: *"The mosque has really a special essence and soul"*. He used to go with his father on Friday prayers and meet with his uncles. In addition, he told a story of people in Aleppo who get used to doing, in a funeral, recalling the same thing from the open space in front of the mosque building. His frequent visits to the mosque were mainly because he wanted to see and socialize with his relatives there after Friday's pray or in Ramadan, those visits have imprinted a strong image of the building in his memory.

On the other hand, others have focused on a number of buildings in the old city, describing their architectural elements, what special is about each, and a famous story about the building if there is (see sketch 04) or telling about the buildings and structures in the ancient city they have been visiting before the war (see sketch 05, and sketch 06). What they have expressed visually regarding their memoires of Aleppo have corresponded to what they have expalined of memoires, not that much different.

Figure 5.7: sketch 03



Inherited habit after the burial of the dead person
After the burial of of the dead person, the relatives of this person head to the entrance door of the cemtery in order to receive condolences. Sometimes as a usual thing, there is a seller of a Suse and Tamir Hindi (both are traditional drink), cups of these drinks get distrubted to people (for the soul of the dead person). After that, the family of the dead person pay for the seller.

Figure 5.8: sketch 04

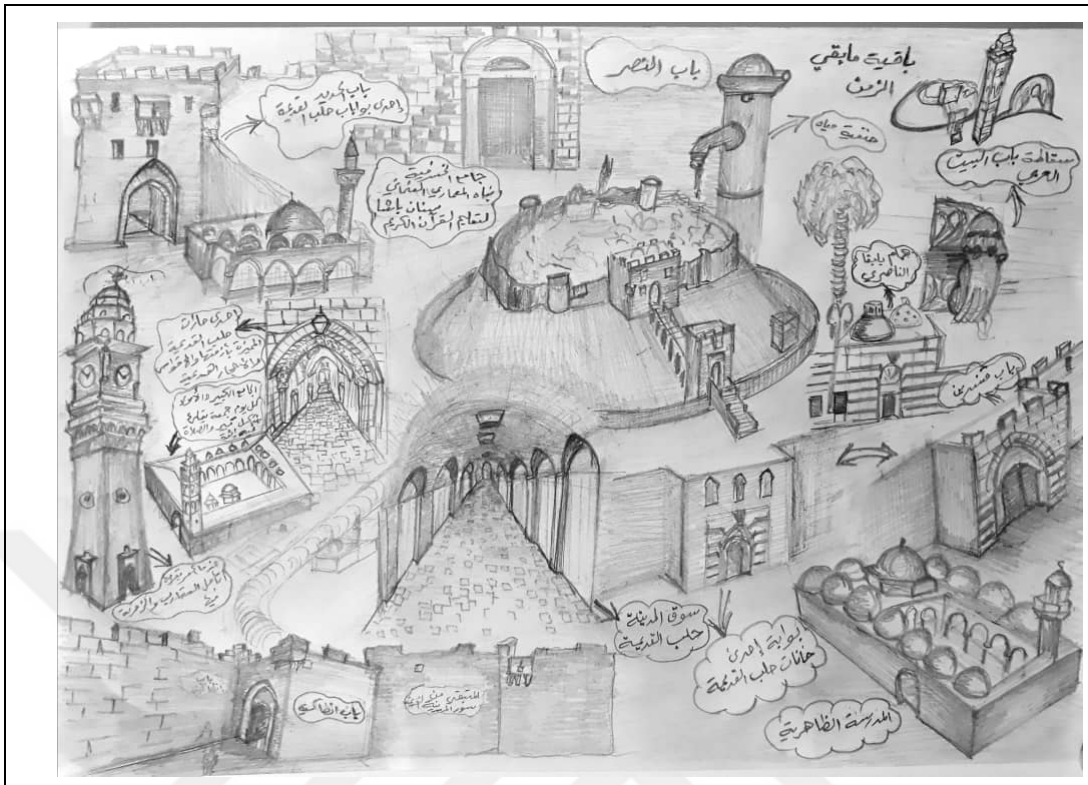
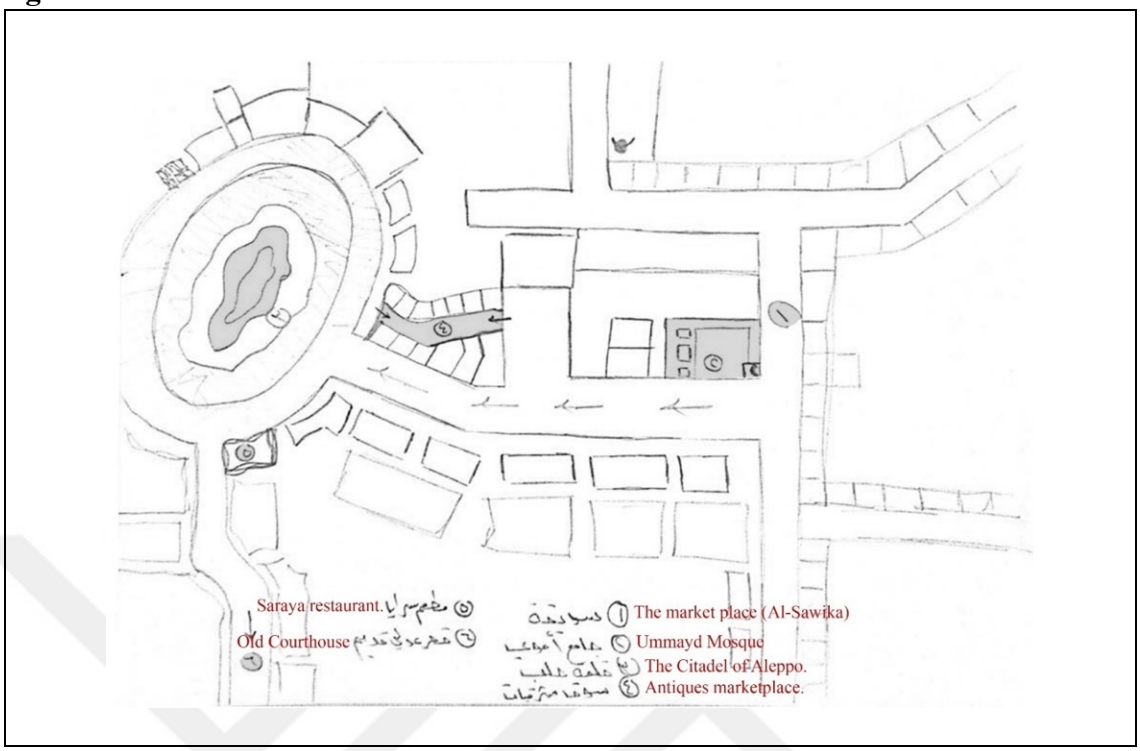


Figure 5.9: sketch 05

The participant's sketch of Jdeydeh neighbourhood in the old city of Aleppo.

Figure 5.10: sketch 06



For some participants, length of residence in a certain place in the ancient city of Aleppo had affected their memory too much, thus, the time they have spent there made them able to remember those places or buildings in detail after a long time after leaving the city, or working there for a period of time. Sketch 07 depicts one participant's memory of his neighborhood in the old city. The participant was able to sketch all the streets and buildings near his home and his father's store, although his family left that house a long time ago. Similarly, sketch 08 was done by another participant who worked for long period in his father's work-place, and was able to recall the nearby shops and restaurants, even he did remember one restaurant in details where the participant used to go there all the time and eat there. As in Sketch 09.

Figure 5.11: sketch 07

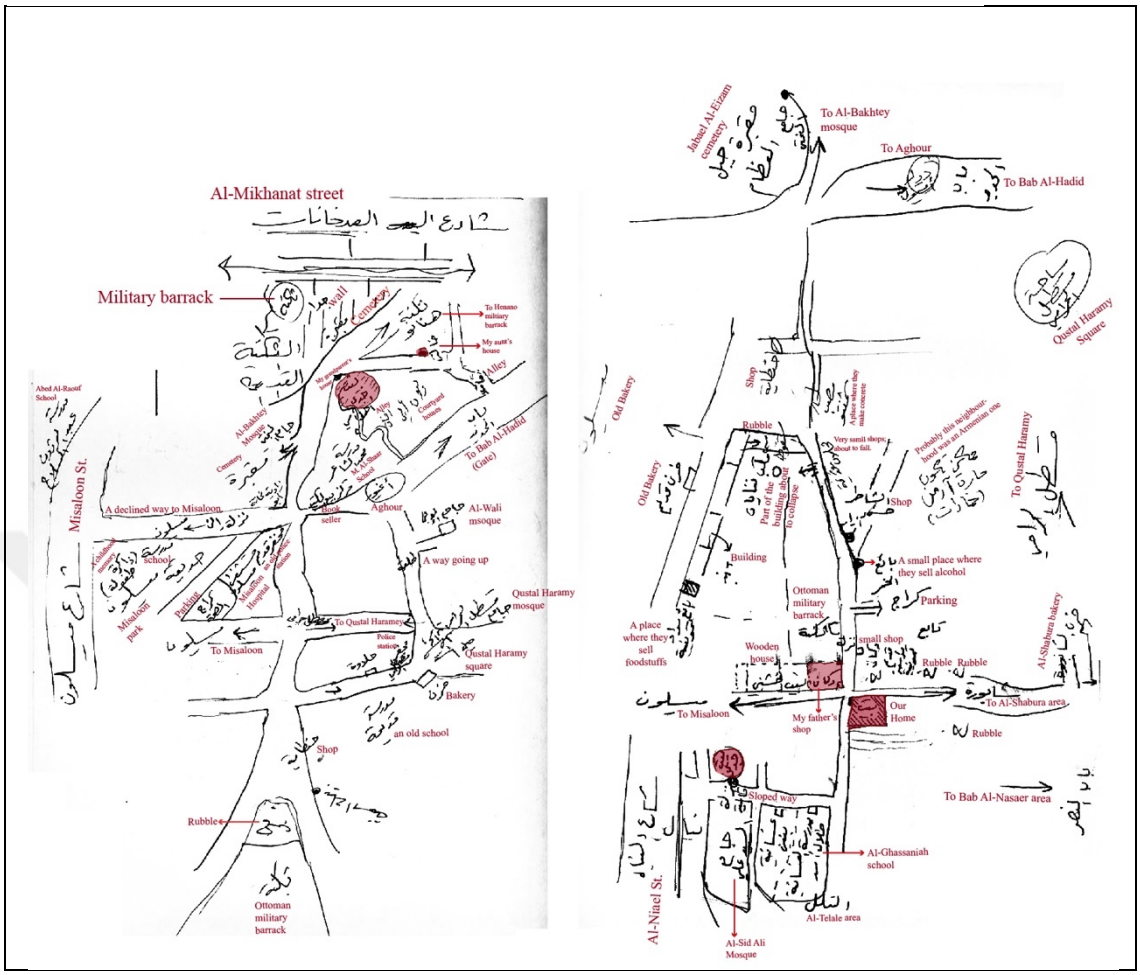


Figure 5.12: sketch 08

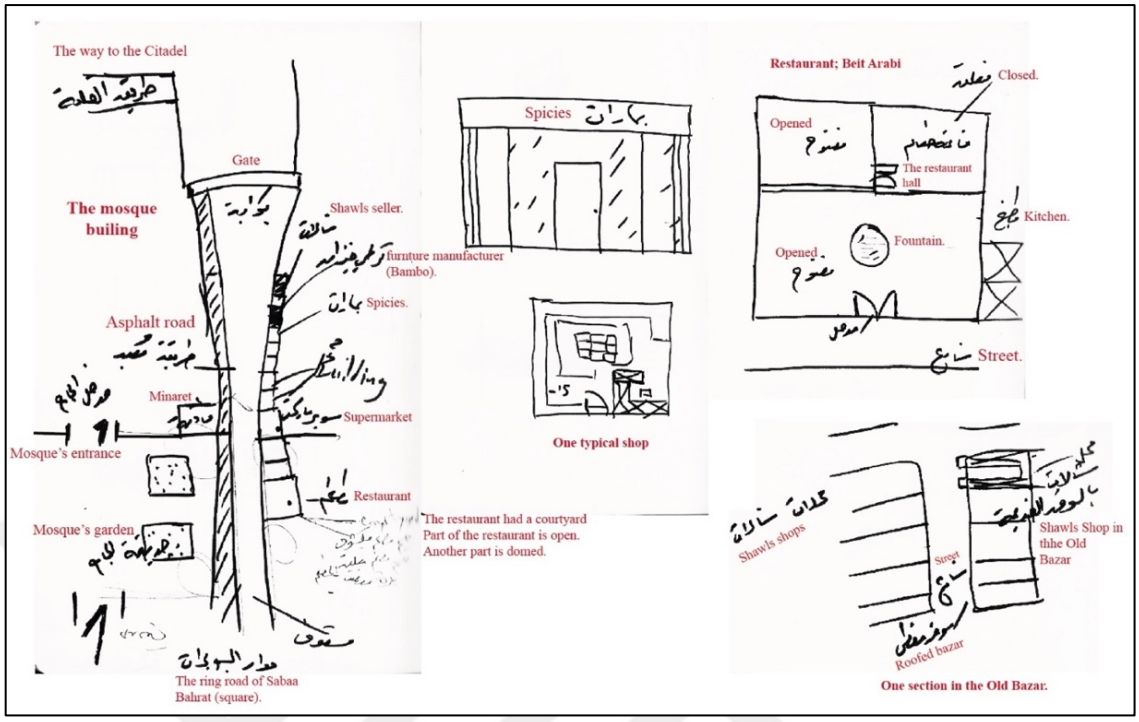


Figure 5.13: sketch 09

6. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The study aims to look at the memory of the city's inhabitants by questioning them about their place memory in order to perceive the urban life in the past landscape or the physical space of the pre-war city of Aleppo. As a way to depict the architecture or physical environment, personal stories relevant to people, and untold tales which all together draw the urban life, people have lived and experienced before the vast and severe damage the ancient city has witnessed. Besides, the influence of memory on shaping, repairing, and affecting the interrupted place attachment, people have developed is another aspect which was looked at. It was observed that some forms of place memory were strongly related to their present attachment to the immediate physical settings; the house, neighborhood, and the city, and related the previous attachment as well. The targeted group of the city's inhabitants were living in exile and were involutory fled from the city of Aleppo due to the escalating armed conflict in the city and county. The methods used to carry on the survey was a qualitative one as it was intensively presented in the former chapters. The study has shed light on the now ruined buildings of the ancient site of Aleppo which is considered a UNESCO world heritage site. The urban fabric of this part of the city was damaged intensively due to the armed conflict, which bears a highly tangible and intangible cultural values, and architecture which goes back to different eras.

People who have participated in the survey were from 23 to 65 years old, noting that people from the younger age group were so open to sharing their memories, personal stories, and spatial experiences of the physical space of the city. Those memories they have told during the interviews were all related to the ancient city of Aleppo, none has mentioned other quarters in the city. Almost all the participants still have a considerable number of relatives and friends who still live in Aleppo, which strengthened some participants' attachments to Aleppo, while others' attachment to Aleppo was not affected by this aspect.

Some participants have shown less attachment, because they didn't reveal a willingness to interrupt their current place attachment and return back, due to the intensive efforts to

repairing their current attachments by developing transnational ties and creating new memoires in the new place. This phase would be named as an adapting one (Fullilove, 2014; Greene et al., 2011, p. 410); learning a new language, find a job and shelter, adapt to the new surroundings. As a result, for some learning the language was an obstacle to integrate with the local community and adapt with the immediate settings, still not mastering the language didn't prevent them of finding a job. Regarding that, Brown and Perkins (1992) have articulated how place attachment develops slowly and could be disrupted quickly, creating a long-term phase of treating the loss, and repairing it. As one group of females has affirmed the obstacles and difficulties were facing them when first moved to the new place, who had no help with day-to-day activities, and emotional support. In short, their current attachment to the immediate setting was pertinent with sociocultural factors which traced an influence on their integration with the local community, and adaptation with the current place of residence. As a result, social relationships and presence of Syrians in the neighborhood have contributed to develop a sense of belonging. This would relate to the case of Turkish immigrants in Aşağı Maraş, in Northern Cyprus. Boğaç (2006) had resulted that the young participants had enough time to get used to their current environment during their childhood, which strengthened their attachment to Aşağı Maraş, comparing with their parents of first generation who had less attachment, due to their strong connections with Paphos where they spent their childhood.

On the other hand, attachment to Aleppo was still active for all age groups, but for some the on-going unstable and unpredictable conditions taking place in Syria, or the loss of home in Aleppo, were causes of no desire to return for the time being. For all, the affective bond embodies and shapes the relationship with Aleppo differed from one to another, in which its consistency and richness was affected by diverse factors and aspects. To bring the two ends, the attachment to Aleppo seemed to be stronger, when compared with the attachment to the immediate environment, although many have shown a high attachment to the current city of residence, still, they are also attached to Aleppo. This brings the concept of attachment to multiple places among mobile individuals, by Gustafson (2014).

His migration research had a transnational perspective, which contradicts traditional understandings about migration as a single mobility event, who assumed that migrants due to their mobility, "are able to handle double or multiple belonging and combine new and old attachment to places with transnational ties" (Gustafson, 2014; Christensen & Jensen, 2011, p. 153). This would coincide with the case of Aleppine people in the present study.

On the other hand, perceiving the current city of residence as a reminder of Aleppo corresponded and related to the resemblance and familiarity in culture, tradition, language, lifestyle, history, and architecture. Consequently, when seeing the city as a reminder, participants have pointed to the feelings they get as if they are in Aleppo when seeing or being in that building or place in the city where they reside. Plus, when someone was remembering a certain place in Aleppo, the person would relate to a familiar building in the current city of residence. This would tell how Aleppo was acting as a reference in their mind when seeing or being in a new place, wherever the city they live or go. It resulted that for many, observing the city as a reminder had indicated and controlled the level of their present attachments and bonds with their immediate settings.

As a result, for many, familiarity in the immediate environment have contributed to their attachment to the new place. As Lewicka (2008) cited, "places remember and they do it through their monuments, architectural style of their buildings, inscriptions on walls, etc. (Lweicka, 2008; Hayden, 1997). The point here is those traces embodied in the built environment function as 'urban reminders' for people who reside in the same city. Another important note regarding that; for some of the participants who were living in the same city, personal perception was distinguishing how some people have seen many urban reminders, while others did not. On the other hand, the satisfaction of current place of residence wasn't correlated to their attachments, rather, they have shown satisfaction or contentment towards their city of residence where they settle, whether they are attached or not. Similarly, observing and recognizing the current city of residence as a reminder of Aleppo didn't trace any impact on their contentment of the current city and place of residence.

The act of remembering the past of the city encompassed what is tangible, represented by urban reminders; places, buildings, and artifacts, and the intangible, when the memory of the city was about people's stories of the past in certain places or building. At the same time, some participants have talked about loved ones when expressing their memoires of a certain place. Most of them, when they have talked about a place, they were telling about people accompanying them, and the time when they have been there. This would strongly relate to Pallasmaa's (2012) interpretation of the act of remembering, suggesting that the recollections we recall are situational and spatialized memoires, that is why when someone remembers a depicted object, person, or event, the individual will try to recall it in its full spatial reality.

The reminiscences people had from the city's past were sub-divided into themes and sub-themes due to the distinct forms of memories participants had talked about. Hence, not all the participants have talked about the same thing, each has emphasized certain aspects regarding the memory one still recall from the city, or as they might be called themes of memories, thus, participants responses were categorized in order to be evaluated and interpreted, according to the following themes; architecture, memory, war, and diaspora, architecture; built environment, and interests in the city's history, and Human feelings/perceptions: people and place.

War had influenced the memory of displaced people who went through harsh circumstances, which constituted a threshold in their memory and life that made people think about two phases, before and after the crisis/war. For most of them, those who talked about conflict and war, they think Aleppo is the same as it has been when they left it, as if nothing has changed, including place and people. Once they talk about it, they tell all those family stories, their displacement story and the loss of loved ones, the destructed city, their feelings towards the entangled situation they live it today, the threats they encountered while living there, and their nostalgic feelings towards their 'homes'. In other words, the trauma of war and diaspora were the dominant themes in some people's memories. The collection of events relevant to war and violence have dominated their feelings and thoughts, affecting them psychologically on the way they remember, feel,

and think of Aleppo. Thus, when some interviewees were asked about their memory of the city, their reactions regarding the recalled images from their memories were not only embedded in the ancient sites, places, and buildings in the old city, rather, their recollection was a representation of their personal stories of dislocation and the bitter displacement consequences they live today.

Regarding that, a similar result was found by Gibbons (2017) who focused on the effects of cultural trauma on the future of the displaced Syrian people by looking at individual stories of loss, relocation, and change. According to Gibbons, those who talked about their memories regarding pre-war Syria, they remembered it as the "paradise, filled with sunshine, friends family, home…The memories that people focus on and recount, are abstract, emotional connections. The smell of jasmine from a garden, sitting under peach trees, drinking tea". None of the interviewees Gibbons has spoken have recalled or missed the Roman ruins, architecture, or ancient works of art, rather, people were missing their homes, adding the predominated theme of some people's memories who focused on present feelings of discomfort and fear. That would also build a connection with the group of females mentioned before who focused on their harsh displacement life, and nothing regarding the architecture and history of Aleppo. Even, for those who recalled and depicted images of the wrecked down physical spaces of the city, still, the predominant or revealing themes of their memories are affected by war conditions they lived and still influenced by, as one said:

> *" When you go there mostly everything is destroyed, which will destroy all the links you have with this place. Destroyed buildings the first link is fallen down. Some people have died some other links are fallen down as well. So, when I go Aleppo, and for example, I go to my grandfather's home, but the home is not existing anymore, the furniture, the people, even the old clock we have at our home we attach meaning to it and it connects us with our home is not there. The telephone at our home. Thank god, we can forget as human, and we still feel nostalgic sometimes" (participant #13)*

On the other hand, the reminiscence/recollections of participants embodied in the architecture, urban life in the past landscape, and history of the city were often associated to the physical spaces in the old city. Therefore, they were describing buildings and places

regarding their spatial personal experiences in their memories. Most of them, had interests in the built environment, history, and cultural heritage, which all were significant in performing the act of remembering. Pxlaces and buildings were described by participants, where they had worked, lived, or visited. The narrative of describing the memory was more or less blurred and fragmented images of memories or detailed ones of a specific building or place, the outlined images still imprinted in their minds. Most probably, what was remembered were the remnants and traces of memories left to the present day of the city's past. As Pallasmaa (2012) described those remembered images appear gradually, piece by piece, from fragments of memory, it is no complete building, all of the remembered things might be remembered as fragments.

When people were reviving their memories of the city, not only specific building or place were mentioned, people described and explained scenes from the city's landscape; urban images, cityscape, and the atmosphere of the city. Or as they might be named patterns of memory: the building where one worked or went once, the experience and perception the person had while being in each spot at the same area; like remembering that moment of being in that space, memorizing the image of the city through the time spent, or the architectural elements and styles in the public spaces. In other words, the memories participants had from the built environment of the city would relate to the episodic autobiographical memory, this interpretation grew from the personal experiences and visual images which were narratively expressed by city's inhabitants from particular time and place. Consequently, the relation between architecture and episodic memory which are tied together in this study, affirmed by the recollections people had from their lifetime periods, and bits of their past.

The human feelings were one of the themes which demonstrate that place memory was associated with the idea of a people-place bond, or as this bond would be called 'invisible emotional bond' with the city. Daily activities and routines, childhood memories, and the form of ties people had with Aleppo, all of which, were what mostly people have reacted and replied when they talked about their memory of Aleppo, explaining their relationship with the city. Therefore, talking about personal life, feelings of being in the city, recalling

people with whom had been in the same place, were all rendered and framed people's place memory of Aleppo. Adding an important result, social relationships were so significant to strengthen people's memories and attachments and make them richer while they were in Aleppo. Thus, family members contributed strikingly to strengthen and develop the affective bond with the old city. All the memories under this theme have consisted of scenes from an individual's life, which is, in this case, would be postulated/assumed as a declarative episodic memory -autobiographical- illustrating their personal experiences in the historic Aleppo, combined with the place, time, and people. The memories participants have shared from their childhood times were early visits to the historic city, to a building or place, or for some, they have lived there. Hence, theoretically memories that concern childhood places are related to autobiographical memories– declarative episodic – and place-related memories which act as a source of personal identity and continuity (Lewicka, 2014; Cooper Marcus; 1992; Knez; 2006). In a similar manner, regarding memory and emotions, Pallasmaa (2012) has also pointed out how memory and emotions regarding architecture work together, attributing landscapes and buildings as memory devices, which amplify and evoke human emotions.

On the other hand, daily activities and routines people have recalled to the present have represented the form of attachment to the city, reflected on their place memory. This form of memory from every day's routines was correlated and being part of the physical spaces in the city. The recollections of stories people have recalled from their memories described different places in the city, they have visited or worked regarding their experiences and perceptions of architecture. The reminiscence which embodied the theme of the human feeling was directly related to the autobiographical memory concerning a set of personal experiences and events took place in the past landscape of the pre-war city of Aleppo. Those stories people have told during the interviews about their visits to a restaurant, store, that bathhouse where the person has been when was a child, or purchasing fresh bread early morning, have meant a lot for those people, after years passed, they recall those stories from the past and they feel nostalgic about the old days. Regarding that, autobiographical memory would support means of adapting to new places

which would also characterize mobile individuals (Lewicka, 2014). This could be interconnected with the targeted group in this study, thus nostalgic autobiographical memories may help to overcome spatial discontinuities (Lewicka, 2014; McAdams; 2008, Sedikides, Wildschut, Gaertner, Routledge, & Arndt, 2008). Which was true for Aleppine people in this study.

The previous thoughts clarify the continuity of memory in the exile or present place of residence in this case, and how memories from the city's past contribute to shaping their current place attachment. Related to that, Lewicka has attributed memory as a 'glue' which connect people to their places, suggesting that a conscious focus on the past may be "a successful means of restoring disrupted place continuity among mobile individuals" (Lweicka, 2014). On the other hand, this also would make sense with what Gibbons (2017) has also referred to, regarding memory, "individuals use memory as a tool, to help make sense of the situation they are in and place themselves in a larger narrative that connects the community to their history (Gibbons, 2017; Rebillard, 2012). Adding another research which studied the role of memory for refugees in exile, Naili (2009) had looked at the memory narratives of the peasant past of Palestine women who reside in Artas (Jordan), emphasizing on the role of memory of homeland in the life of refugees in exile. He agreed on how those women did "idealize the peasant past of their village and have extracted essential values from their past way of life to guide them in their lives in exile". He added the explanation of those values as, simplicity, contentment, and solidarity, which all have helped those women to overcome life's obstacles and displacement difficulties in exile. Accordingly, as it was mentioned before, for some participants, the presence of a big number of Syrians living in the same neighborhood or city, is an one aspect that made people attached, or more attached.

In this present study, what Aleppine people have recalled from their past wasn't only about the historic buildings or sites. It is not abstract or something happened in vacuum, rather, the emotional bonds they had with the city meant a lot for those people who live in exile. In other words, the recalled memories aren't only about the places where they have been once, it is about the correlation between people, place, and human memories.

Hence, architecture played a crucial role in Aleppine people memories of the city, in which, people tend to remember their stories in flashbacks, which cheer them up, and make them feel happiness.

To sum up, the people's collective memories have illustrated the visual past, architecture, history, landscape and urban life in the pre-war Aleppo. At the same time, by interpreting their strong memories, they would assert the unbreakable connections they had with their homeland, thus, the physical spaces in the city have traced unforgettable images, and bonds which in turn strengthened their place memory. However, when people were dislocated involuntarily and dispersed, they had to move to a total foreign environment and deal with their interrupted attachment. Homesickness, and unbearable feelings of displacement, consequently, new forms of memories have emerged like nostalgic memories, and people start to feel nostalgic to the old days, home, childhood, and the unforgettable time spent in the old city. At the same time, displaced people were in the process of perceiving familiar elements in the new place or environment, as a way to construct connections with the previous environment, and make what's unfamiliar familiar. People have been immersed in their physical displacement and being away from Aleppo for a long time, their place memory and strong attachment to the old city, are still vivid and active. Accordingly, a question about the loss of cultural heritage appears, tracing a long-term effect on the Syrian refugee population. This loss of architecture, art, and irreplaceable archaeology which all represent people's identity and heritage is an essential and important matter Syrians will be facing in the future, which was likewise argued by Gibbons (2017) who focused on losing Syrians their material culture, and cultural heritage, and the further negative influences of that.

Regarding that, it is hard to say if the severe destruction confronted the cultural tangible heritage in a historic city, did obliterate the inhabitants' memories or not, but it was observed that those memories from the past landscape help them in making sense of their presence in exile, besides, developing their current attachments. Additionally, for many, architecture and interests in history are significantly affective in restoring the forgotten past/memory of the city for the future. The unpredictable destruction in the ancient city

has demolished large areas in the urban fabric, and hundreds of torn down buildings, which erased some layers of the collective memory of the city. In other words, it is hard to predict how much that has affected Aleppine's collective memory of the city.

On the other hand, what was important for people other than talking about architecture, and war conditions, were their bond with the city, embodied in their childhood memories. Feelings they had while being in certain spots in the city, and daily activities, all of which have shaped and influenced the most their place memory of Aleppo, keeping a strong attachment with the city while in exile. For them, returning back to Aleppo did seem possible, but the unstable war conditions create barriers for returning. Although, some had said there is nothing there to return for, others still having in mind a ‘paradise-like image of Aleppo'.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A.1 The Questionnaire Conducted In The Survey:

- When did you leave Aleppo? And where are you living right now?
- What's your age? (Gender?)
- What is your educational background?
- Do you have family or relatives are still living in Aleppo? And do you live with your family in your current place of residence?
- What & where are you working currently? And what and where were you working in Aleppo if you have changed your profession?

- How often did you visit the old city of Aleppo?
- What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo? (a place, smell, story, feeling, an image of the city….etc)
- What's the most pleasant place or significant building (historical, or non-historical) for you in the old city of Aleppo? And why?
- Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?

- Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo? (speaking of the historic part of the current city)
- Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now? And do feel attached to it? And why?

- Have you been in the old city after it has become accessible? (after 2017).
- Draw something you still remember it from the old city (something embodied your memory of historic Aleppo)? (Optional).

Appendix A.2. The conducted interviews.

Participant 01#	Conducted as: Face-to-face
When did you leave Aleppo?	I left Aleppo on 07.02.2013
Eductional background	House wife.
Age / Gender	Female, 55 years old.
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	Yes, Almost all of them are still living in Aleppo. For me, I was staying with my husband and were tenants, and my sons were in the same neighborhood when we were all in Aleppo.
Current occupation, and residence city.	I am not working right now. I stay in Esenyurt Neighbourhood in Istanbul.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	I don't care and we have adapted ourselves in living here, but if the conditions will get better maybe we will think about returning back.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	Mostly my relatives because they were living in the Old City, and I was visiting them all the time. the Great Mosque of Aleppo, Souk Al-Mahmas (in the old bazaar of the city). My house and my sons' houses have been demolished. My sons' house was attacked twice, the first time was attacked my son was inside the house, and if you saw the bomb which has attacked his room you won't believe that he has survived (crying; she talked about another member in her family was killed in the war). "It is lamentable the thing happened to our country, I don't want to go and see it destroyed, because the one (as we) has spent his life there" the people there are different, most of them are wounded. They are as if it is doomsday. (Talking about other personal problems regarding the war before the participant left Aleppo and the story of her family displacement).
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	Nothing mentioned.
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	Nothing mentioned.
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	I am satisfied here, thank god.
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	No.
Sketching a memory (optional)	No.

Participant 02#	Conducted as: Face-to-face
When did you leave Aleppo?	I left Aleppo on June 2012.
Eductional background	House wife.
Age / Gender	Female, 48 years old.
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	Yes, I live with my sons here, and were living together when we were in Aleppo.
Current occupation, and residence city.	House wife, I stay in Esenyurt Neighbourhood in Istanbul.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	I was living in the Old city of Aleppo, our home was in Mafrak Al-Arkoub area (Suliman Al-Halabi)
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	We did not have the house we were living in at that time, so we were tenants. we (me and my sons) do not have anything left there, and I would not return back to Aleppo one day.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	When I was in Aleppo, I were mostly visiting my relatives in the Old city, this is what i remember from Aleppo. I did not used to go to other places in the city. My visits were only to the People i know. Like Bab Al-Ahmar district where my sister-in-law was living, and also the other one who wass living in Qadi Askaar neighbourhood. In addition to other relatives.
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	Nothing mentioned.
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	No.
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	I am more or less satisfied with staying in Istanbul, even though we have suffered when we came here at the beginning. My older son has come first to Istanbul and he has suffered too much, no one accepted him to work and he didn't have money to survive. they were so hard days for him until he adapted with the environment here, and he found a job in the end. After I left Aleppo in 2012, I went to Hama city, because the living conditions were so hard in Aleppo, and I got divorced and I stayed in my family house in Hama until I came with my younger son to Istanbul. I still remember those hard days, and we were living in a house has so bad conditions in Esenyurt neighborhood. I would say right now I have any no connection with Aleppo
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	No.
Sketching a memory (optional)	No.

Participant #03	Conducted as: Face-to-face
When did you leave Aleppo?	We left Aleppo in 2012.
Eductional background	House wife.
Age / Gender	Female, 50 years old.
Existence of relaties in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	Yes, we still have relatives living in Aleppo.
Current occupation, and residence city.	House wife, and I stay with my 5 childern in Istanbul.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	I was living in Sakkent Hanano neighbourhood (a neighbirhood in the old city), in a an area called Al-Arkoub, in Al-Dalalein street.
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	We have adapted to the environment here, but it is still so hard for us to live here. We came to Esenyurt neighborhood when we have come to Istanbul, and we were living in a house has poor conditions. I had to work when we first came here because my oldest son did not find a job easily at the beginning. But now he is working somewhere. We live here under hard conditions, and we don't get any help or any governmental or non-governmental supports. Even though were are not thinking about returning back to Aleppo. Because we have our life here and my sons have their jobs here.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	I am a widow women, and when I was in Aleppo, I wasn't visiting a lot of places. My visits were only limited to our relatives in districts like Al-Missar, Al-Shaar, and Qadi Askar neighborhood (located in the walled city). But the places I remember from the Old city are The Great Mosque of Aleppo, The Citadel and the area surrounding it. Al-Dalaein mosque, Qaddi Askaar mosque, and the market place (Souk Al-Jeij) close to Bab Al-Hadid (one of the city's gates).
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	Nothing mentioned.
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	No, not that much.
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	We still feel in ourselves that we are strangers here, but after increasing the number of Syrians in our neighborhood (Esenyurt, Istanbul), we started to feel everything started to get familiar to us. Especially, In the month of Ramadan, the crowdedness of Syrians in this neighborhood reminds me of Aleppo (Al-Meydan neighborhood). Therefore, the presence of Syrians has really affected us while settling in Istanbul, and the attachment to our neighborhood.
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	No.
Sketching a memory (optional)	No.

Participant #04	Conducted as: Face-to-face
When did you leave Aleppo?	We left Aleppo at the end of 2015.
Eductional background	House wife.
Age / Gender	Female, 54 years old, and I have 2 sons and 4 girls.
Existence of relaties in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	yes, I do, my relatives are still in Aleppo.
Current occupation, and residence city.	I dont work right now. I stay in Esenyurt neighbourhood in Istanbul since almost 3 years.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	My house was in Al-Fardous neighbourhood (located in the Old
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	The situation is not getting any better in Aleppo, but we if the conditions in Aleppo will get better we might return back.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	The Great Mosque of Aleppo, I was only passing from there when I go to the Old Bazaar for visiting Sidnna Zakria mausoleum in the mosque. The area surrounding the Citadel, but I have never visited the Citadel from inside. Except for these places, my other visits were only for relatives staying near our district. Al Salhien, Al-Fardous, Al-Maadie, and Al-Asilea neighborhood (located beyond the walls of the city). I can explain our neighborhood called Al-Fardous. The houses were mostly courtyard houses. Some people who have had those traditional houses were selling them to a constructor, and he will tear down the old traditional house to construct a building. We have done the same thing for our courtyard house and bought a house in the new building the constructor has built. Most of the people were doing the same during those days.
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	Nothing mentioned.
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	Nothing mentioned
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	We have adapted to the environment in Istanbul. We don't want to return back because we have our jobs here, and my husband has settled in his current work. Increasing the number of Syrians in our neighborhood make me feel as if I am in Syria. Only the language has changed for me here (as being in a neighbourhood in Istanbul, where people speak Turkish).
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	No.
Sketching a memory (optional)	No.

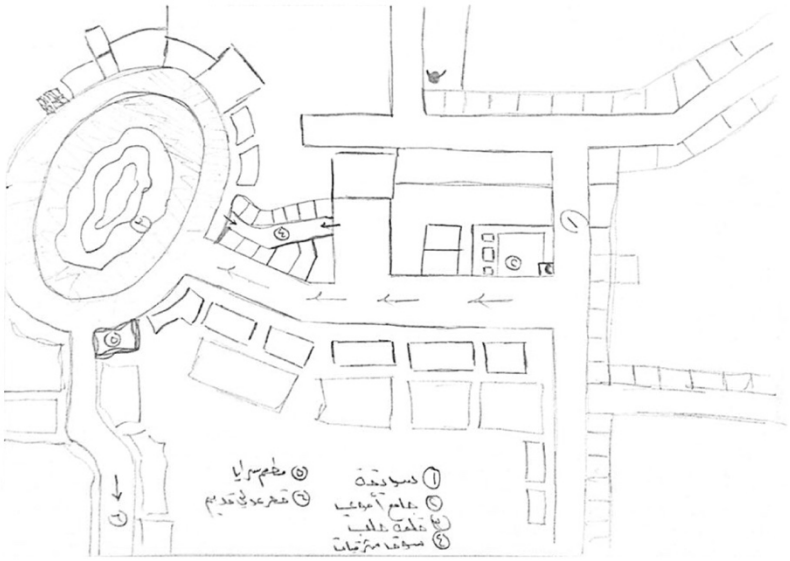
Participant #05	Conducted as: Face-to-face
When did you leave Aleppo?	I left Aleppo in 2014.
Eductional background	House wife.
Age / Gender	Female, 51 years old.
Existence of relaties in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	yes, I do, my relatives are still in Aleppo.
Current occupation, and residence city.	I work sometimes at home for tailoring workshops. I stay in Esenyurt neighbourhood since the time i came to Istanbul.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	Not that much, and I was living in Handarat Camp neighborhood (located near the Aleppo International Airport, far from the city center)
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	Nothing.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	The bazaar (called Al-Madina), but I didn't see much things from inside. The Great Mosque of Aleppo in Ramadan month. I wasn't going to the old city that much, my husband was working there and he was buying everything necessary for us.
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	Nothing mentioned.
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	Nothing mentioned
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	Now, we are attached to the neighborhood here, and we have adapted to everything. But when we came here there were no Syrians and that was so hard for us.
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	No.
Sketching a memory (optional)	No.

Participant #06	Conducted as: Face-to-face.
When did you leave Aleppo?	I left Aleppo on March 2015.
Eductional background	I only finished my High school education.
Age / Gender	Male, I am 61 years old
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	Yes, I still have relatives living in Aleppo, and I am living with my family in Istanbul.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	I wasn't visiting the old city that much, only in certain occasions. And mostly we were visiting the old city of Aleppo to go to the restaurants and cafes around the Citadel of Aleppo. And the reason for me because we were not living in the old city of Aleppo. *"For the people who were living in the new districts of the city like us have weak connection with the old city, because the old city was lacking most of the services (in general) we need. So everything we need was available in our neighborhood where we were settling"*
Current occupation, and residence city.	I have my restaurant in Istanbul, which I have opened it recently. And I was working in something else when i was in Aleppo.
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	Yes, of course I do.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	For me, besides the Old Bazaar, Emyaad mosque, and the Old Citadel of Aleppo, the most neighborhood I remember is Al-Jedidahe neighborhood, plus the area around the citadel, also Dar Al Saraya (an old municipality building in front of the Old Citadel), and I was visiting there in case I need to sign some municipal documents. Speaking of Dar Al-Saraya building, I can still describe things I remembered from this building that was catching my attention, like the characteristic staircases, and the proportion of the rooms inside the building, high ceilings. And then in the rooms of this building, the flooring finishing material had big pieces of stone which were as far as I remember 120 by 60cm. The staircase of the old Immigration Center is a nice one I still remember from the area around the Citadel of Aleppo. I also remember Khan Al-Wazir, we were going there to buy sweets for the special occasion of Eid, and the All Souks (market place) next to this building. And it was special to me. As I mentioned before Al Jediadeh neighborhood, which we were visiting from time to time, this neighborhood had nice restaurants and hotels carry an old and traditional character. Like Dar Zamariah, Kasir Al Wali restaurant, Abo Abdo Al Fawael (a famous restaurant serves traditional food). Old stores where they sell desserts for a long time. I would say the marketplace in this neighborhood was special for me because it had an old character unique from the new commercial places in the new and recent emerging neighborhoods in the city. Plus, I do remember Bab al-Faraj (Ancient gate), and Bab Antakia (ancient gate) to buy meat from Al-Ahtmea marketplace. "I visit the big mosque in the day when I go to the restaurants near the Citadel, then I would have been going to the Great Mosque to visit or to pray" For me even if I am a person who wasn't born in Aleppo, but I lived there for a long time, I still remember the old neighborhood of Bab A-Faraj district before it got demolished by the municipality (currently the Sheraton Hotel) (This district was like any old neighborhood in Aleppo….and it was known as a prostitute place). Also, the minarets of the mosques in Aleppo have mostly had a square shape, with the staircase inside them. And I remember when I was a child, the person who was getting up to the upper terrace of the minaret to do the Eizane (call for prayer), and moving from one side to another side to make the voice spreads to all the parts of the city.

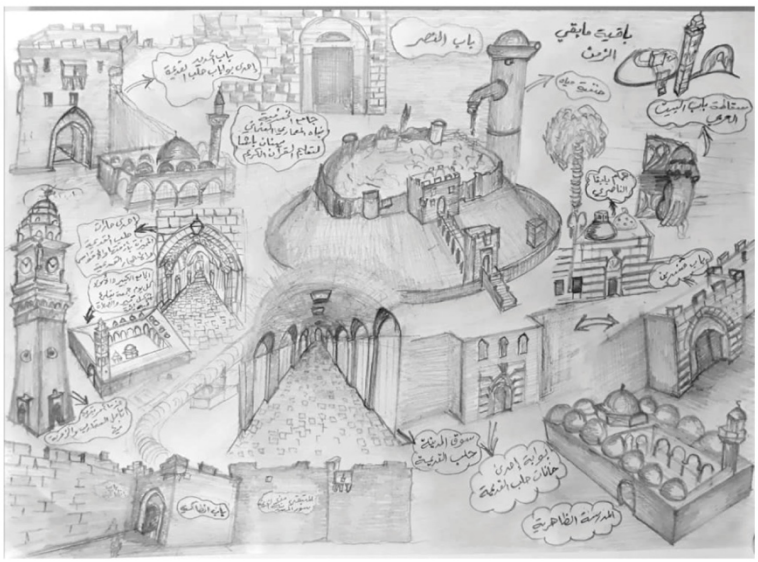
	Yalbougha bathhouse, I visited this one long time ago, and I remember, entering the building, there was a fountain in the middle, and 4 four platforms on the four sides of the central squared-shape space, and then you pass through a long and tight corridor goes to a smaller place than the previous one called al-wastani (the middle space), having a warmer temperature, then it goes to the inside which is called al-jwani which has a warm temperature. And it is the place where people bath, and there are small niches from this place, with low ceiling. I also remember, Bab Al-Hadid (ascient gate), Al-Skatie area, and Bab A-Nesrine (ascient gate)
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	Answered
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	According to what I have observed, I can say Fatih neighborhood is an example could be close to what I have experienced in Aleppo. For example, the district next to Valens Aqueduct. Plus, Sultan Ahmet neighborhood would also remind me of the area around the Old Citadel of Aleppo. On the other hand, there are some mosques in Aleppo remind me of the mosques in Istanbul, for the ones which have Ottoman style. Also, the bathhouses. Al-Malekhane Mosque, coming from Bab Al Faraj and going to the direction of the municipality, on the left hand. Al-Keltwaie complex (religious complex built during the Ottoman period) I think for me what is characteristic about these mosques is not the big domes, and the wide spaces (spans) and high ceilings inside, but it is on the reverse of that, the most pleasant thing for me in these mosques, it was the old small mosques had domes and vaults with low height, because the mosques in Aleppo are smaller, therefore, they don't have the same scale as the ones in Istanbul.
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	Yes, the lifestyle is close to our lifestyle in Aleppo, and if I had the chance to go somewhere else other than Istanbul to live, I would have chosen Turkey to live as well.
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	No.
Sketching a memory (optional)	No.

Participant #07	Conducted as: Online/Phone call
When did you leave Aleppo?	I left Aleppo on 09.09.2012
Eductional background	Architect, and studying master in sustaible architecture.
Age / Gender	Male, 26 years old.
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	Yes, I am living with my family in Cairo, and I still have my grandmother and aunts live in Aleppo.
Current occupation, and residence city.	I am a student, and working in a construction site, and in an architectural office in Cairo.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	yes, i did visit it many times.
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	Yes, i would like to return back in order to use the experience and knowledge i had in the reconstruction of Syria.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	Al Jedidah Neighbourhood (particularly Al Hatab Square)- The Citadel of Aleppo and the periphery area around the Citadel. The Umayyed Mosque in Aleppo and its minerate. The market places in the Old city and Al Swika (a makert place), the crowdedness of people, and the general atomosphere. I can desribe myself about Al Jedidha neighbourhood: the warmness of the place provided by the type of stone with natrual green element of trees and Jasmine trees. In addition, the facade of the stores where they sell antiqities and traditional Oriental textilies were catching my attention. plus, the Citadel
Favirote places in the Old city of Aleppo	Aleppo citadel was the most important attraction for me to visit this place. The special thing about that is the historical components that explain clearly the past history of the city. The citadel with the surrounded public square and old market, is a lovely place with stone used to give the strong impact of comfort and happiness that made me proud of my city. Favirote place: Aleppo citadel, because as I mentioned it reminds me with the past and explains a lot regarding the history of my city. What do you remember from the adjacent buildings of the place you have mentioned? I remembered the restaurants wih the small shops and different people selling traditional food and products at streets.
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	Yes, especially the historical buildings, the paved streets and experience of walking in narrow alleies.
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	Yes, I am satisfied.
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	No.

Sketching a memory (optional)	Yes.

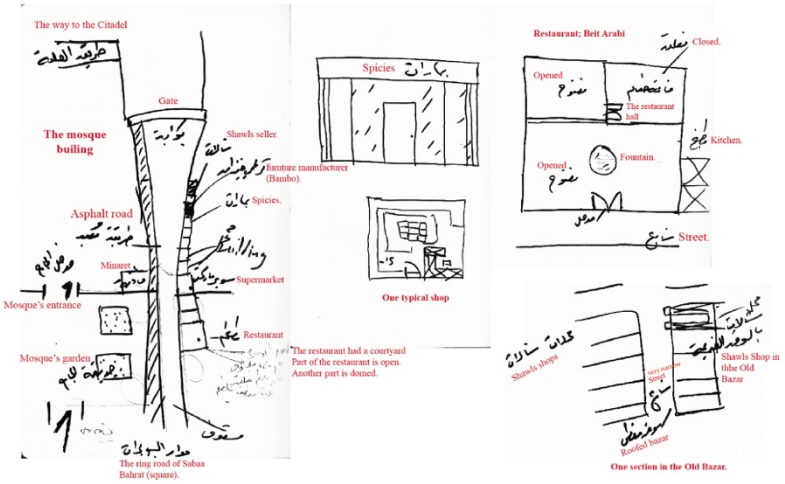


Participant #08	Conducted as: Online survey/Phone call.
When did you leave Aleppo?	I left Aleppo on 25th April, in 2017.
Eductional background	Architect.
Age / Gender	I am 25 years old, male.
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	Yes, my paresnts are living in Aleppo, and they come to Germany from time to time. My brothers are living in Germany, and I am staying with one of them.
Current occupation, and residence city.	Architect. I live in Hamburg, Germany.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	Too much. Wether by myself or with my father. Plus, my gruduation project was about Aleppo.
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	yes, I would return back to Aleppo. our country needs architects in the war condition to reconstruct our city, particularly the Old City which has faced destruction for its places, buildings. In my opinion, our duty as architects is to get experience from other countries how they reconstructed their cities after the war. We can learn, from them to avoid the mistakes they have done. How they did preserve the historic fabric of their cities, and the way they adjust modern and historic together.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	There are many places and buildings I liked to visit before the war, and I have visited some of them when the Old city has become accessible at the beginning of 2017. One of the buildings I liked and I do remember is Al-Shibani Madrassa (school), It was restored in the pre-war time. I went to the same building after the end of the armed conflict in the Old City, and it didn't get damaged..... I also visited Khan Al-Wazir, Khan Al-Joumrouk. Anyways, the thing I liked the restoration of Al-Shiban Madrassa, despite the fact, that this building is historic but for me, it was so spirited. It a representation of the past in the present. When I go through the entrance of the building to the inner courtyard, it takes me back in time 300-400 years ago. The inner openings of the building were so characteristics, plus, the stone material used for the flooring and walls. I like the wooden ceiling of Al-Aresh Hall in the Citadel of Aleppo. It was made in Damascus and brought to the Citadel. All the details of the ceiling were characteristic feeding the soul of the space. I also remember the open space in front of Yalebougha bathhouse was so nice, and the bathhouse building was so distinctive one because it was a free-standing one (independent) and not surrounded by buildings like other bathhouses in the city(the participant has also talked about the sinuous circulation of the bathhouse). -(The participant has talked about The Great Mosque of Aleppo; particularly its architectual elemnets and ornaments, and al-manpar in the mosque; the lifted structure where the Imam stands and gives a speech to people. He also visited the mosque after major parts of it were damaged, and most of the details he mentioned are still there. Despite the minaret and other parts of the mosque were bombed but its authenticity and character remain). "It was so difficult and sad the mosque damaged, and I was emotionally affected" -(The participant has also talked about The Old Bazar: He described in details the roof of The Old Bazar). -(The details and ornaments of Khas Al-Wazir, big courtyard, and all the inner spaces are facing the inner courtyard). -Beit Ghazale (famous residential house in the Old city), located in Al-Jedideah neighborhood. The participant also mentioned things in respect to the architectural elements; like Mashrabia, and al-aspaat (part of the house built over the narrow streets in the city, creating a passageway underneath it, vaulted roof). Hamam Bab Al-Ahmar (bathhouse), this building wasn't affected by the armed conflict. Khan Al-Shouna, (the participant remembered the number of shops in this place, which is around 12 shops). The building of this traditional market place was damaged too much. Everything makes you so sad. When we have been passing from one place in the Old city with no destruction and did not get bombed. We were getting this feeling of safety, and giving us some hope. Because there is something left. If you watch the news you feel that it is a ghost city. But after the end of the armed conflict, we went to the Old City and we found people (of course not too many people) still living there, this gave me a lot of hope.

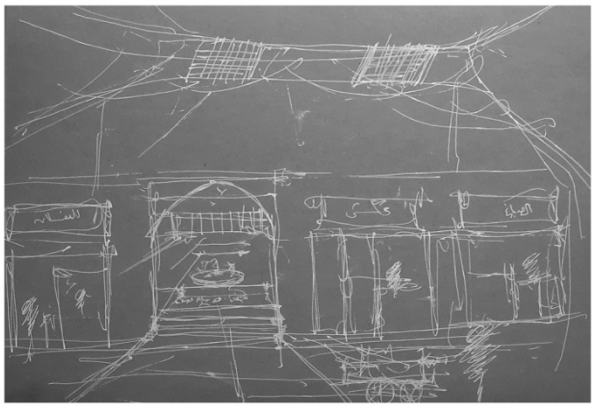
	Our history is the thing connect me with Aleppo, the Old city is the site links the present with past. (The participant wanted to talk about crypts under the ground from the districts in the city walls to outside the city). My father was workong in the Old city, and I was going with him to his working place. During that time he was asking me to buy bread from the area next Bab-Antakia (one of the city's wall gates). So, when I did bring the bread from the bakery next to Bab-Antakia at the begining of the Old Bazar, I was going deep in the Bazar to discover and see more (my love to the place, the crowdedness of people, the ancientness of this place, it brings me back to the past). Some sections in the Old Bazar guides you togo through its narrow alleys (the smell precedes the vision).
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	Al-Shibani Madrassa (school), The Citadel of Aleppo, and Souk Al-Madina (the old bazar). Jadet Al-Khandak (street). Al-Sijin street, I liked the lighting used in this street.
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	Whever I go a place, discovereing a city means visiting the historic and oldest district of the city. When I came to Hamburg, I visited the historic part of the city. But I felt the character of the two cities is quite different, in term of material, history, tradition, environemnt and buildings style.
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	Yes, I am satisfied with my current place of residence.
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	yes.
Sketching a memory (optional)	yes. 

Participant #09	Conducted as: Face-to-face
When did you leave Aleppo?	I left Aleppo at the begining of 2012.
Eductional background	Architect, and I am studying my master degree in Istanbul.
Age / Gender	Male, 29 years old.
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	I still have my uncles in Aleppo, and I live with my family in Istanbul.
Current occupation, and residence city.	Architect, and master student.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	Roughly every two weeks, and for a period of time I was working with my father in his store near The Great Mosque. That's why I spent more time in the Old City.
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	This depends on the circumstances in Syria, if safety and control didn't prevail everywhere in the country it is not possible to return back, but if my family returned back to Aleppo, I would go with them for sure.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	Our father's shop was in the Old City of Aleppo (Sabaa Bahrat area) near The Great Mosque of Aleppo, so sometimes during the afternoon when we did go to have a launch, we did go deep in the old Bazar. there are many images of the Old city in my mind because I was spending time there because I did go a lot to my father's shop. There is one narrow street on one side of the Great Mosque. I remember the restaurants and other shops on the opposite side of the Great Mosque. One of them was a Beit Arabi (courtyard house). After these two or three restaurants on the left side, you face one of the corner's mosques (the one has minaret). Then part of the Bazar starts (the part which is not roofed). Note: then the participant has started to explain about this spot at the beginning of the Old Bazar by sketching. I remember the mashrabiya(s), stone paved and narrow streets in Al-Jedidahe neighborhood. It had many shops (commercial activities), and they had a random character. I mostly passed by this neighborhood, and the purpose was to visit two famous restaurants there. In addition, to one place where they sell 'spicies cake' (famous in Aleppo), the shop was so small and tight (around 10m) I still recall that place. I get used to go with my friends to the area around the Citadel for breakfast. Also, with my family, we did go there in the evening. When we go there, my mother was telling me things like this is my school and other places she had memories of. Other historic buildings like Al-Niswan section in the Old Bazar and Khan Al-Shouna I get used to go there with my mother and grandmother as well.
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	.....
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	Yes, only The Grand Bazar in Istanbul reminds of Aleppo. It is only the idea of having a historic Bazar, but if we compare them both in term of architecture they are so different from each other in style and construction. (but same typology)
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	No, until now I don't consider myself attached to Istanbul. In my opinion, once you live in a big city like Istanbul, living in this city becomes so hard. This is a thing stop you attaching yourself to this city. When you walk in Istanbul there isn't anything to remind me of Aleppo. That's why it is impossible for me to be attached to Istanbul.

Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	No.
Sketching a memory (optional)	Yes.



Participant #10	Conducted as: Online/Phone call
When did you leave Aleppo?	I left Aleppo on 2012. I moved to Egypt after leaving Syria, and now I live in Barcalona.
Eductional background	Architect.
Age / Gender	Male, 25 years old.
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	Yes, my family members are still living in Aleppo
Current occupation, and residence city.	Master student Barcalona
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	I get used to visiting it when I was a child with my father, my father's shop was in the Old Bazar (in Al-Nisawn section). I was walking there but I didn't go that much deeper. So, I was visiting my father to learn from him, and at the same time to know the people (neighbors) working there who are my father's firends.
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	Yes, for sure if the situation there has become better, I would like to return back to Aleppo.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	Most of my memories were near The Great Mosque of Aleppo, and The Old Bazar, I still recall the ceiling of the Roofed Bazar and its openings. My father was talking about those openings which have defense function, and for the climatic purpose as well. The safety I feel when I walk there. This is one of the memories I can't forget which walking there and feeling safe at the same time. My impression of that atmosphere would be the people, crowdedness, and gatherings. I was visiting The Great Mosque every time I go to the Old City. I remember we once went to one of the bathhouses near Khan Al-Wazir, with my father and brother. I don't forget this memory when I was in the fourth grade in the school. That day was the final day of my exams. So, my father and brother have taken me there. It was my first time I have gone to a bathhouse. I really liked the experience. I remember it was really an old looking place. Also, the wooden details of the ornaments. When we first entered that place there was a seating area on the right side and the fountain in the middle. Once you enter the bathhouse they give you towels. Then you go through other space inside the bathhouse which is so hot. There was a distinctive thing about the way they had been mixing the hot and cold water. In the end, after finishing we have eaten something in the bathhouse. There are certain moments in Aleppo are quite different. In term of the environment, you feel how the atmosphere is relaxing. Like the open space around the Citadel during the sundown. In general, the time between 04:00-08:00 the city has a different spirit. Note: the participant has talked about one restaurant he did often go to it every time he did go to the Old City. Islamic architecture in the Old bazar. The stone paved ground of Al-Madina (Old bazar). The way of exhibiting the goods in Al-Madina. The spirituality of the Old City. Note: the participant has talked about his experiences while going to pray in The Great Mosque of Aleppo. People doing ablution, the birds in the sky, and the sunset (everything in that atmosphere)
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	My favorite part of the Old bazar was the section where they were selling the rugs.
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	There is one street in Cairo called Moaz Al-Din Al-Fatemy street, whenever I did go to this street I did feel as I if am in Aleppo. The streets, the mosques, and the crowdedness of people. it was really the same spirituality of Aleppo. Whenever I felt tired I did go to this street. it had really a big impact on me. The details of the ornaments on the facades of the mosques are stunning. This street I did feel it as if I am in Aleppo. But in Barcelona is not the same. the architecture and culture in Egypt are so close to Aleppo.

Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	I feel more attached to Egypt, not to Barcalona.
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	No.
Sketching a memory (optional)	yes.
	
	

Participant #11	Conducted as: Face-to-face
When did you leave Aleppo?	I left Aleppo on 15.09.2017. Then I stayed 6 months in lebanon, then I came to Istanbul.
Eductional background	Architect. I was working with Red Crescent when I was in Aleppo.
Age / Gender	Male, 28 years old.
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	Almost all my family member are still in Aleppo.
Current occupation, and residence city.	Master student. Istanbul.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	Not that much.
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	It depends on the situation there, if it didn't change I wouldn't return back. Also, to think about returning back and settling there is linked with many things. There is no future there, I would only go to Aleppo to visit my family.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	I mostly remember the National Hospital in front of the Citadel, Al-Saray building. and Dar Al-Effta building (The House of Fatwas), I went to the former building for documentation work before I left Aleppo. The stair of the building is so distinctive one. Note: the participant started to talk about his experience of his site's visits to the old city after it has become accessible, he did mention the names of the damaged buildings he could remember too. I remember the wooden Mashrabiyas in Jdeydeh neighborhood and Al-Hatab square, it really had a rich cultural heritage, an indication of the old city. Also, I recall one time we went there to document the damages of one of the courtyard houses in Bab Al-Hadid neighborhood. We went down to the basement under the house and we walked through a long narrow corridor and the exist/end of this crypt was at a different house. Note: The participant has talked about Al-khousrofya Mosque and Al-Saray building. The Old City has lost its importance recently, and it is not the only place where commercial activities are taking place (decentralization). The purpose of my visits was to buy things we need for our home and to hang out with my friends. Note: There is one thing I really like in the narrow alleys which is Al-Aspaat (the structure located on the top of the vaults in the alleys).
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	Dar Al-Effta building (The House of Fatwas)
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	Yes, it does, the plenty number of mosques reminds me of Aleppo, the Islamic architecture in general, also, The Grand Bazar in the old city.
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	I don't feel myself attached to Istanbul. I don't speak Turkish very well, and I don't know that much about Turkish culture and traditions. but I am satisfied by living here.
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	Yes.

Sketching a memory (optional)	Yes.

The participant's sketch of Jdeydeh neighbourhood in the old city of Aleppo.

Participant #12	Conducted as: Online/Phone call
When did you leave Aleppo?	2011, Torino Italy/ Istanbul turkey
Eductional background	Architect (currently doing masters in sustainable architecture in Politecnico di Torino)
Age / Gender	Male, 24 years old.
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	Yes i do have some relatives in aleppo , unfortunately now I am living by my own in Torino Italy.
Current occupation, and residence city.	I am working as freelancer architect when i have free time, i wasnt working in aleppo i was student.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	I used to visit it once each two weeks.
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	Yes I would love to ! I studied my bachelor degree in Istanbul turkey and I really want to return back And see my friends,family and the city also I would love to work and help to rebuild aleppo again.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	The citadel of aleppo; It was special for me because I used to go there to enjoy the weekend and the weather I used to have breakfast with my friends and family next to the citadel also I still remember the silhouette of the city and the view from the citadel. Speaking of the adjacent buildings: I remember all the buildings were made from stones I don't remember any building made out of wood or different materials unfortunately I wasn't interested in architecture back then. I did often visit this place once each 2 weeks. The places in the old city which remind me of food; The cafeterias and the restaurants near the citadel. As I remember it was some tents that shades the tables and no walls with a lot of plants and social spaces (all the tables were so close to each other, so you can hear other people talking and you can share conversation with some tourists). My feelings while walking in the old city of Aleppo; Happiness and enjoying the moment and the sunset, I wish I was interested in architecture back then I would answer this question differently.
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	The new shahba neighborhood where I used to live I used to enjoy everyday sunset. The last time I have been in this place was in 2011. I used to live there also there was one street that all the neighborhood used to walk and do some sports there it was in the end of the neighborhood I still remember the name of the street "diets street".
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	Unfortunately no.
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	Yes I am satisfied , no beacuse for me I am attached to people more than the place itself.
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	No.
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	Yes I would love to ! I studied my bachelor degree in Istanbul turkey and I really want to return back And see my friends,family and the city also I would love to work and help to rebuild aleppo again.
Sketching a memory (optional)	No.

Participant #13	Conducted as: Face-to-face
When did you leave Aleppo?	I left Aleppo on June, 2014.
Eductional background	Architect.
Age / Gender	Male, 29 years old.
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	of course, I live with my friends in Istanbul. My family is still in Aleppo.
Current occupation, and residence city.	working as an architect, Istanbul.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	Sometimes I go there.
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	Yes, I would like to return back one day to Aleppo, I have a reason why, which is for the rehabilitation of the Old city of Aleppo. I have studied one axis in the historic fabric of the city, as a restoration research project. Because we are the most experienced people (as people from Aleppo), because we have studied it before and we saw the past (before the destruction), and we also saw and learned many restoration projects here in Turkey, we can avoid the mistakes they have done here in order to do something better. This is not related if the conditions will get better in the future or remain the same. Even though I will return back. But of course if the war conditions will get better I will definitely return back.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	Other than the area which I have studied in the old city (ends in the Old Bazar). There is one thing is embedded in my memory is my grandfather's textile workshop. Back in the days, when I was a child 9 years old around 20 years ago, I get used to go with my uncle to that area in one of the alleys of the old bazaar. When I was a child I didn't know many things in the Bazar because I didn't live there, even now I don't know much about the Old city. But the arches of the Old Bazar are still printed in my mind. Al-Jedidah neighborhood, I remember it but when I say I remember it, but still it is not when my father says the same thing. I think for me I consider myself as a good architect, which is based on many things. I learned many things from the traditional(old) architecture in Aleppo and modern architecture as well, and I worked to bring them together. My graduation project has crystallized on this concept. Note: The participant has talked about history, the architectural character of the Old City. One of my childhood's memories, we had a big khan next to Bab Al-Jenain (Gate). It is called Khas Al-Aswad, it had a big arch and was used to store grains. a long time ago this Khan was allocated/belonged to us. Note: Then the participant has started to talk about his research project while he was a student. He mentioned the buildings where he took photographs. .....Al-Sultania Madrasa (school), he mentioned that there was a sundial, and I still recall it. I recall Al-Qiqan mosque near Bab-Antakia (Gate). There was a street going up when you come to the mosque and the building was lifted from the ground level (like Al-Kharqa al-sharia mosque). It was a small mosque and I went there 15 years ago. Family occasion: One day we had a wedding of my cousin and it was in a courtyard house (Beit Arabi) 20 years ago. I remember when we were cheering and screaming (in a happy way). I remember the day when I recorded the video of the axis in the old city (for my research). We entered this alley from Bab Qinnasrin (gate), we had a small car to record the whole way until the end of the axis. we documented all the buildings along this alley. Note: the participant has talked about the name of the buildings he studied and where he took photographs for his research. and he mentioned that he didn't visit most of the buildings in the area at the end of this alley (which is adjacent to the Old Bazar). The allies in the old city of Aleppo are very intimate. All are identical (having the same soul) and possessing many styles simultaneously. and the dominant character is Levantine.

	I do remember Behramiyah Mosque and it was one of the most the beautiful mosques, has a fountain in the middle and its conical (Tapering) minaret. I recall the minbar inside the mosque. it is similar to the Blue Mosque in Istanbul because it had niches in the walls. The scale is smaller but similar style. the mosque had arcades. It had both of Ottoman and Levantine styles. Place of ablution was circular in the shape. (then the participant has shown the video had of this mosque while conducting his research, and the features of the mosque he has mentioned were matching with the video). There was a likable thing, we were eating in an ordinary restaurant next to Sabaa Al-Bahrat square. it was a very crowded one. After taking the food we go to the park in front of the mosque. The scenery of the Old City during the night was beautiful, everything is lighted up and the street of Al-Jamaa Al-Umawi on the left. Parts of the Citadel were visible in the background and also lighted up and stunning. Note: The participant mentioned that he checks the recent photographs of the historic buildings to see what did damage and what did not, and also to double-check the images in my memory of those places and buildings. The human has built this city and is able able to reconstruct it the same city. we are only human so we can't rebuild a mountain. God has given us all the resources to build. So we can't say the city won't be reconstructed again. But for sure it won't be the same as before. The old city is the place attaches me with Aleppo. If I didn't go/visit the Old city I don't think I will be successful in architecture. I learned a lot from traditional architecture. Now I am able to design and understand both of what is traditional and modern at the same time. A European person can design something for a European city because he/she has lived there. We lived in the city and we did occupy/gained things from the city. Thus, it is not possible that a European architect will do restoration projects in the Old City of Aleppo. For sure, we can get experience from them in the cases of the totally damaged and destructed buildings, not more than that in my opinion.
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	.....
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	There is one place (street) in Istanbul, in Fatih neighborhood where there is a market place. This place reminds and makes me feel I am in Al-Medina (Old Bazar) in Aleppo. The soul of the space is exactly the same. Also, Valens Aqueduct in Istanbul reminds me of Aleppo. Some streets in Eminönü neighborhood in the historic peninsula of Istanbul. Note: the participant has mentioned a similar street I and he passed by that this street reminded him a bit of Aleppo.
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	I feel attached to Istanbul. I love Istanbul, not like other cities in Turkey. I like to live in cities that have a rich history and authentic. Like Spain, Morocco, Cairo, and Italy. Not like the US. In these countries, people know about the war, like WWI and WWII. The person who studied history and witnessed war is someone different from the one who didn't. This person who studies and know about history prefers the cities which bear authenticity and heritage, not cities like New York. Of course, this differs from one person to another. Even for me, when I want to watch a movie I don't like to watch fiction and unrealistic films. What I like is watching old classic films, from cities like London. After this destruction in the Old City of Aleppo, this connection has weakened, letting the old nice memory remains the same is better than the revealing of the new destructed memory of the Old city. In other words, I can go there to deform/destroy this memory I have in my mind if there is something beneficial I will do for the old city. But if I will go there and I won't do anything useful, I would keep the old nice memories in my mind. I see destroyed buildings on the internet, but since the person didn't see the truth through his/her eyes. the person won't believe that this building is destructed. I left Aleppo when my grandmother and uncle were alive, and they have died while I was abroad, in addition to many people I know while I am here. Until now in my memory, I still think they are alive. I still think about the city as it was in 2014. So I would really like to return back and work the project I have studied before while I was a student. All the memories that I have mentioned are related to places and people, I have shared the same experience with them. The human being is not living alone in this world. When you go there mostly everything is destroyed, that will destroy all the links you have with this place. Destroyed buildings the first link is fallen down. Some people have died some other links are fallen down as well. So, When I go Aleppo, and for example, I go to my grandfather's home, but the home is not existing anymore, the furniture, the people, even the old clock we have at our home we attach meaning to it and it connects us with our home is not there. The telephone at our home. Thank god, we can forget as human, and we still feel nostalgic sometimes.

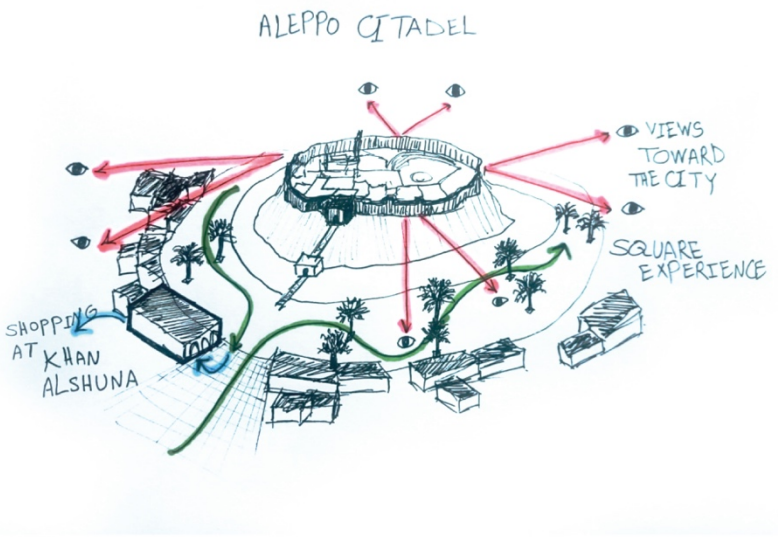
	I am happy here in Istanbul because we have a historical connection with this country. there is a religious connection, historical, and an architectural one as well. Even if I went to live in a different city after 10 years. I will be remembering Istanbul despite the reason I came to Istanbul because of the war in my country and I lived hard days here. But I have visited every place in the city (even if they were hard days).
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	No.
Sketching a memory (optional)	No.

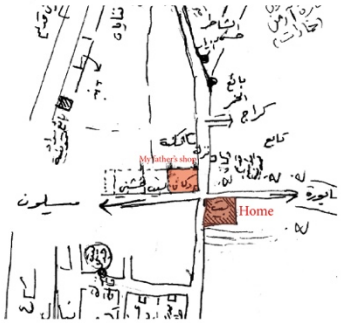
Participant #14	Conducted as: Face-to-face
When did you leave Aleppo?	I didn't live my childhood in Aleppo, becuase my father was working in Sasudi Arabia. I settled in Aleppo when I was 15 years old. I came to Istanbul for the sake of studying. I was going to Aleppo from time to time beucae of my reseach between 2007-2011. After 2011 I didn't return back to Aleppo.
Eductional background	Architect, had a master and Phd degree in restoration.
Age / Gender	40 years old, female.
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	My family is still living in Aleppo, and most of my familt members. I only have one sister lives here in Istanbul.
Current occupation, and residence city.	Instructing at the university. I was teaching in the University of Aleppo. Istanbul
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	.....
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	It depends on the circumstances there, I don't think I won't return back at all. But if the living conditions are fine I would like to return back.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	There is one thing i remember the most from my childhood is my first visit to the old city which was my first contact with this place. That visit was with my father, and I was a child who had no idea about buildings. Mamluk Throne Hall (Kaet Al-Areshe) in the Citadel of Aleppo, full of ornaments, this is still is embedded in my mind. I think it was one of the motives made me start loving this place, and knowing about it more. While studying architecture, there was a drawing course and we did often go to the alleys in the Old city for hand-sketching. That is why I remember from those days Al-Hatab Square in Al-Jedidah neighborhood. The vaults in the narrow alleys, the small Jasmine trees in the Al-Sisi street and Beyt Al-Yasmine. Those things I really remember. There was another alley in Al-Farafra neighborhood, I walked there once and it was the first time I see wooden mashrabiya (akshak). the thing that I didn't live in the Old City and I didn't have relatives live in the Old City. So the places I remember they are mostly public spaces, the market place (Almadina). While my visits to the residential neighborhoods were limited. Thus only those two alleys have remained in my memory. I was working in the office of the rehabilitation of the old city in Saief al-Din al-Hamadaney Madrasa (school), in Al-Farafra neighborhood, so I get used to walk in the alleys of this neighborhood. Also, a bit in Bab-Qinesraine neighborhood (where many houses were under restoration) and Al-Jedidah neighborhood. After this phase of studying, it was the second phase when I have worked with Aga Khan Trust for culture, at this phase I spent a lot of my time working in the Citadel. I still remember tusday because the Citadel did usually close in this day, and we were alone working in the Citadel, and you feel yourself you are the king of this place. I remember one of the first defense towers which had a restoration (close to the entry building of the Citadel), at the break time we did stand there and the shade of the entry building was covering the place where we were standing. Also, the view towards the old Bazar when standing there and guessing the name of the historic buildings, What is that dome, What is that minaret? I remember this too much. other memories from the Citadel were from the structures under the ground in the Citadel, there was a stair going down to a big Ayubi cistern, it is really a different feeling, and also the well which had a spiral stair. Also, discovering the crypts, we did find many dead-ends corridors. There is another thing when we were working on the restoration of the upper defense walls of the Citadel, we did work on the documentation of those walls and wherever (in the working site) we did stand we did see the panorama of the city. For example, I remember at this point you can see Al-Madina (the Old bazar), and if you go to the north you see neighborhoods such as Al-Biadaha, Al-Ferdous madrasa, and the domes. Gradually, the silhouette starts to get embedded in my memory. Especially, Al-Fardous Madrasa when I was looking at this school from the Citadel I did feel as if it is in an oasis in the desert, covered with fog. Also, when I look north, there was the view of Jabel Al-Eizam cemetery, this was amazing me how there is a big cemetery like this one in the middle of the urban tissue. Not forgetting the domes of the old Bazar. Note: then the participant started to talk about her third phase of her relationship with the Old City while doing her master degree in the university, she mentioned that in this phase her relation with the old bazar started to develop. Also, She mentioned that hse has studied one building there. After that, the idea of conducting my Ph.D. research has come from, I liked that spot of the city and I want to study this area, Al-Madina with all of its complexities. I studied the khans in this spot of the city, and I spent

	9 months there. I met/knew all the merchants working in the old Bazar. Then the human relationship with the city had built before when I was walking I did judge and criticize what are those people doing, how they don't have respect for the cultural heritage. Especially, when I was seeing the wooden gate of the Old Bazar and someone did hang the meat on the historic Bazar door to sell. then I started to put myself in their position, their feelings of the heritage are distinctive from what we see as architects and academics. because they live it every day, heritage is not something separated from them. It is not like how we see things as if this is a masterpiece and I want it to preserve it and enjoying it. So, they live it, or maybe I tried to position myself in this interpretation because i wanted to understand rather than judging, this person which comes from the morning until the evening so his life is here because he doesn't get outside this market place. (she mentioned that this kind of chaos taking place in the old city may not be because of the people living there, but this problem would refer to many economic, planning and social factors) I was really getting angry of people when I want to work in Al-Madina). Note: the participant has talked about two buildings in the Old Bazar. If there is something I regret for is when there is this city and everything was already there, - I was saying to myself if I didn't have the chance to visit a certain place today - one day I will go back there and I will walk in each alley of the city and take photos.....when my father was telling me there is a trip to visit that place in the Old City, I say it is fine we can visit it later, days are coming and now those days are gone. This thing touches my heart a lot because I haven't seen those places/buildings. The first memories were dazzle, then affinity. Then my feeling of critical sense was so high. After that, which is my last stage when I started to understand the city through people living in it. Note: the participant has talked about her grandparent's house in one of the high-rise buildings in the Old City, and the view of the Great Mosque from their house, the sound of the Ezan, and the sunset.
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	Khan Al-Sabun, I really love it because I worked there, and I love the people there. Al-Adelia Mosque I like the courtyard of this building. AL-Adeyat association in Al-Jamilia neighborhood, I have memories in this building because I have spent too much time there (the participant has talked about her memories with her father in this place since he was working there). Al-Hatab square because I was working for a certain period of time with the Aga Khan office there. Still, my relationship with the public spaces was not that strong. (the participant has talked about how she approaches Al-Jedidahe neighborhood, then she criticized the design of the landscape around the Citadel, and consequences of the recent proposal which made that place so touristic, focusing on the commercial aspect). There is Khan Al-Shouna (Bazar building located in front of the Citadel), people did often visit this building and they did enjoy it by seeing the craftsmanships there. But this is something would attract tourists, not the local people. People from the city should have a deeper look at those historic buildings, what is its history, story, memories the building have witnsesed until it has come to this day. There is another example of one of the buildings around the Citadel which is Al-Hamidiya hospital (currently Carlton Hotel), built during the Ottman time. They did restoration for this building and also adding an extension at the back of the building. But then when you ask the young generation what is this building, they just say it is Carlton Hotel. No one knows that this building was a national hospital. "Isn't it a clearance of memory", it is even a deliberate act of earsing memory. Not only this one but also Peroa restaurant (located in the ring surrounding the Citadel) which was originally the Turkish agricultural bank (but everyone knows this building as being a restaurant, no one knows the history of the building).
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	.....
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	Yes, I am satisfied and I had enough time to be adapted with Istanbul.
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	yes.
Sketching a memory (optional)	No yet.

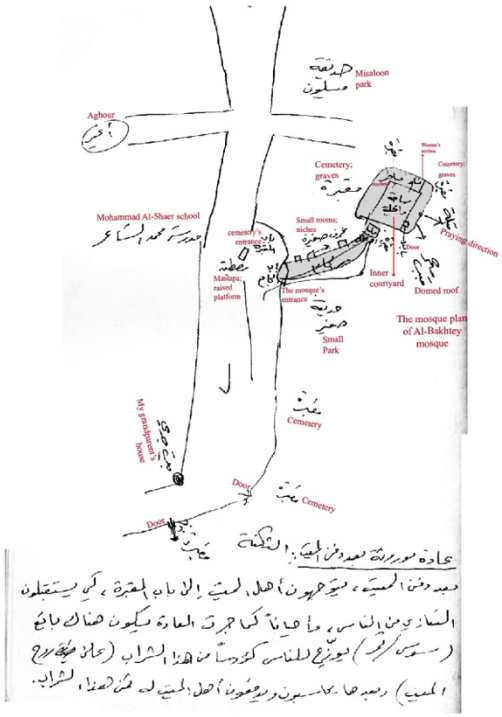
Participant #15	Conducted as: Online/Phone call
When did you leave Aleppo?	In 2010 and now I am living in Turkey.
Eductional background	Bachelor degree in Architecture.
Age / Gender	Female, 27 years old.
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	Yes, I am living with my family but still having relatives there in Aleppo.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	Very few times.
Current occupation, and residence city.	I am working as a freelancer in Turkey. In Aleppo I was a student, not working.
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	I think I wouldn't like to live there after the war because I think the life there is corrupted by the dominant politicis, and after the war will be a very critical stage.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	I remembered the old narrow paved streets and alleys that gave a feeling of home. I remember the large square with palm trees that surrounded the citadel. This square gives the feeling of greatness recalling the historical stories regarding the citadel and the wars that happened. The stairs toward the citadel was very interesting to me because after getting up there you can have a breathtaking view for the whole city. In addition, I remember the old historical markets that surrounded the citadel area. The colorful fabrics and old metal and wooden products were always interesting to me. As a whole experience of visiting the old city and the citadel, it was interesting and satisfying because it reminded me with the past historical events that occurred and from this point the city of Aleppo was expanded.
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	Aleppo citadel was the most important attraction for me to visit this place. The special thing about that is the historical components that explain clearly the past history of the city. The citadel with the surrounded public square and old market, is a lovely place with stone used to give the strong impact of comfort and happiness that made me proud of my city. Favirote place: Aleppo citadel, because as I mentioned it reminds me with the past and explains a lot regarding the history of my city. What do you remember from the adjacent buildings of the place you have mentioned? I remembered the restaurants wih the small shops and different people selling traditional food and products at streets. How often did you visit this place or building? and what was your purpose of visiting? I used to visit the citadel and its surrounding once a year. The purpose is touristic. I would like to explain the experience of buying gifts and souvenirs from the old covered market. I like how the shops are distributed on left and right and how they were close to each other which offered an interesting experience of shopping.
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	Yes, especially the historical buildings, the paved streets and experience of walking in narrow alleies.
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	Yes. I think I found there the rights and respect that I was always looking for. There are many similarities between Turkey and Aleppo, similar history, environment and atmosphere, and that what makes me satisfied.
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	No.

Sketching a memory (optional)	Yes



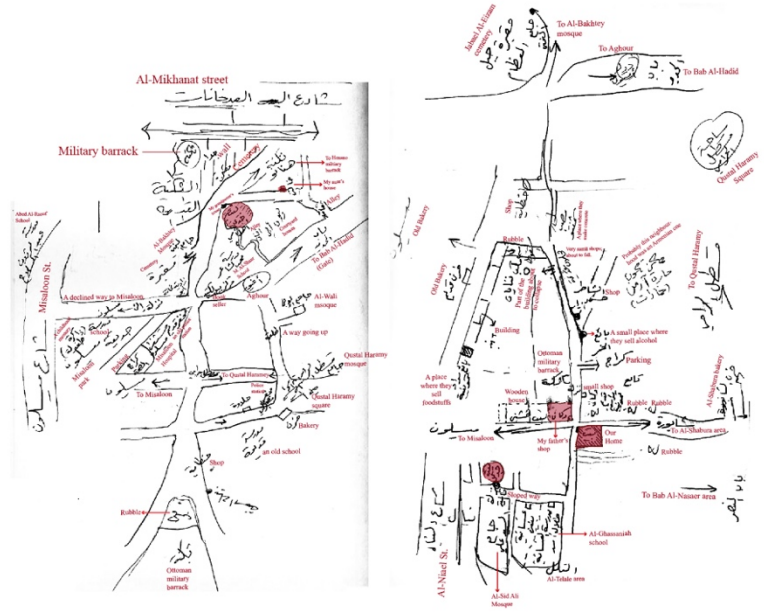
Participant #16	Conducted as: Face-to-face.
When did you leave Aleppo?	I left Aleppo on 28.08.2015.
Eductional background	Arabic teacher.
Age / Gender	I am 25 years old, male.
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	Yes, almost all my family members are living in Aleppo. Cureenty, in Istanbul I stay with my friend.
Current occupation, and residence city.	Arabic teacher. I live in Istanbul, Turkey.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	I was living in the Old City of Aleppo, in Al-Hamidye neighborhood for short time (al-said Ali), then, we moved in 2001 to our new house in Al-Hamdaniya neighborhood in the outskirt of the city. But we lived for a long time in Qustal Haramy area (located in the Old City)
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	Yes, of course and right now I am thinking about returning back.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	I still remember this habit (as Aleppines) we have of buying fresh bread everyday morning. I often went to the bakery every day's morning to buy the bread. Then, I return back home and to have breakfast with my family before anyone goes to work. These are the memories we have lived at that time. During the holidays, I did go with my father to the factory where he was working. In term of historical and old buildings: Al-Said Ali mosque is one of the historical mosques I remember. Al-Bakhety mosque (located in Jabal Al-Eizam cemetery), this is one of the buildings in my memory. Also, the doors of the courtyard houses. When I grow up and moved from our home in the Old City. I started to feel nostalgic to the Old city. Even when we moved to our new house (in the outskirts). Although our new home was far from the Old City, we were coming to one of the mosques near Bab-Antakya Gate (it was really a small one, and I don't recall the name of it) to pray in Ramadan month. Plus, every week on Friday, we go to Al-Bakhety mosque, also to see our relatives who live close to this mosque. This mosque has really a special essence and soul. Also, I remember that we (me and my family) get used to hanging out in the area around the Citadel of Aleppo. Despite the fact, we have moved to a far district in the city, but our attachment with the Old city was so strong. (the participant has talked about his father and his strong attachment with the Old City, plus his social relationships, and all the visits in the Old city to people and places). Note: The participant was trying to remember a bakery in Al-Jedidah neighborhood, then he asked to draw in order to make me understand because he couldn't find those places on the map. Also, he was trying to explain his daily activity of buying bread from the bakery place in Al-Jedidah neighborhood to his home. Then he tried to describe the area around his home, The Ottoman military barracks, small old shops are about to fall/collapse, and one old shop where they sell alcohol. Then, the participant started to draw the map of his neighborhood starting from his home, and his father's store in front of their home (he left the Old city when he was 10 years old). He said "When we left our home (in the outskirt) we have gathered and taken whatever we were able to take" "The massive destruction that took place in Aleppo has affected all of us" 

Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	Already mentioned in the previous question, all the places the partcipant has remembered.
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	The Grand Bazar and Mısır Çarşısı in Istanbul remind me of Souk Al-Nehasin (in the historic Bazar) in Aleppo and Khan Al-Shouna. Plus, Al-Malkhanh complex (Ottoman style) near The national museum of Aleppo remind me of any Ottoman mosque here in Istanbul. Specifically, there is one mosque in Fatih district is so similar to that Ottoman complex in Aleppo. Thus, Istanbul reminds me of Istanbul, particularly Fatih district. In term of architectural elements in the buildings, I think the arches I see in Istanbul remind me of Aleppo.
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	No, I am not attached at all with Istanbul. One of the reasons, there is no stable job to think about settling here for a long time
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	yes.
Sketching a memory (optional)	yes.



Inherited habit after the burial of the dead person
After the burial of of the dead person, the relatives of this person head to the entrance door of the cemtery in order to receive condolences. Sometimes as a usual thing, there is a seller of a Suse and Tamir Hindi (both are traditional drink), cups of these drinks get distrubted to people (for the soul of the dead person). After that, the family of the dead person pay for the seller.

The map that the participant did during the interview for Al-Bakhtey mosque.



The two maps drawn by the participant during the interview for his neighbourhood in the old city.

The participant wanted to share these two photographs of his neighbourhood, the one on the left shows Qustal Haramy mosque before the war. The one on the right shows the destruction in one of the streets in his neighbourhood.

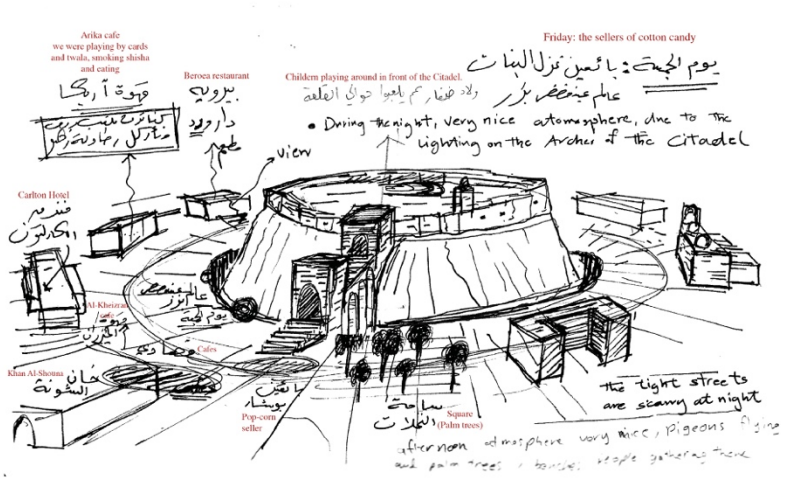
Participant #17	Conducted as: Face-to-face
When did you leave Aleppo?	I left Aleppo in 2011, (Ramadan month).
Eductional background	Merchant.
Age / Gender	Male, 55 years old.
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	Yes, I still have relatives in Aleppo, and i live with my family in Istanbul.
Current occupation, and residence city.	Merchant. Istanbul.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	My store was in Al-Madina (Old Bazar), particularly Souk Al-Azaeribe section, and my house was in Kalet Al-Shrief neighborhood (located in the cold city). So I was living in the old district of the city.
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	yes, if the situation has become better and it is safe why not, but if it is not I won't return back.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	When asking about the Old city, the participant has only recalled the different section in the Old Bazar. Plus, the mosques in the fabric of Bazar: Qelet Marouf Mosque, Al-Tout Mosque, Hammam al-Nahhasin (bath-house) and Al-Shabanie mosque (ensuring that this mosque is one of the oldest mosques in the Bazar). My store was on the back side of Qelet Marouf Mosque in the Old Bazar. When you enter this mosque, there was a courtyard, praying room, and an Iwan space and a tomb of Walei (a holy man in Islam). Our family home was in Kalet Al-Shrief neighborhood, near Sahet Bezea (Bezea Square; مزب ةحاس). What I remember from my neighborhood and other old neighborhoods in the Old city where the narrow and authentic streets, and allies, the old entrance doors of the courtyard houses (Beit Arabi), The Iwans inside these houses, the grape trees and fountains in the courtyard. Bezea Square which is near my house was a small one and had some shops (grocer, barber....), and i remember there has been a small cinema (in old days, in each neighborhood there was a place where spectacles were performing in this kind of cinema place, and they were mostly during Eid holiday). there was a bath-house in the same square. Bab Qinesrine neighborhood and Al-Jaloum were near our neighborhood (by showing the map, the participant read the name of the historic landmarks in the Bab Qinnasrin neighborhood), There is Al-Adiliyah Mosque, and I remember this mosque has two entrances (as passageways), one of them is on the side of Souk Al-Mahmas (a spot in the Old Bazar called so), and the other is facing Souk Al-Ceatin (keatin; cotton). (The participant has recalled most of the sections in the Old Bazar, as he said he could navigate himself in this Bazar with no guide, and he has lived there for 40 years) (the participant has mentioned that they moved from their home in the old city to one of the recent emerging neighborhoods because services were not that much good in their former place of residence; the problem of vehicular traffic in the Old City. In the end, they just wanted to have a new house). For me, it is the same way I take from our family home to our store in the Old Bazar. I still remember back in the days when I was a child talking the food from our home to my father's store in Al-Medina (The Old Bazar).

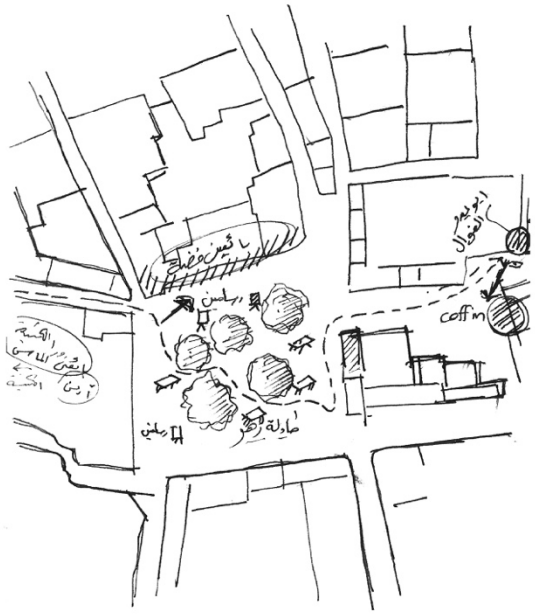
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	Nothing specifically, The Old Bazar and my neighborhood. In addition, some buildings were catching my attention in my neighborhood.
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	There is nothing here reminding me of Aleppo. Istanbul is different. In Aleppo, there are some buildings were built in the Ottoman time. Other than that there aren't that many similarities. Even though my store right now is in the historical Bazar (Istanbul). I don't find that connection with Aleppo. for me, the working environment here is different comparing with Aleppo. The people are different. The language is different. Everything here is different. of course, I did chose my current shop in the Grand Bazar. because I wanted to have my working place in a vital and commercial place. Here is considered as the city center, there are too many commercial activities taking place, many foreigners come here.
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	Since we have the Turkish citizenship becuase of my grandmother, we were coming to Turkey from time to time. So we didn't find it too different for us when we have settled in Istanbul. At the same time, we still feel strangers until today, but we are satisfied with our living in the city.
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	yes.
Sketching a memory (optional)	No.

Participant #18	Conducted as: Face-to-face
When did you leave Aleppo?	I left Aleppo on 2016.
Eductional background	Civil enginner.
Age / Gender	Male, 30 years old.
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	All my family members are still in Aleppo, and live by myself here in Istanbul.
Current occupation, and residence city.	Student, I am studying master, and I am working at the lanugage center of my university. Istanbul.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	Not that much.
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	I don't have the intention to ruturn back.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	I was only passing by different districts in the Old city of Aleppo when I did go there. But I don't have much knowledge about buildings and places. One of the things, I remember is Marouf Ball (Kelat Marouf) at Bab Antakia (Gate) (belongs to a story of a person; intangible heritage). When I was a boy my father was taking me to the Old city and he did go to many places in the Old City for the purpose of his work. In addition, I went to the Citadel many times when I was too young. I remember once when I went with my mother to buy wool from the wool section (Souk al-souf) in the Old Bazar. Note: The person talked for a bit about his story when he left the city. For me, I don't like to remember, and when something comes to my mind I try to get rid of it. I came here because of the war situation in Syria. Plus, my father has died during the war. So I said to myself: I will throw everything behind my back. My family has returned to Aleppo when we were displaced in Syria. I came here with no goal, I just wanted to leave Syria. Then gradually I begin to settle here. I am trying to cut my attachment with Syria and I am trying not to feel nostalgic to Syria. Without this linkage with my family, there isn't anything means to me in Syria. I would go to Syria if I had the chance to see my family otherwise I don't want to go there. Especially, in these difficult conditions.
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	.....
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	No, nothing.
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	Yes, I am satisfied.
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	No.
Sketching a memory (optional)	No.

Participant #19	Conducted as: Face-to-face
When did you leave Aleppo?	I left Aleppo on June, 2011.
Eductional background	Architect, and I am studying my master degree in Istanbul.
Age / Gender	Female, 26 years old.
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	Yes, I do have. I live with my family in Istanbul.
Current occupation, and residence city.	Master student. Istanbul.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	I get used to go there, but not too much.
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	I don't think I would retrun back, maybe after minimum 10 years, and it is too scary to go there right now.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	I remember we get used to hang out in the area around the Citadel and going to the restaurants there. Al-Khizaran cafe close to Yalbougha bathhouse, Peoria restaurant, and Dar Ward restaurant. We did often visit these restaurants next to the Citadel. I remember we did go there by car and have a round, then we walked a bit. Also, I remember Dar Zamaria restaurant in Al-Jedidah neighborhood, one day we have gone to that neighborhood and we ate at that restaurant, and we walked in that neighborhood after eating. Especially, Sahat Al-Hatab (square), I remember we went to this square because my friend wanted to buy something from one those silver sellers (jewelry seller), shop owners were Armenians and they were selling this kind of jewelries. I remember one place close to the square where they make wooden tombs (Caskets) in front of people, and whenever I pass by that place I feel depressed. We did often go Abo Abdo al-fowal restaurant (a famous restaurant in Aleppo), and we were watching those coffins while eating. This square was really a nice place. I remember there was a painter standing in there once I have been there. I recall the stone benches, trees and the owners of the shops they were seating in front of their shops socializing with each other, and playing Backgammon (tawla) on Bambo low chairs and tables. I also remember the smells of the shops there. Most of the people working in this neighborhood were mostly Armenians. Even when you are a native visiting this place you feel yourself a tourist (unfamiliarity). They did sell silver stuff. Even though I am a native I feel a tourist when I go anywhere in the Old City. I remember a street in Al-Jedidah where we get used to buy one type of sweet (called Istanbulaie). I didn't visit The Great Mosque of Aleppo, this part of the city is full of men, even during the day. I don't feel safe as a girl at this part of the city, because it is a district which is full of craftsmanships and they are all men. Note: the participant has mentioned that most of her memories of the Old city were while being in the car, not from experiencing the city while walking.
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	Al-Jedidah neighbourhood; Al-Hatab Square.
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	Yes, some neighborhoods of Istanbul has the same atmosphere and same harmony as the old city of Alepp, like the Grand Bazar in Istanbul is similar to the old souks of Aleppo.
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	Yes, I am satisified.

Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	No.
Sketching a memory (optional)	Yes.





Participant 20, couple.	Conducted as: Face-to-face.
When did you leave Aleppo?	2015.
Eductional background	High school degree, Architect.
Age / Gender	Housband: 45 years old. Wife: 37 years old.
Existence of relatives in Aleppo/ living with family in the current place of residence	Yes, all the our family members.
Current occupation, and residence city.	Housewife, Architect. Istanbul.
How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	Not that much.
Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	We are more attached to our family members there.
What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	The Citadel of Aleppo, Al-Madina, particularly during special occasions. The nice feeling of going there. The courtyard houses; the characteristic position of the kitchen under the stair in this kind of houses. Khan Al-Shouna. The Great Mosque of Aleppo. Restaurants and cafes. Yalbougha bathhouse. Al-Kawas bathhouse. Note: memory; mostly related to food. Both of the participants have talked about different restaurants, shops, and cafes they get used to going there, "In the Old City we have memories from every place, and each one is related to a story". The husband: I have spent my childhood in the Old City (influence of family in strengthen this bond with the old city). (the participant has mentioned a memory in his mind about the man who sells a traditional drink in the old city, this man would come to bring this drink to the people in one shop, and while leaving the shop he will mark on the outside wall of the shop for paying later, he doesn't take the money immediately, so he take it later).
Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	Nothing mentioned.
Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo?	Yes, the Grand Bazar in Istanbul.
Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	No, we are not satisfied at all.
Have you been in the Old city after it has become accessible?	No.
Sketching a memory (optional)	No.

Appendix A.3 The Structure Of The Survey:

THE SURVEY GUIDLINES	Personal questions		
1	1. When did you leave Aleppo? And where are you living right now? 2. What's your age? (Gender?) 3. What is your educational background? 4. Do you have family or relatives are still living in Aleppo? And do you live with your family in your current place of residence? 5. What & where are you working currently? And what and where were you working in Aleppo if you have changed your profession?	The purpose of this part of the survey is to grasp information about the participant's background, getting such information would help to understand the nature of the answers collected in the second part of the survey.	
2	6. How often did you visit the old city of Aleppo? 7. What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo? (a place, smell, story, feeling, an image of the city….etc) 8. What's the most pleasant place or significant building (historical, or non-historical) for you in the old city of Aleppo? And why? 9. Would you like to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends? And why?	What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo? The intention of this question is to make the person recall events from the old city of Aleppo, like places or buildings. these recallections might be intepurted by the person accroding his/her senses and feelings while describing a certain place. If the person mentioned about a certain place (a mosque, a bathhouse, historical building.....etc.), then the he/shet will be asked why this building sepecifically? How often did he/she go there? what did he/she like in this building or place? Did this place remind you of someone? If it is a building/place do you remember what was next to this place/building? if this part of the city remind you of food? can you explain more about this place in term of your personal experience while visiting there to eat or to buy soemthing?	What's the most pleasant place or significant building for you in the old city of Aleppo? And why? The expection of this question is to know the most favorable and attractive place for the person which he/she like the most, When was the last time you have visited this place/building? For what purpose you have been visiting this place/building? Do you have photographs of that place?	How often did you visit the historic city of Aleppo? This purpose of this question is to measure the level of attachement and the strength of the person's memory towards his/her city, the number of times he/she has visited the old city will measure how much this person had coonections with the historic part of the city.
3	10. Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo? (speaking of the historic part of the current city) 11. Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now? And do feel attached to it? And why? 12. Have you been in the old city after it has become accessible? (after 2017).	Does your current city remind you of the old city of Aleppo? Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now? And do feel attached to it? And why?	The aim of these two questions is to measue the level of people's attachment to their current environment, besides to their attchment to the old city as citizens of Aleppo, this is a correlation between the concpet of memory.and place attachment simultaneously.	Explain your feelings/experiences while walking/being in the old city of Aleppo?
4	13. Draw something you still remember it from the old city (something embodied your memory of historic Aleppo)? (Optional)	This method of mental mapping has been chosen as a way to measure participant's repositories of memory of spatial knowledge regarding to the old districts of Aleppo. Besides the two types of questionnaire used in this study, this method would incorporate in supporting to conduct this study, because this mental mapping method is based on personal experience		

Appendix A.4 Participants' Response Table:

	When did you leave Aleppo	Eductional background	Gender F	Gender M	Age	Existence of relatives in Aleppo, and/or in the current place of residence	Current occupation, Current residence city.	How often did you visit the Old city of Aleppo?	Having the desire to return to Aleppo and live there after the war ends.	What do you remember from the old city of Aleppo?	Favorite places in the Old city of Aleppo	The current city as a reminder of Old City in Aleppo?	Are you satisfied with your current place of residence/ your city where you are living right now?	Have you been in the Old City after it has become accessible? (after 2017)	Sketching a memory (optional)
Participant.1	2013	Housewife.	●		52 years old.	Yes. Allmost all of them. & I live with my sons here	Part-time job Istanbul.	Lived in the Old city.	I don't care.	Memory related to the participant's story of displacement from her home, and from Aleppo.	Nothing was mentioned.	Nothing was mentioned.	Yes, I am satisfied.	No.	No.
Participant.2	2012	Housewife.	●		48 years old.	Yes. there are. & I live with my sons here.	Not working. Istanbul.	Lived in the Old city.	We have nothing left there. So We wouldn't returen back.	Remembering only relatives she get used to visit. (Old City, Relatives, Home)	Nothing was mentioned.	No.	More or less satisfied.	No.	No.
Participant.3	2012	Housewife.	●		50 years old.	Yes. there are in Aleppo. I live with my childern here.	Not working. Istanbul.	Lived in the Old city.	Adapted to the current environment,	Remembering only relatives she get used to visit. (Old City, Relatives, Home)	Nothing was mentioned.	No, not that much.	We still feel ourselves strangers here. (Existing of Syrians affecting attachment).	No.	No.
Participant.4	2015	Housewife.	●		54 years old.	Yes. there are in Aleppo. & I live with my family here.	Not working. Istanbul.	Lived in the Old city.	Yes, depends on the war conditions.	Visiting relatives, The Great Mosque of Aleppo, talked a bit about the courtyard houses in her neighbourhood.	Nothing was mentioned.	Nothing was mentioned.	Adapted to the current environment. (Existing of Syrians affecting attachment).	No.	No.
Participant.5	2014	Housewife.	●		51 years old.	Yes. there are in Aleppo. & I live with my family here.	Part-time job Istanbul.	Not that much.	Yes, depends on the war conditions.	The Great Mosque of Aleppo in Ramadan month, Al-Madina (the Old Bazar) (So weak connection with the Old City).	Nothing was mentioned.	Nothing was mentioned.	Adapted to the current environment. (Existing of Syrians affecting attachment).	No.	No.
Participant.6	March, 2015.	High school degree.		●	61 years old.	Yes. there are in Aleppo. & I live with my family here.	I have a restuarant. Istanbul.	I wasn't visiting the Old city that much.	Yes, of course.	Strong memory of Dar Al-Saraya building. Khan Al-Wazir (special occasion). Al-Jedidah neighbourhhod, marketplace for food, and restaurants. The minaret of The Great Mosque of Aleppo. Yalbougha Bathhouse (childhood memory). Note; visits were limited to cafes and restaurants.	.....	Fatih neighbourhood in Istanbul. Some mosques in Istanbul, the small ones which have Ottoman style. Also, bathhouses.	Yes, I do. Life style in Istanbul is close to Aleppo.	Yes.	No.
Participant.7	09/09/2012.	Architect, studying master		●	26 years old.	Yes, I still have my grandmother and aunts in Aleppo. I live with my family in Cairo.	Master Student. Working in a construction site. Cairo	I did visit it many times.	Yes, I would like to return back (purpose: reconstruction of Syria)	Memory focused on landmarks, and public places (specific), the overall atmosphere of the city.	The Citadel of Aleppo.	yes, the historical buildings and the alleys.	Yes, Aleppo, and Cairo. Similar history, environment and atomosphere make me satisfied.	No.	Yes.
Participant.8	25 April, 2017.	Architect.		●	25 years old.	Yes, my parents live in Aleppo, they come to Germany from time to time I live with my bother in Hamburg.	Architect. Hamburg	Too many times.	Yes, (help in the reconstruction of the Old City in Aleppo)	Historical buildings; Al-Shibani Madrasa, and public spaces. The Great Mosque of Aleppo; architectual elements. Residential architecture; Beyt Ghazale. knowledge of history. Childhood's memories of the Old City (influence of old generation).	Al-Shibani Madrassa (school), The Citadel of Aleppo, and Souk Al-Madina. Jadet Al-Khandak (street). Al-Sijin street (lighting as a reminder).	yes, as a historic site in Hamburg. But it is different, in term of material, history, tradition, environemnt and buildings style.	Yes, I am satisfied.	Yes.	Yes.
Participant.9	Beginning of 2012	Architect, studying master degree in architecture.		●	29 years old.	I still have my uncles in Aleppo. & I live with my family in Istanbul.	Architect, and investing business. Istanbul.	Roughly every two weeks. I worked for certian time in my father's shop.	This depends on the circumstanc-es in Syria	Memory relates to the participant father's shop near The great Mosque of Aleppo (influence of old generation). Al-Jedidahe neighborhood; enjoying the neighbourhood, and restaurants. The area around the Citadel; the participant's memory was only restricted to restaurant he visited with friends and family.	.....	Yes, the Grand Bazar in istanbul. Despite the difference in its architectural style and construction.	No, until now I don't consider myself attached to Istanbul.	No.	Yes.
Participant.10	2012.	Architect.		●	25 years old.	Yes, all my family members are still living in Aleppo	Master student Barcalona	I get used to visiting it when I was a child with my father	Yes, for sure if the situation there has become better,	Most of the memories are near The Great Mosque of Aleppo; presence of father's shop in Al-Madina. A childhood memory from a traditional bathhouse the participant has visited with with his father and brother. The environment/atomsphere of the city. Also, the experience while going to pray in The Great Mosque of Aleppo	The Old bazar (rugs' section).	A street in Cairo called Moaz Al-Din Al-Fatemy as a remider of Aleppo. No reminder in Barcelona .	I feel more attached to Egypt, not to Barcalona.	No.	Yes.
Participant.11	15/09/2017.	Architect, and working with Red Crescent when he was in		●	28 years old.	Almost all my family member are still in Aleppo.	Master student Istanbul.	Not that much.	It depends on the situation there, if it didn't change I wouldn't return back. There is no future there.	Buildings around The Citadel; documentation works after the destruction in the Old City, also the participant talked about his experience of the site visits. Jdeydeh neighborhood and Al-Hatab square (sketching). Commercial activities and its decentralization.	Dar Al-Effta building (The House of Fatwas).	Yes, it does, the plenty number of mosques reminds me of Aleppo.	I don't feel myself attached to Istanbul. I don't speak Turkish very well, and I don't know that much about Turkish culture and traditions. But I am satisfied here	Yes.	Yes.
Participant.12	2011	Architect, Currently master student.		●	24 years old	Yes i do have some relatives in Aleppo. I am living by my own in Torino.	Master student Torino.	I used to visit it once each two weeks.	Yes I would love to ! "I want to return back and see my friends ,family and the city. (helping rebuilding the city)	The citadel of aleppo; a spot of gathereing and spending time with friends and family members. Adjacent buildings of The Citadel; the construction aspect, the cafeterias and restaurants. Also, socializing with people.	The New Shahba Neighbor-hood (the participant's home, located in the new part of the city)	Unfortunately no.	Yes I am satisfied / no beacuse for me I am attached to people more than the place itself.	No.	No.
Participant.13	June, 2014.	Architect.		●	29 years old.	Yes, My family is still in Aleppo. I live with my friends in Istanbul.	Architect. Istanbul.	Sometimes I go there.	Yes, the reasons; rehabilitation of the Old city of Aleppo. Not that much related to the war conditions.	The participant has talked about history, the architectural character of the Old City. The influence of the old City on him as an architect. Childhood memory (family influence). Also, talked about his reseach in the Old city. A memory from one specific mosque (Behramiyah Mosque). Family occasion. A memory of the city through food. in addition, to the reconstruction of the city.	.....	One market place in Fatih district, Istanbul as a reminder of Aleppo. Also, some streets in Eminönü neighborhood. (common history between the two cities).	I feel attached to Istanbul. I love Istanbul, not like other cities in Turkey (more attached to the rich history and authenticity of the city). The participant has also talked about not returning back in order to keep the good memories (paused memories, 2012).	No.	No.
Participant.14	2011.	Architect, had a master and Phd degree in restoration.	●		40 years old.	My family is still living in Aleppo, and most of my famil members. only have one sister lives here in Istanbul.	Architect, Instructing at the university. Istanbul.	Working in projects in the Old City of Aleppo.	Yes, It depends on the circumstances there, I don't think I won't return back at all.	The participant mentioned the development of the bond she had with the Old City; since the time she moved to the city until she left, memories from university, and from working in projects in the Old City. Loving the city through understanding it through people living it (the human relationship with the city). Also, talked specifically about two buildings in the old Bazar. feeling Regretful for not visit places/buildings before the war.	Khan Al-Sabun and the people working there. Al-Hatab square in Jdeydeh neighborhood. Khan Al-Shouna (criticizing the transformation of that spot in the city)	.....	Yes, I am satisfied and I had enough time to be adapted with the Istanbul.	No.	No.
Participant.15	2010	Architect.	●		27 years old.	Yes, I am living with my family but still having relatives there in Aleppo.	freelancer. In Aleppo I was a student. Istanbul.	Very few times.	I think I wouldn't like to live there after the war (due to the politicis in the country).	Feeling of home, the site around the Citadel as a reminder or historical record tells about the past hisotry of the city. The old historical markets; colorful fabrics and old metal and wooden products. Visiting the old city as reminder of the past historical events had taken place in Aleppo.	Aleppo citadel and the public space surrounding it, and the whole experience of visiting that spot of the city.	Yes, especially the historical buildings, the paved streets and experience of walking in narrow alleies	Yes. I think I found there the rights and respect that I was always looking for. There are many similarities between Turkey and Aleppo, similar history, environment and atmosphere, and that what makes me satisfied.	No.	No.
Participant.16	28/08/2015.	Arabic teacher.		●	25 years old.	Yes, almost all my family members are living in Aleppo. Right now I stay with my friend in Istanbul.	Arabic teacher. Istanbul.	I was living in the Old City of Aleppo, and we moved on 2001.	Yes, of course and right now I am thinking about returning back.	Aleppine people's habits (childhood memories). Al-Bakhety mosque (remembered in details). Strong bond with Old City has affted the person after moving from the old city (keeping regular visits to the Old City). Remembering home and the neighbourhood, also, grandparents' houses (all by drawing), shops, schools, childhood memories, and other details.	Al-Bakhety mosque.	The Grand Bazar and Mısır Çarşısı in Istanbul remind me of Souk Al-Nehasin and Khan Al-Shouna in Aleppo. "Istanbul remind me of Aleppo", particularly Fatih district	No, I am not attached at all to Istanbul. One of the reasons, there is no stable job to think about settling here for a long time	No.	Yes.
Participant.17	2012, Ramadan month.	Merchant.		●	55 years old.	Yes, I still have relatives in Aleppo, and i live with my family in Istanbul	Merchant. Istanbul.	Living and working in the Old City of Aleppo.	Yes, if the situation has become better and it is safe why not, but if it is not I won't return back.	Mentioning the names of some historical buildings and the old Bazar (where he was working in his shop). Remembering the family home, the neighbourhood, and Bezea Square.	Nothing specifically, The Old Bazar and my neighborhoods. In addition, some buildings were catching my attention in my neighborhood.	There is nothing here reminding me of Aleppo. Istanbul is different. The people are different. The language is different. Everything here is different	we still feel strangers until today. But we are satisfied with our living in the city.	No.	No.
Participant.18	2016.	Civil enginner.		●	30 years old.	All my family members are still in Aleppo, and live by myself here in Istanbul.	Student, Istanbul.	Not that much.	No, I don't have the intention to return back.	Childhood memoreis; visits with his father. I don't want to remember and not to feel nostalgic to Syria ; trying yo forget (weak memory). "I will throw everything behind my back"	Nothing mentioned.	No, nothing.	Yes, I am satisfied.	No.	No.
Participant.19	June, 2011.	Architect, and master student.	●		26 years old.	Yes, I do have. I live with my family in Istanbul.	Student, Istanbul.	Not that much.	No, it is too scary to go there right now.	The restaurants and cafes next to The Citadel. Al-Hatab Square and the experience of this public sapce (visits with friends and family), people socializing in the square. Feeling as a toruist in the Old City (unfamiliarity), also, buying food. Not visiting some spots becasue it is full of men.	Jdeydeh neighborhood, Al Hatab Squre.	Not really.	Yes, I am satisfied.	No.	No.
Participant.20 couple	2015.	W: High school d. H:Architect.	●	●	W: 37. H: 45.	Yes, all the our family members.	W: Housewife. H: Architect.	Not that much.	Yes, We are so attached to our family members there.	For both of the participants; the the memory they had was mostly related to food. The husband; the influence of family in strengthen this bond with the old city.	Nothing mentioned.	Yes, the Grand Bazar in Istanbul.	No, we are not satisfied at all (instability, there is no good job).	No.	No.

CURRICULUM VITAE

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Publications: Appropriation and Adaptation of Spaces by Syrians: The Case Study Of Akşemsettin Quarter, Istanbul.

Working Life: Stewards of Cultural Heritage Project (SoCH), German Archeological Institute in Istanbul, workshop. June, 2019- December, 2019.

TURES Architecture, architect. November, 2018- February, 2019.

Hands on experience, workshop. September 2018.

Cafer Bozkurt Architecture, Intern. July, 2016- August, 2016.

SE-FA restoration firm, Intern. August, 2016.

BINAA, Intern. July, 2015- August, 2015.

Research of Safranbolu City, workshop. June, 2015.