

Article

Heritage-Led Urban Regeneration in the Context of WH Listing & the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs): Lessons and Opportunities for the newly inscribed city of As-Salt in Jordan.

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Abstract: ~~Heritage-led~~ The nomination of a city on the UNESCO WHL is usually followed by urban regeneration is expected to be closely linked to the UN 2030 agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). However, with emphasis on tourism development and the OUV assigned to the city. In doing so, other heritage values might be excluded, while new urban issues are unintentionally triggered such as gentrification, touristification, social exclusion, and amongst others tend to take place in World Heritage Cities and contradict many aspects of Urban Sustainability. Following the recent inscription of the city of As-Salt City in Jordan on the UNESCO WHL in July 2021, this paper aims to avoid the negative impact of urban regeneration practices in other relevant world heritage cities in traces the region. The paper first examines urban regeneration initiatives in As-Salt since the city from its first attempt to nominate the city be nominated on the WHL in 2014 and then assess how these are perceived by the local community. The third aim is to draw key lessons from a selection to its inscription in 2021. Based on a survey conducted in November 2020, the paper illustrates the challenges faced by local communities in As-Salt as a result of the urban transformations. Key lessons from the urban regeneration trajectories of world heritage cities in the MENA region will follow to understand the challenges and the patterns of urban regeneration that contradict SDGs. The fourth aim is to explore how heritage-led urban regeneration can meet the SDGs while protecting and enhancing heritage values including arise from them. These lessons combined with the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV). A result of As-Salt community survey are used to develop a list of prioritized short, medium, and long-term recommendations is generated based on for the results of a survey conducted with a sample of 50 members from city of As-Salt to address how the As-Salt local community urban regeneration practices that have already started can be nudged to change trajectories.

Keywords: Heritage-led Urban Regeneration; World Heritage List (WHL); Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs); United Nation (UN); As-Salt City; The MENA region; Tourism

1. Introduction

Urban heritage refers to the city as heritage that goes beyond the built environment to incorporate social, economic, and functional environmental aspects [1]. It constitutes both tangible and intangible components that are key to enhancing the livability of urban areas and promoting economic development and social cohesion [2]. Heritage in this context is considered a significant resource for regeneration and a method to enable communities to consider culture as a central plan for wellbeing [4]. One of the most notable initiatives

for cultural and natural heritage preservation that has progressively reached universal recognition is the UNESCO 1972 World Heritage Convention (WHC) in France [35]. This convention is widely recognized as the foremost instrument for identifying and protecting the outstanding cultural and natural world heritage for present and future generations [46]. World heritage here is: 'The designation for places on Earth that are of outstanding universal value to humanity and as such, have been inscribed on the World Heritage List to be protected for future generations to appreciate and enjoy' [5, p. 1].

The UNESCO WHL: Policies and implications

However, over the years, controversies and debates were raised around the World Heritage List (WHL), with growing concerns about its credibility and due to the imbalance in the number of properties listed in both countries and continents, see [46], [68], [72], [810], [911]. By the year 2021, the MENA region had others. By 2021, the variance is still obvious despite efforts for a balanced, representative, and credible WHL including the Global Strategy to balance and create a 'non-European dominant World Heritage List' [10]. By the year 2021, the MENA region has acquired 117 of a total 1154 Properties on the WHL including both natural and cultural sites [57], see figure (1). Considering the scale of the MENA region, see figure (1), the demand for a more balanced, representative, and credible WHL is still raised. This also questions of how the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) is defined, assessed, and attributed are raised? Is it based on a dynamic process or is it a rigid system of values, and finally, is the assignment of the OUV, exclude other heritage values in the process? These types of questions were raised previously by various researchers and academics, see [413] and [4214].

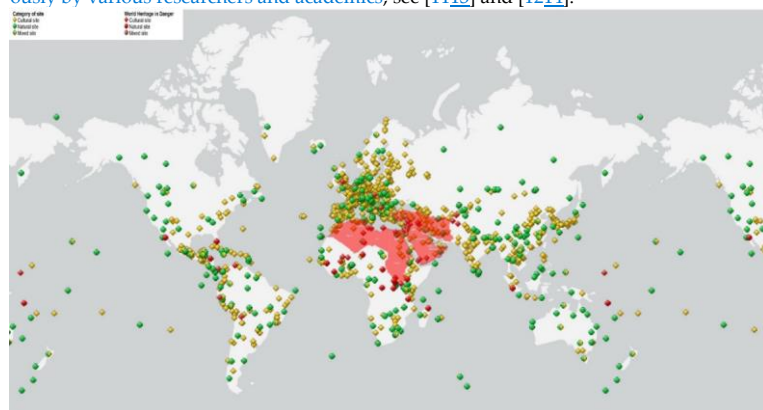


Figure 1. World Heritage Sites highlighting the MENA region in Red [57] modified by (El Faouri, 2021)

In order to be inscribed on the WHL, the nominated sites must meet the threshold of an Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) [7], which is identified by UNESCO operational guidelines as:

'Cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole' [4315, p. 20].

Cameron [4413] reveals that with time, the interpretation in identifying World Heritage Sites has moved from the 'best of the best' towards 'representative of the best'. In other words, the OUV is no longer limited to unique sites, but it stretches to representatives with the same type of property and level of value and became a race for countries to submit a nomination file and acquire the status see [13], [17], [18] and [19]. Furthermore, in

the view of ICOMOS (in 2008) cited in [46, p. 164]. Outstanding means that 'in comparison with the generally documented cultural heritage they belong to the very best or are representative of the best'. Universal means 'that these outstanding values can be acknowledged as such in general and worldwide ... [so] that not only a region or a country looks after the protection of this heritage, but that instead ... mankind feels responsible for its protection and conservation'. Thus, it is not intended that the list should be completely representative of the earth's entire cultural and natural heritage as this would be contrary to the concept of the uniqueness factor of the OUV [44,16]. In fact, the evolution of the notion of OUV was a result of the worldwide Strategy and thematic studies, it encouraged a range of diverse typologies, cultures, and public engagement, see [14], [15] and [16]. This approach added the value to facilitate the exchange between international cultural encounters and a collective understanding of both natural and cultural heritage [17].

This is other than To date, there are many other controversies around the WHL, such as the international domination of a 'western colonial project', the noting of bias in the context of supposed 'universal value' [40,12], the lack of participation of the advisory bodies in revising and preparing the inventory of values in the tentative lists [43,15], the lack of understanding of mechanisms such as of 'referral' and 'deferral' [42,14], and many other controversies, implications and hypothesis.

Nevertheless, being inscribed or even nominated on the WHL has an important relationship to heritage-led Urban regeneration, once a country signs the WHC/WH Convention, it expects the subsequent benefits and prestige that includes raising the level of awareness among relevant parties, raising the level of protection and conservation given to heritage properties [48,20] including the protection under the Geneva Convention against destruction or misuse during wartime [49,21]. A country with a World Heritage Site (WHS) will also be eligible to receive financial assistance and expert opinion from the World Heritage Committee [35], increased international attention and resources, improved tourism, national and local pride, and finally, it facilitates creating partnerships between all governmental Organizations, NGOs, the private sector and the United Nations (UN) organizations.

Yet, listing can be found problematic; there is increasingly general opposition to handing over local or national heritage to all mankind, as well as the intervening of international bodies in local decisions [20,22]. Furthermore, the process of nominating a property itself has become so complex and is shifting from being a scheme of international cooperation and assistance intended to support efforts to preserve cultural and natural heritage for next generations [43,15] to being a political competition of power. In fact, it can be seen as a time-consuming process, cost burdening, and resource exhaustive if undertaken without serious/thoughtful consideration, see, [24,23] and [22,24]. The most notable issue discussed in this paper in being inscribed or even nominated on the WHL is the tendency to dramatically increase the number of visitors, emphasizing the sudden development of the tourism industry and infrastructure without much consideration to other equally important sustainability dimensions. Listing can interfere to many regeneration scenarios with regard to/about timing, location and/or the parties involved parties.

Within the WH platform, there are two categories of cities: those that have already acquired the status of a WH site, and those that are pursuing a process of inscription. In both cases, a pattern of urban regeneration geared towards increasing tourism is usually triggered and disrupts the logic of a continuously living narrative. This process attracts developers for financial profit, and sudden urban interventions triggered by the change or possible change of a city's status in relation to the WHL, see [44,13]; [23,25]; [24,26]; [42,14]; [40,12]; [25,27]; [26,28] and others. This often leads to losing sight of the connection between the tangible and intangible dimensions of heritage, hence, attracting a large number of many visitors at the expense of the wellbeing of the local communities, highlighting mainly the criteria used for defining the OUV in the development processes. Urban regeneration that follows the nomination of a city on the WHL, will attempt to 'celebrate and consume' the values assigned to the city. (OUV) [13]. In doing so, other heritage

values are excluded in the process [44,43], while new urban issues are unintentionally provoked such as gentrification, touristification, social exclusion, ~~and amongst~~ many others. These in turn lead to an increase in rental costs of properties as well as the value of homes and a reduction in the supply of affordable housing, resulting in a shift in the proportion of social classes within the urban population, all of which contradict and undermine the concept of Urban Sustainability. ~~Therefore, a more sustainable development approach is needed in the WH cities to avoid such negative outcome.~~

Sustainable development Goals SDCs

Sustainable development is defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs aspirations' [27, p. 47]. It aims to create a state of equilibrium across the three interdependent sustainability pillars: economic, environmental, social, and cultural [28]. There are various UN initiatives that followed the WHC and have been issued and initiated on a global scale with the purpose of managing and protecting cultural heritage in both its tangible and intangible dimensions. In fact, the concept of 'Sustainable Development' was introduced in the 1960s and 1970s, after the beginning of the global energy crisis and the economic depression [29]. It was a wakeup call and an acknowledgment that natural resources will not last forever and the limit to the hauling capacity of ecosystems will eventually be lost. The UN initiatives to follow that quest are presented in the following timeline (figure 28):

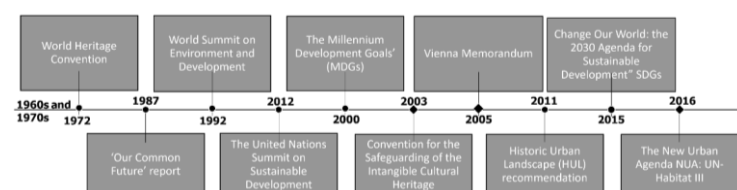


Figure 2. The Corpus of the UN United Nations Initiatives (El Faouri, 2021)

After the end of the Millennium Development Goals MDGs implementation period in 2015, and during the same year, the United Nations Summit on Sustainable Development, ended with 'Change Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development' [30]. Seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were introduced as 'landmark achievement' to offer a new type of international consensus and reinforce cooperation among countries in order to promote sustainable development vision from a global standpoint [31]. Heritage-led urban regeneration has an important relationship to SDGs and especially SDG 11 'Sustainable cities and communities: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable' [30, p. 24]. In fact, out of 17 goals for sustainable development, 169 targets, Cultural heritage was only explicitly mentioned in target 11.4 'Protect the world's cultural and natural heritage: Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage' [30, p. 24]. However, it was embedded in many other targets within goal 8 'promote sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all' (UN, 2015, p. 21) and 17 'Revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development' [30, p. 28]. The SDGs covers areas that were not mentioned by the HUL such as international networking or providing a measurement and monitoring standards which were not also included in NUA. This is a global current movement with many publications and will be used as the biggest umbrella in this paper for an inclusive sustainable development.

Before integrating the SDGs as a guiding initiative for a more sustainable Urban Regeneration practices, it is important to highlight that the end of 2021 marks six years passing from the SDGs implementation period over the third of the implementation period.

looking at the subsequent progress reports published by the UN official website, they indicate that although the SDGs have gone a long way in the aspects of providing basic needs like shelter, transportation, pollution, and waste management, however, the safeguarding and promotion of cultural heritage were underrepresented and were not fully emphasised [32]. This is despite the fact that culture contributes directly and indirectly to many of the SDGs such as safe and sustainable cities, decent work and economic growth, reduced inequalities, the environment, promoting gender equality and peaceful and inclusive societies. This pattern goes back to even before the SDGs, during the recent decades, sustainable development policies and research have focused on environmental and economic sustainability, while social sustainability is less explored, and with culture being frequently considered under the social dimension [33]. In fact, within the different pillars of sustainability, social and cultural sustainability were not sufficiently mentioned in publications and were dealt with under environmental and political implications rather than as an equal constitutive component of sustainable development, see [34], [33] and [35]. Cultural Heritage was also absent from both the MDCs and the first draft of SDGs [36]. There is no doubt that the SDGs surely enshrine a conceptual shift in thinking beyond economic growth, and in imagining a future that is inclusive, peaceful, and sustainable. However, such bold vision and aspiration demand creative alternatives, beyond the typical linear ones that most WH cities have been using in urban regeneration projects. Despite the efforts done by many platforms that are dedicated to include, integrate and localise culture among the SDGs (e.g. ICOMOS, culture 21 committee of UCLG, 2018; CIV-VIII/ICOMOS, 2020; Sustainable development Goals Working Group SDGWG 2020; and others) the potential to operationally relate culture to the SDGs appears to remain largely untapped in national and local strategies, that has led to a gap in the existing and on the ground practices of engaging culture for sustainable development and the practices of heritage led urban regeneration. In fact, it is the work of other organisations such as ICOMOS SDGWC and others that initiated an international level cooperation promoting ‘heritage’ as the driver and enabler of sustainability using target 11.4 mentioned above [37]. Although reflecting the challenges in attaining adequate data and developing systematic methodologies on cultural heritage is central to realize the SDGs [38], there is a lack of correlation between the goals themselves and the targets and indicators they are affiliated to, with many of them not fully defined. The best example given here is the only indicator for goal 11.4 which is:

‘11.4.1. Total expenditure (public and private) per capita spent on the preservation, protection and conservation of all cultural and natural heritage, by type of heritage (cultural, natural, mixed and World Heritage Centre designation), level of government (national, regional and local/municipal), type of expenditure (operating expenditure/investment) and type of private funding (donations in kind, private non-profit sector and sponsorship)’ [30, p. 24].

It is interesting that we still mark our progress in the field of heritage preservation by the amount of money spends on it. Heritage can be measured by many aspects such as the performativity, liveability, or diversity of its community, it can also be measured by stakeholder participation, the awareness level, integrity and authenticity, the managerial system, the continuity of intangible heritage or the quality rehabilitation processes and others, to limit all those measurement with the ‘Total expenditure’ is yet to be considered. Not only that but ‘there is not yet a UN definition on this indicator’ [30, p. 24] which also opens a platform for discussion. Consequently, by reviewing the progress reports written in 2016, 2017, 2018 and 2019 respectively [32], there was no mentioning to target 11.4 nor the progress of its indicator.

Another case is in goal 8, although targets 8.1 ‘Sustainable Economic growth’, 8.3 ‘Promote policies to support job creation and growing enterprises’, and 8.9 ‘Promote beneficial and sustainable tourism’ [30, p. 21], all are relevant to heritage led Urban regeneration, the indicators for these targets rely mainly on the *Gross Domestic Product*, a monetary value abbreviated as (GDP). There is no mention of community involvement in the decision making processes, no measure for public awareness of sustainable tourism nor the level of

interaction with cultural knowledge, skills, and training programmes [39]. This has put aside many aspects of cultural and social sustainability aside. It is important to mention that cultural and innovative sectors can be integrated in tourism strategies, active participation in cultural life, the safeguarding of tangible and intangible cultural heritages which are core components of human and sustainable development [39]. It has the potential to be areas for inclusive, sustainable, and fair employment, as far as the appropriate labour conditions and in accordance with international human rights. Thus, within the overall frame of the 2030 Agenda and the previous UN initiatives, there is a great need to address cultural and social aspects which play a pivotal role in including areas where connections may only be implicit. The achievement of those international targets shall happen at local and national levels along with the international level to feed into the sustainable development framework.

Despite having all these sustainable development initiatives mentioned earlier and specifically the SDCs, yet regeneration in a WH city is often translated to a proliferation of hotels, bed and breakfast accommodations, souvenir shops and many other tourist-oriented leisure and catering facilities. It takes over the spontaneous genuine experience and replace it with 'consumerism' leading to the disappearance of intangible heritage for financial profit. This creates a potential conflict in the heritage preservation for all human kind offered by UNESCO WHL and the promotion of Sustainable Development also established by the United Nations UN. While all mentioned initiatives including the WH convention respectively oriented towards the protection of cultural heritage and improving the lifestyle of local communities, the adoption of WH listing and the different criteria to different UN umbrellas might lead to a potential conflict of interest in the same urban site. In this paper, an approach to use the SDCs initiative to rebalance priorities Urban regeneration while acquiring the WH status.

The case in focus in this research is As-Salt city in Jordan as is a timely case study due to its recent inscription on the WHL, the city has gone through three attempts in the last thirty years before its successful inscription onto the UNESCO world heritage list WHL in July 2021. The first attempt was initiated in 1990s by a local NGO that was deferred, this was followed by a second one in 2015/2016 by the local authority which was also deferred. It was until the third attempt in 2020 that the city was finally inscribed on the World Heritage List WHL in 2021 [57]. This series of events has triggered an increasing interest from investors who have initiated a series of uncoordinated urban development projects, scattered in the city centre. The first attempt resulted in the city winning funding opportunities such as the 2016 'Distinctive Destination Program (DDP)' organized by the Jordanian Ministry of Tourism and USAID with funding being allocated to the city's Municipality and local communities to carry out small urban interventions aimed at developing tourism facilities [40]. The second attempt and the successful inscription has also led to as well as the proliferation of tourist facilities on the expense of public livelihood and genuine experience. As-Salt city has already followed the footsteps of comparable WH cities in the World and more specifically the MENA region. These issues include using the UNESCO nomination as a Catalyst for Urban Regeneration urban regeneration such as the Historic Jeddah in Saudi Arabia; Selective narratives the beautification and the Singularity of the OUV and the restoration of Heritage Buildings and Beautification of Urban Spaces heritage buildings without Adaptive Reuse and Urban Revitalization adaptive reuse such as the historic Cairo in Egypt; Over tourism, gentrification and alteration of heritage such as the walled cities of Fez, Marrakesh, and Essaouira in Morocco.

2. Aim and Objectives:

The overall aim of this paper is to Develop recommendations for sustainable alternatives for urban regeneration of the newly inscribed city of As-Salt (Jordan), and avoid the repetition of the negative impact of urban regeneration practices impacts identified in other relevant the WH cities in of the MENA region in. In doing

so, it investigates how the urban regeneration practices that have already taken place in As-Salt can be nudged to change trajectories. This is ~~done through~~ illustrated in the following four ~~main~~ objectives:-

1. To examine the urban regeneration practices that have already started in the city of As-Salt ~~City~~ since the first attempt to nominate it on the WHL ~~initiated~~ in 2014 ~~to its inscription in 2021~~.
2. To present and assess the result of a field work ~~conducted during the nomination process in 2020~~ on how these Urban regeneration processes are perceived by the local community.
3. To draw key lessons from a selection of world heritage cities in the MENA region to understand the challenges and the patterns of urban regeneration ~~that contradict sustainability in general and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in particular, in the medium and long-term~~.
4. To ~~explore how post nomination heritage led urban regeneration in As Salt can meet the SDGs while protecting and enhancing~~ incorporate those lessons with the result of the local community survey in order to co-produce a list of prioritized recommendations for the city of As-Salt. These recommendations that are geared towards the enhancement of all heritage values including the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV). A list of prioritized recommendations is generated based on the results of a survey conducted with a sample of 50 members from the As Salt local community. In doing so, it is hoped that As Salt can avoid the repetition of the negative impacts of previous scenarios examined in the region, and address how the urban regeneration practices that have already started can be nudged to change trajectories by rebalancing priorities in order to meet the SDGs.

3. Methodology

In order to fulfill the first aim, using the case of As Salt as a timely case study due to its recent inscription on the WHL in July 2021, the

2. Materials and Methods

The paper will examine the heritage-led Urban regeneration practices that have started ~~since in~~ 2014 since the ~~first attempt to nominate~~ authorities of As-Salt decided to ~~initiate nominating~~ the city on the world heritage list ~~has started~~. This is done by using both qualitative and quantitative ~~secondary of data sources on the city's transformation of the site~~ during a period of 7 years (from 2014–2021). ~~This is then complemented followed by an interview survey with different members of the local community, which investigates local community's perception of current urban regeneration practices and their aspiration for the future.~~ The data collection ~~consisted~~ consists of questionnaires, ~~photo mapping maps illustrating the transformation of the site~~ as well as direct observation and ~~photographic record~~ of the site.

A sample of 50 participants from the local community ~~was were~~ interviewed in November 2020 during the first phase of ~~field work~~ fieldwork conducted as part of the ~~author's Ph.D.~~ author's Ph.D. research. ~~An online survey was distributed to the local community of As Salt, a link to a self-administered questionnaire was circulated via (WhatsApp) to about 70 participants who were reached mainly by local NGOs in the area or by the researcher contact list. Consent to participate in the study was part of the survey as simple tick at the beginning of the google forms. The survey responses~~ The criteria in selecting the sample were anonymous and took approximately 10–15 minutes to be completed. This questionnaire based on age and gender inclusivity and based on the location of this sample within the boundary of the As-Salt city heritage center. Therefore, the sample included ~~merchants who moved from the city center & shop owners/merchants that are still~~ 31% of the participants living in the city center ~~market area, as well as~~, 49% working in the city

center but living other where, and finally, 20% living and working in the city center. In terms of occupation, the sample represented 28% traders and merchants from the city center, 39% representatives from the local community residents. The questionnaire ended with a sample of 50 people from the local community, of which, both males and females, as well as 33% school and university students, 40% are female and 60% male participants. 88% are Muslims and 12% Christians. The age groups are 6% less than 20 years old, 58% between 20 to 40 years old, 22% between 40 to 60 years old and finally 14% are more than 60 years old. This means that the majority of the participants are relatively young to middle-aged professionals, 88% are Muslims and 12% Christians with about 28% traders, 39% professionals and housewives and 33% school and university students. Using Critical Content Analysis of the interviews, community perception of the transformation of the down town area is investigated, aged professionals, which is the targeted sample that are most affected and will help co-producing future recommendations.

In order to fulfill the third aim, unprecedented events brought about the Covid-19 pandemic, the survey was distributed to the local community of As-Salt via online platforms, a link to a self-administered questionnaire was circulated via (WhatsApp) as the most accessible online platform that is convenient to the participants. This sample was reached mainly by the most relevant NGO in As-Salt city center (Salt Development Corporation SDC) or by the Municipality licensing department for shop owner in the center, and Balqa Applied university architecture students also in the city center. The survey responses were anonymous and took approximately 10-15 minutes to be completed.

Using thematic content analysis, the community perception was investigated to identify their position on the related themes and their aspiration for the future. To facilitate the process of extracting information, the research used qualitative data analysis tools NVivo 12 software to code those responses. The paper then distinguishes similar examples urban regeneration practices and examines in a selection of UNESCO world heritage examples cities in the MENA region. The selection in order to identify the common challenges of those examples was based on similarities in heritage-led urban regeneration in the region and contextualize the practices and urban issues that started to appear in As-Salt City. They demonstrate what if scenarios for WH cities and the identified in As-Salt. These lessons combined with the result of As-Salt community survey are used to develop a list of prioritized short-, medium-, and long-term timescales recommendations for the city of As-Salt to address how the urban regeneration practices that have already started can be nudged to change trajectories of event that are likely to happen in the case of As-Salt if it followed the recurrent pattern of regeneration. Comparison to As Salt situation will be tackled were needed to illustrate those scenarios.

Finally, in order to fulfill the fourth aim, the investigated Heritage led urban regeneration issues in the MENA region were linked to the relevant goals of the UN 2030 agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDG 11, 8 and 17). A list of prioritized recommendations is generated based on the results of a survey conducted under the umbrella of SDGs. These recommendations are categorized by short-, medium- and long-term priorities for an alternative more sustainable future.

4. As-Salt City in Jordan

3. Mapping the transformation of As-Salt City (2014-2021)

As-Salt city is located in Al-Balqa valley in Jordan. The location of the city on the cross-roads between Amman and Jerusalem, its proximity to the two Palestine-Jordan roads and Al Hijaz Railway station [4130] means that the city occupies a historically strategic position in relation to trade routes and networks. The establishment of a castle at such an early date as the days of the Canaanites (second millennium BC), indicates that the area has been inhabited for a long time [4231]. As-Salt city is the first civilized urban settlement in Transjordan and was a regional Ottoman capital on the East Bank of the Jordan River [4332] and a thriving urban southern Ottoman frontier [4130] and [4433]. The city is

described by its residents as 'the nucleus of Jordan' as the only existing prototype of an old Jordanian city, having the most traditional urban environment in term of size and quality and the largest number of heritage buildings in Jordan [45] representing a Hashemite authentic legacy.

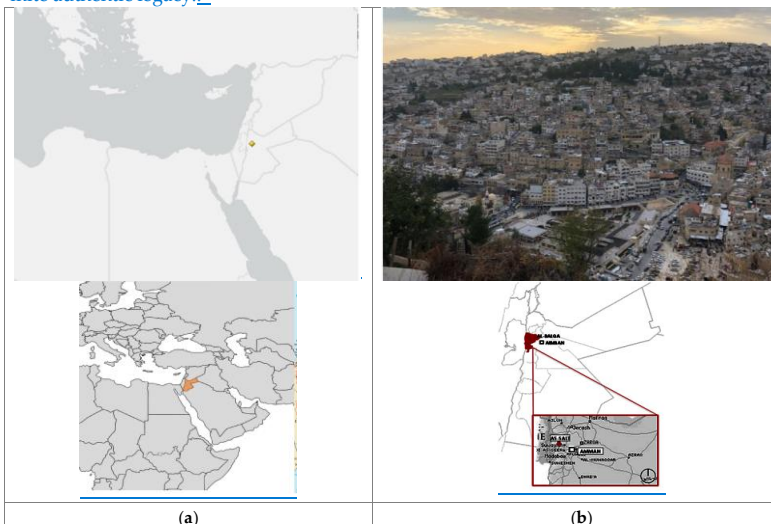


Figure 32. (a) Jordan location within the MENA region [32]; (b) As-Salt location [5]; (c) View for As-Salt City centre taken from Al-Salaleh mountain [46] within Jordan [32]

The city of As-Salt has gained its importance from its "Golden era" when an élite of merchants, mostly coming from Nablus/Palestine played an important a significant role in its development [4736]. They were mainly interested in the region because of its safety, a result and location of the control over the area by trade routes under the Ottoman administration [4837]. These merchants formed an - In a few years, this emerging social class with its significant collected a huge fortune thanks to three activities which were intertwined: the trade, of farm based on trade, farming products, with for markets in the Levant, other areas of the Ottoman Empire and Europe; loans along with interests that were often earned in the form of farm products or small plots of ground; and the accumulation of farm estates. This new middle class partly determined the improvement of As-Salt City planning and the renewal of its architecture, upgrading the village from rural area relying on agriculture to an urban settlement, a bourgeois town for merchants [4938]. The new City was a cluster of ornamented yellow limestone buildings with local stone from As-Salt quarries that are known for their workability to be shaped. As-Salt has currently 657 buildings that were built in that area era according to the Royal Scientific Society (RSS) study in 1991 and over one thousand heritage buildings and sites according to the Japanese International Cooperation Study JICA, that number is considered the largest compared to that of -all other cities in Jordan and compared to the in terms of density of heritage buildings-per -geographical site area of [5039].



Figure 3. Different views from As-Salt City historic buildings within the Golden era [35].

As-Salt city is also exceptional because it still has a vibrant living tangible and intangible heritage which makes it different from any other Jordanian heritage cities such as Jerash and Petra in Jordan where heritage sites are outside the cities [40]. People of As-Salt continue to carry the hospitality spirit in their daily lives. For example, the continuation of “Madafa” tradition, which is the Arabic name for a hospitality space [40] and [41]; traditional customs of hospitality including behaviour with guests and generosity [30]; the traditional game of Manqala in Sahet Al-Ain, see figure (4.a). Furthermore, the urban townscape of As-Salt is living evidence in the harmonious co-existence of Muslims and Christians, see Fig (4.b) within a vivid commercial market, see figure (4.c).



Figure 4. Some of As-Salt intangible heritage (a) elderly playing Manqala game in Sahet Al-Ain; (b) Harmony of Muslims and Christians; (c) Hammam street market [35].

The city was put on the UNESCO WHL tentative list to be nominated on the WHL multiple time in three times since the 90s, however, it was until 2014 when the authorities of the city supported the submission of a file in 2015 and built a roadmap for this purpose. However, the first attempt was initiated by the Royal Scientific Society (a local NGO) but was not done in collaboration with Governmental institutions which at the time had not yet developed their heritage conservation legal system. Therefore, the focus of this paper is based on the last two nominations files submitted in 2016 and 2020 [7]. The first file submission was deferred, then submitted in 2016 was initiated and led by the municipality of As-Salt in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities. This file was mainly focused on the tangible heritage of As-Salt, consisting of the cluster of yellow limestone buildings of the golden era of the Ottoman rule of the city, see figure (5.a). This file was deferred in 2017 as the tangible heritage submitted in the form of single buildings and not a coherent urban entity was not sufficient to be of outstanding universal value as it can also be found in other cities such Nablus in Palestine [37]. The second file was submitted in 2020 and this has led to the submitted in 2020 was also led by the Municipality but with different coordinators who shifted the focus from the tangible to the intangible heritage of As-Salt (tolerance and co-habitations among Muslim and Christian communities; urban hospitality; and socio-urban welfare system), see figure (5.b) [30]. This attempt has led to the successful inscription of the city on the WHL in 2021 [30].

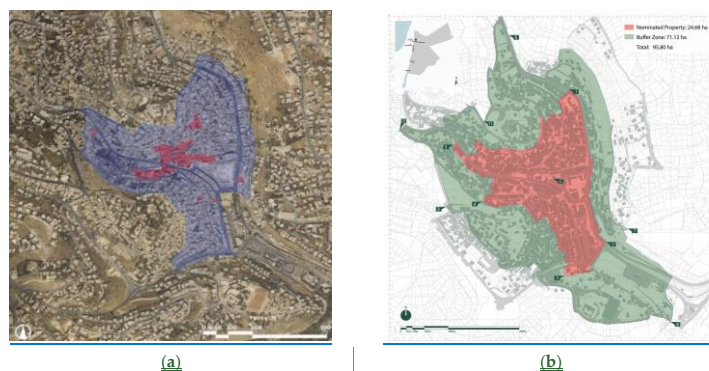


Figure 5. Since then, the city of As-Salt has become more known and popular. The5. (a) The boundary of the nominated property in 2016 file [37]; (b) The boundary of the nominated property in 2020 file [30]

Through examining the secondary data and by visiting the site in November 2020, many issues followed the WH inscription:

3.1. Community displacement and Tourism-led urban regeneration projects in the centre of the city & Losing connection between tangible and intangible heritage.

The start of As-Salt WH nomination file in 2014, had triggered an increasing interest in the city from national and international parties has brought along many who saw in the city opportunities such as for funding and investment opportunities, but it also brought many threats; the. There has been a proliferation of a series of urban development projects that are scattered all-around the city center, and which were initiated without being part the development of a clear masterplan. [42]. These urban actions also interventions include the-acquiring and demolishing of existing mixed-use buildings in the city center, as well as implementing new urban regeneration tourism oriented projects, that are out of scale and not sympathetic to the nature of the city. This has led to the displacement causing the displacement to the city's suburbs of two primary schools, apartment buildings, institutional and religious buildings, monasteries, and a local market, see figure (6) -to the suburbs [5443]. This was followed by the implementation of tourism-oriented urban regeneration projects, that are out of scale not sympathetic to the nature of the city [42]. Furthermore, the displacement of community functions and activities has not only -It also alienated the local community, removing a part from its historic center, but it also resulted in the removal, of the living intangible heritage that is associated with the place, and disturbing the attachment of which provided the site liveliness with its genuine and social and cultural qualities liveliness. One of the most notable projects is the one which was initiated by As-Salt Greater Municipality which acquired consisted of acquiring by compulsory purchase in 2010 the site of the *Oqba bin Nafe'* school and the its surrounding buildings and demolishing them in 2010 and 2014 respectively, with a land area of 13,900 square meters for 'Oqba bin Nafe' project phase one'. This project aims some of them in 2010. However, there had been a strong resistance from the locals to give up their buildings until 2014 when the nomination file started for establishing a green area, to revive the memory of the surrounding orchards and to provide a public space for the residents of the city, the UNESCO World heritage status and the court of justice had ruled in favor of the Municipality to acquire the whole site and start the implementation of the urban regeneration projects [35]. These were funded by the Municipality of As-Salt and designed by Dar Al Handassah, one of the largest and well-established architectural practice in Jordan [42]. The *Oqba bin Nafe'* school was considered one of the most important buildings that were built in the fifties of the last century, it-1950's and was demolished and

compensated along with a group of commercial/residential mixed-use and private buildings which were occupied by a large number of residents. This was phase 1 of the project that was later followed by phase two other phases (2 and phase 3 which 3), see figure (7). These two phases were not intended from the beginning, in fact the 'success' in phase one has led to the following phases, indicated in figure (5). The researcher visits to the site revealed that phase as the decision was then made to demolish a further number of buildings to increase the visibility yellow limestone buildings, considered by the Municipality as the only heritage of the city. Phase 1 of the project has been completed in 2020, Buildings in Phase 2 site were demolished, however, phase 2 the construction of new buildings did not start yet and the empty urban space is used as car parking slots park and informal stalls, see figure (5 and 6).

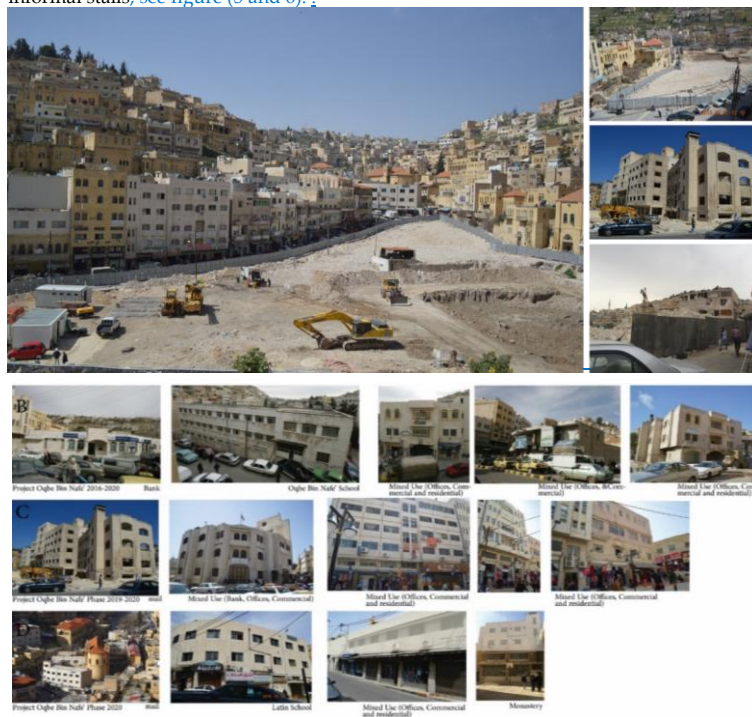


Figure 4. Oqbe bin Nafe (6 Examples of demolished buildings in phase one) demolition 1, 2 and 3 (El Faouri, 20152014)

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Figure 57. Qube Bin Nafe' project phase 1 highlighted in green, phase 2 highlighted in red and phase 3 highlighted in yellow[44][33]



Figure 6. Qube bin nafe' phase 2 space demolished since 2016 and the space is occupied as car-parking slots and informal stalls (El Faouri, 2020)

It is important to mention that since the 3.2. The shifting of OUV and the WH Nomination files submitted in 2016 and 2020

The first WH-UNESCO nomination file nominated a series of 22 scattered submitted in 2016, focused on promoting the universal value associated with the tangible heritage of the 22 Ottoman yellow limestone buildings around located in different parts of the city centre, the authorities were interested to get grants/ as identified by the coordinator of the nomination file. The municipality of As-Salt focused its attention on getting grants and funds in order to restore and renovate those 22 specific buildings. In fact, authorities such as the within a 5-year plan to renovate and rehabilitate those buildings [32]. The municipality have had already started investing in buying these buildings and compensating the their local residents of two of as illustrated by the 2 buildings so far (two cases of Al-Jaghbeer house and Falah Al-Hamad) (see figure 7); houses which were purchased in 2015-2016, with the aim to be rehabilitated to rehabilitate them as a renovation academy and a digital museum respectively. There were also continuous adaptive reuse projects of landmark However, these buildings that are being bought and restored or awaiting restoration. Most of those adaptive reuses were initiated by the still abandoned six years later, and the renovation work has not started yet [35]. In addition to the initiatives led by the Municipality, the private sector- As Salt was recently included in the Jordan also attracted to invest in the rehabilitation and adaptive reuse of other yellow limestone building that are located in the proximity of the 22 buildings that were to be nominate. Most of the buildings acquired by the private sector have been rehabilitated to for tourism map. This has encouraged the opening of many cafes and restaurants, such as purposes, as is the case of Gerbal restaurant, Iskandarane café, Beit Aziz bed and breakfast and many others (see figure 8 below). It is worth mentioning that internal tourism has also thrived in the last few years. This process has slowed down with COVID Covid-19 Pandemic pandemic; however, it is still ongoing [5244].-



Figure 7. (a) Al-Jabeer house and (El Faouri, 2015); (b) Falah Al-Hamad building [46]

Inserted Cells





Figure 8. The opening of many cafes and restaurants, such as (a) Gerbal restaurant; (b) Beit Aziz bed and breakfast; (c) Iskandarane café [4635].

From the local community perspective, it seems that people are more aware of large-scale projects such as Oqbe Bin Nafe' Project and Al Ain Plaza project, and the rehabilitation of heritage buildings as touristic facilities, as well as the beautification projects happening around the city centre, figure (9) below, demonstrates the level of satisfaction of the local community on those Urban regeneration projects. The responses received from the people who did agree with the ongoing Urban Regeneration process were all interested in financial profit from touristic perspectives or for aesthetic improvement in the historic centre:

"I want to work in tourism"

"Development of the city's tourism infrastructure"

"Yes, it led to showing the old buildings and the beauty of their formation with nature, one of the most conservative points of the city"

"These projects have improved the view of the city centre and the number of visitors increased Jobs and contributed to the city's nomination to be on the World Heritage List

Sufficient attention and awareness to preserve the heritage and potential tourism"

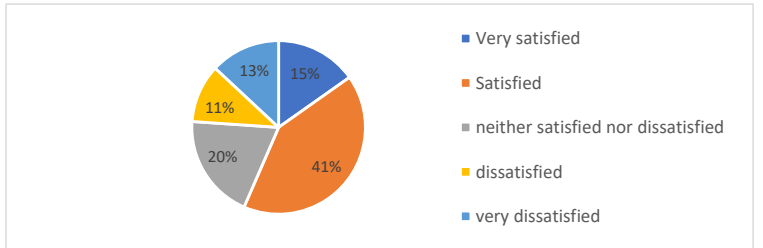


Figure 9. Responses from the local community (sample 50 participants) on the level of satisfaction on the result of development projects in the historic city centre [46].

On the other hand, dissatisfaction with the projects were expressed by 41% because of the following reasons:

"The projects' lack of a comprehensive study from the point of view of the feasibility of these projects and the achievement of their objective"

"No one helps projects, neither moral nor material, and participation and discouraging investment and there is no advertising and community participation"

"Lack of parking space and suffocating situation"
 "It takes a very long time and is of no use"
 "Caused our school to close"
 "Harm instead of benefit"
 "It caused the closure of the shops and drove us out of the middle"

With regards of the level of awareness for any community participation in the heritage related decision made in As Salt. The majority answered that it is Sometimes, Rarely or Never have been consulted in decision making processes, and when that does happen it would be in the form of information rather than actual involvement (see figure 10). There were 18% who did acknowledge a form of public consultation in decisions and that would be in awareness events, announcements through media or representative's involvement in decisions.

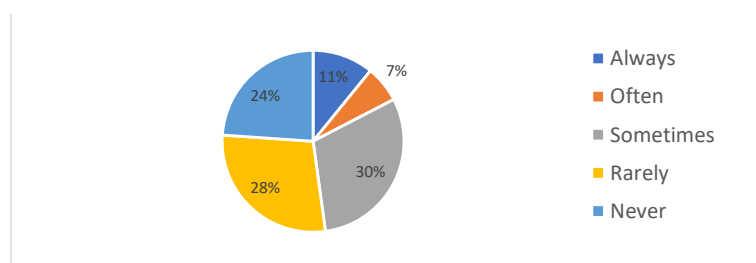


Figure 10. Responses from the local community on the existence of any community participation in the heritage related decision made in As-Salt [46]

One of the main interesting findings in As Salt is that the majority of the local community didn't want to leave the city centre or didn't think about it before. Despite the initiatives taken by both the public and private sectors to rehabilitate the selected heritage buildings, remove existing buildings to increase the visibility of the heritage buildings and make way for large scale urban regeneration projects that improve the tourism infrastructure, the nomination file was deferred in 2017 [7]. The deferral was based on the fact that the Universal value associated with the 22 buildings was not considered as exceptional as similar buildings in cities in the region which were part of the Ottoman empire have similar architecture. The nominated properties are not part of a well-defined coherent whole [45].

One year following the deferral in 2018, instead of amendments, a second trail was submitted in February 2019 with completely different heritage values, different expert, and different nomination file [46]. The state party including mainly As-Salt Greater municipality (SGM), decided to hand the file over to a local expert, it was coordinated by Dr Rami Daher. The 2020 file has shifted the OUV from tangible heritage to intangible heritage, it also changed the boundaries from the separated buildings to cohort urban fabric. This file is titled 'As-Salt: The Place of Tolerance and Urban Hospitality' [30]. However, Urban transformation between the two nominations continued the agenda of the first nomination which was to create a stage for the tangible-built heritage. By the re-development of the *Oqba Nin Nafe* site and continuing phase 2 and 3 of the project in order to provide tourism facilities while displacing the original functions of the site and its residents [35]. Displacement of the local community is a major cause of losing this intangible heritage. This leads to wonder what was the agenda to list the intangible heritage to aid its disappearance.

4. Investigating Local Community perspectives based on the results of the field work of 2020

The views of the local As-Salt community have been investigated through questionnaires that were structured along six different themes. These themes have been identified as crucial to the city's urban regeneration. The results of the surveys for each theme are presented in the following sections and will form the basis for the formulation of heritage-led urban regeneration recommendations.

4.1 Theme A: As-Salt heritage, local community's definitions, perceptions and priorities.

The local community's definition of what constitutes as As-Salt heritage is based on coding the frequency of the words used in the responses, is illustrated in figure (9). It is clear that the perception of the community of As-Salt City heritage is strongly associated with the yellow limestone Ottoman buildings that were built during the golden era of the city, with emphasis of intangible heritage such as customs and clothing.



Figure 9 coding the frequency of the words used in the definition of As-Salt heritage done using Word Cloud Generator ~~This is because they have lived there all their lives. Individuals who said expressed the desire to leave the city centre represent only 23% of the local participants and it was for a variety of reasons including:~~

~~"All neighbours and acquaintances left"~~

"When the place seems overcrowded"

~~"Since the projects started and the centre is a mess and very noisy"~~

~~"Personal reasons like marriage"~~

~~"The most important problems facing the heritage centre are traffic jam, Unfinished development work, Parking and Lack of services provided"~~

~~"The shop was bought; the owner was compensated, and the contract was cut"~~

“Since the transfer of government departments and banks outside the commercial centre, the commercial movement has become weak and due to the lack of parking spaces”

Traders who did want to move, are thinking to move to either on the edges of the historic centre (Salalem bridge) or Amman and Sru area (near Amman). This is expected since many of the traders in Oqbe Bin Nafe' project have moved already to the Salalem area on the edges of the city, especially since it is considered out of the historic zone, so the City Core Special Regulation (CCSR) which limits the level of interventions to heritage buildings, does not apply there, in fact, the commercial hub is currently shifting in the Salalem bridge area leaving the city to be invested to restaurants and cafes and touristic facilities.

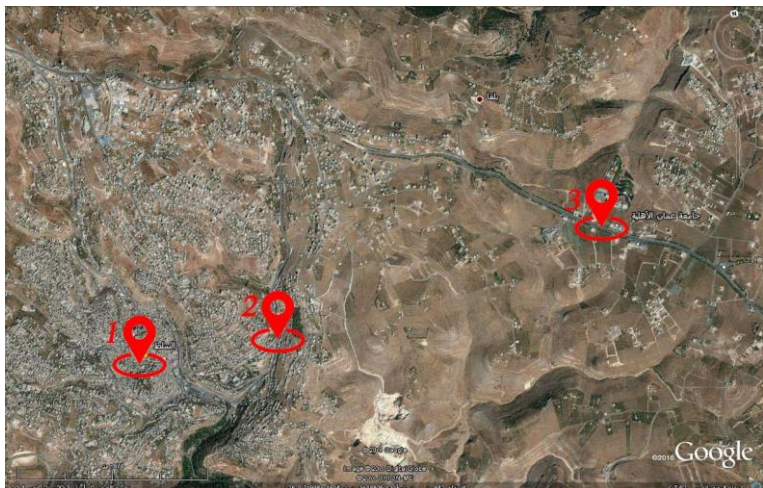


Figure 11. People who did want to leave the city center (represented as no.1) expressed the desire to move either on the edges of the historic center –The Salalem Bridge (represented as no.2) or– Amman/ Sru area which is the highway road to Amman (represented in 3), the capital of Jordan.

Furthermore, a literature review on the history of As Salt City has revealed that most publications tend to focus on the period between the late 18th century and early 19th century, when the city was under the rule of the Ottoman empire and when its architecture flourished [43]. The terraced yellow limestone ornamented buildings are frequently referred to as forming the character of the settlement and its similarity to Nablus on the west Bank of the Jordan river (see figure 12) [49]. Unfortunately, despite the different types of studies carried out on As Salt up to date, all continued portraying the same heritage image of the city related on the period between the late 18th century and early 19th century ‘the golden era’ [53]. None or very limited sources dedicated to periods prior 1866 or after 1950 can be found. That has created gap in history creates a lack of understanding of the different historical layers the site offers and possibly resulting in a fragmented and limited understanding of the city heritage and other values that are neglected in the current regeneration process.



Figure 12. Different Views from As-Salt City historic buildings within the Golden era [4635].

5. Heritage-led Urban Regeneration in WH cities within the MENA region

As seen from As-Salt case study and the filed work conducted on the community pereception, urban regeneration issues have already started happening in the city-center, which has been experienced by other WH cities before. These Urban issues include using the UNESCO nomination as a Catalyst for Urban Regeneration such as the Historic Jeddah in Saudi Arabia; Selective narratives and the Singularity of the OUV and the restoration of Heritage Buildings and Beautification of Urban Spaces

without Adaptive Reuse and Urban Revitalization such as the historic Cairo in Egypt; Overtourism, gentrification and alteration of heritage such as the walled cities of Fez, Marrakesh, and Essaouira in Morocco. It is important to examine the lessons that can be learned from these relevant WH cities in the MENA region, and which have had a much longer trajectory of regeneration after the nomination. The following section will highlight a few and view the trajectories of what might happen if we continued in the same scenarios:

UNESCO Nomination as a Catalyst for Urban Regeneration and Selective narratives and the Singularity of the OUV: Historic Jeddah in Saudi Arabia.

Historic Jeddah was selected as it is a live urban setting which is geographically close to As Salt city and has a recent inscription on the WHL in 2014. The similarities in addressing the regeneration practices include a radical shift in built heritage conservation policies at both governmental and non-governmental levels that were focused on tourism development since the decision to nominate the city on the WHL. The situation is slightly a different from As Salt city as Jeddah is a coastal city mostly occupied by low income immigrant workers whereas As Salt is an inner city occupied mostly by local inhabitants.

Second, with regards to the priorities of different heritage elements in As-Salt including the Antiquities period (i.e., before 1750 AD); As-Salt Ottoman yellow limestone buildings (1865-1925 AD); Modern architecture (1950's onward); As-Salt Natural Heritage (hills, valleys and eco-system). It was concluded that the golden age yellow limestone architecture is the dominant element of heritage identified as extremely important or very important, see table (1) and figure (10). It was interesting that the local community gave Antiquities a higher level of importance than intangible heritage, although it was not mentioned in the definition of As-Salt heritage above.

Table 1: The priorities of different heritage elements in As-Salt

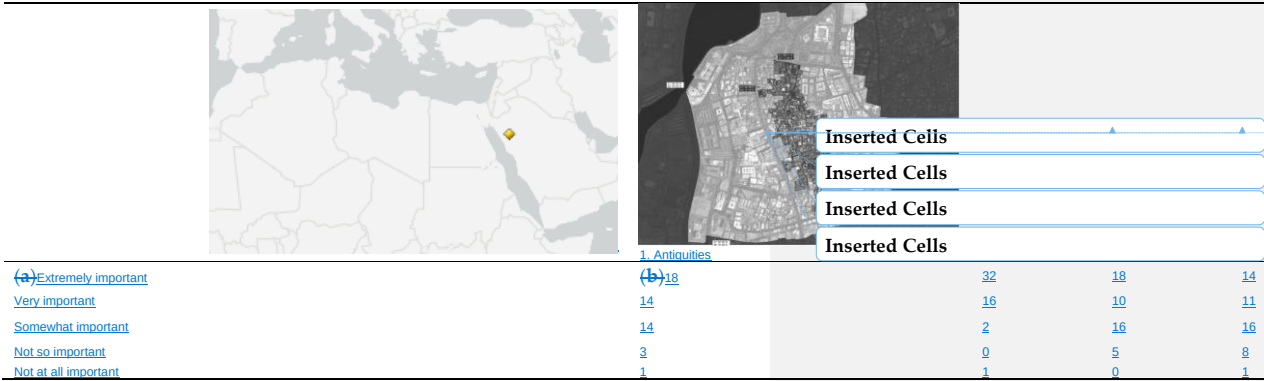


Figure 13. (a) Jeddah World Heritage Site [5]; (b) the inscribed property boundary in 2014 [26]

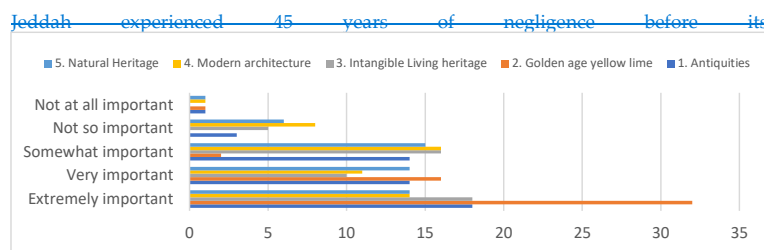


Figure 10 The priorities of different heritage elements in As-Salt from the local community perspective (N=50) [35]

4.2. Theme B: Current urban regeneration processes

This questionnaire theme examines the level of awareness of the local community of the current regeneration processes in the city centre and measures their level of satisfaction with these projects and the reasons. The results of the data analyses revealed that interviewees tend to be more aware of the large-scale urban regeneration projects such as Oqbe Bin Nafe' and Al-Ain Plaza projects than the small projects of rehabilitation of heritage buildings as touristic facilities, and the beautification of urban spaces happening around the city centre. Figure (11) below, illustrates the level of satisfaction of the local community with these large-scale urban regeneration projects. Slightly more than half the respondents, 52% the sample were either satisfied or very satisfied with the urban regeneration projects. These respondents tend to mention the financial profit and the job opportunities that tourism would bring to the city. One respondent mentioned "I want to work in the tourism industry" another respondent states "I agree with the urban regeneration projects because they develop the city's infrastructure for tourism". The other reasons mentioned for being satisfied with the urban regeneration projects refer to the enhancement the city's visual environment. For example, one respondent mentioned "the urban regeneration has led to revealing the heritage buildings and the beauty of their formation with the natural topography of the site". Another respondent explained that "these projects enhance the visual appearance of the city centre, increase the number of visitors, create job opportunities and contribute to the city's nomination to be on the World Heritage List".

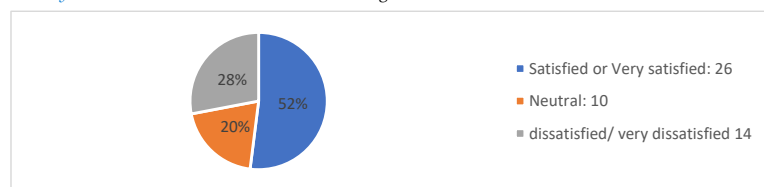


Figure 11. Responses from the local community on the level of satisfaction on the result of development projects in the historic city centre (N=50) [35].

While the majority of the respondents were either satisfied or very satisfied with the current urban regeneration projects, more than a quarter of the respondents were either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the regeneration projects as expressed by 28% of the respondents. The following is a sample of responses when interviewees were asked why they are dissatisfied: the first type of respondents mentioned the prolonged timeframe for the implementation of the projects. One respondent elaborated by saying "the urban regeneration projects lack a comprehensive study from the point of view of the time feasibility for implementing the projects". The delays were also mentioned as another respondent who stated, "the projects take a very long time to be implemented, and eventually, the final project does not meet the community needs functionally, it is all about tourism". The second type of reasons for

dissatisfaction focused on the lack of local investments and encouragement of local small businesses in the city centre, *"No one helps small businesses and enterprises, neither morally nor financially, we need various stakeholders' participation by encouraging start-up businesses from the local community"*. Another respondent elaborated that *"The authorities in As-Salt are discouraging local investment and do not include the local community in the decisions of regeneration projects"*. Furthermore, it was stated that *"there is a lack of incentives or support for small businesses"*.

The third type of reasons for dissatisfaction were related the traffic problems that have resulted from the implementation of the mega-scale prolonged project in the dense urban fabric of As-Salt city centre. Some of the respondents stated that *"there is a lack of parking spaces in the city centre which is suffocating"*, another respondent stated that *"these projects only brought us harm instead of benefits, although it is always crowded in the city centre, the projects are still closing and pedestrianizing streets"*. The last type of mentioned reasons for dissatisfaction were related to the Municipality's compulsory purchase of properties and the forced eviction of for demolition resulting in the closure of local shops and job losses this was clear from the explanation provided by a student *"The projects caused our school to close, I had to move to another school behind the city centre which is far from my house"*. A trader who used to work in one of the mixed-use buildings that has been demolished stated that *"the acquisition and demolition caused the closure of the shops and we had to move out of the centre"*.

Only one fifth of the respondents (20%) kept a neutral position and avoided providing comments on the urban regeneration projects. This could be due to them being cautious to express their opinion. However, despite the challenges facing the local community with the new urban regeneration projects, one of the main interesting findings in As-Salt is that most of the interviewees mentioned that they didn't want to leave the city centre or didn't think of it. This is because they have lived there all their lives. ~~in 2008~~. That Individuals who expressed the desire to leave the city centre represent 23% only of the sample of interviewees. The reasons mentioned include *"All neighbours and acquaintances have left the city centre"* or are due to personal reasons such as getting married or finding a better job opportunity somewhere else. Other ~~mentioned~~ reasons for wanting to leave the city centre to include *"the place seems to be always overcrowded"* or *"Since the projects have started and the centre is always in a state of chaos and is very noisy"*. One respondent stated that *"The most important problem facing the heritage centre is the traffic congestion, the unfinished development projects, the lack of parking and services"*. There are also locals who already moved out of the centre or intending to do so due to the compulsory purchase of and demolition by the Municipality, this is clearly stated by one of the respondents as follows *"the shop was acquired by the municipality; the owner was compensated, and the contract was cut"*, another respondent said that *"since the transfer of the government departments and banks outside the city's commercial centre, the shops started following the relocation to the periphery of the city"*. Traders who want to move or thinking about expressed the desire to move to the edge of the historic centre (Salalem bridge) or to the outskirt in the Sru area (near Amman), see figure (12) below.



Figure 12. Traders who want to move the city centre (represented as no.1) expressed the desire to move either to the edge of the historic center - The Salalem Bridge (represented as no.2) or to the Amman/ Sru highway area next to Amman Ahliya University (represented in 3) (which is on the highway road to Amman, the capital of Jordan [36].

4.3. Theme C: Key Stakeholders’ participation in decision making processes

This theme investigates the level of the local community participation in decision-making processes. When asked about the level of community participation in the heritage-led urban regeneration, half the respondents mentioned that they have rarely or never been consulted or invited to participate in decision making processes about the future of their city centre, see figure (13). Only 16% of the respondents did acknowledge some form of public consultation taking place such as public awareness events and announcements of projects through social media.

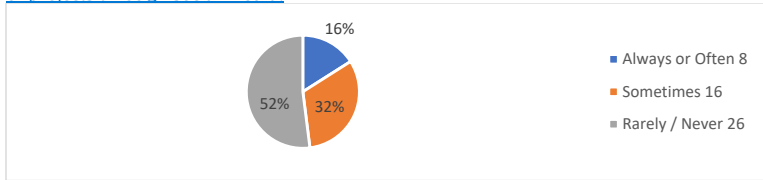


Figure 13. Responses from the local community on the existence of any community participation in the heritage-led urban regeneration in As-Salt (n=50) [35].

4.4. Theme D: As-Salt World Heritage Nomination and the associated OUV

This theme focuses on the community awareness of the WH nomination of file, their desire for the city was initially rejected in 2009, yet the site was eventually to be inscribed on the WHL and finally their expected advantages/disadvantages in having their city acquiring the World Heritage status. The results of the questionnaire of the local community revealed that 40% of the sample of respondents were not aware of the nomination file being submitted to inscribe the city on the WHL. However, the majority of the respondents (60%) were generally very eager for As-Salt city to be on the WHL. They predicted that the successful inscription would provide the following the advantages figure (14):

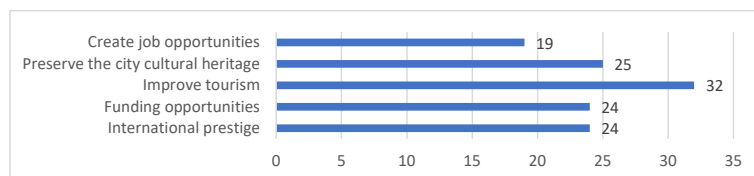


Figure 14 The Community perspective on the advantages that follows the inscription of As-Salt on the WHL (n=50), please note that the numbers at the end of the bars indicate how many individuals have selected this option [35]

When asking about the disadvantages of being a world heritage city, most responses were concerned with the increase in the prices of real estate, the implementation of more restrictive legislations, and the likelihood of displacement of the local population of the city through gentrification, see figure (15) below. Interviewees were asked an open-ended question about what would happen if the city were listed. The word frequency analysis revealed that the increased tourism to the city was a main outcome. On the other hand, 5.7% of the respondents mentioned that nothing would change in the city. It was interesting within the empty option: one respondent was cynical by stating that “the inscription of the city on the WHL would only just bring fame and money for the decision makers or authority figures involved in the submission”.

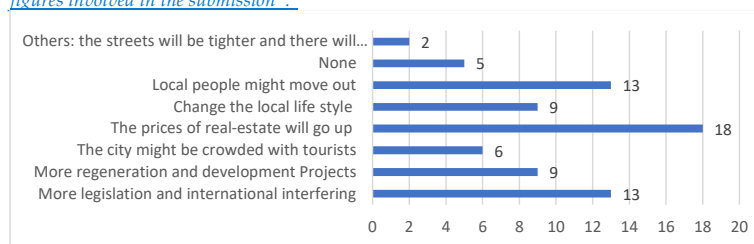


Figure 15 As-Salt Community perspective on the disadvantages of inscribing the historic center of As-Salt on the WHL (n=50), please note that the numbers at the end of the bars indicate how many individuals have selected this option. [35]

4.5. Theme E: Legislation & Financial situation

Legislation and funding are two particularly important aspects in any urban regeneration. The laws protecting As-Salt city centre include the urban heritage protection law no. 5 of 2005, Jordanian residency law, towns and villages organizing law, there is also the City Core Special Regulation (CCSR) that was introduced 2008 specifically to preserve the city of As-Salt heritage and was declared by law in 2015 [42]. During the survey, it was found that the majority of 70% of the respondents were not aware of the CCSR and only 30% of them knew about it. When asked about whether they agree with the law, respondents who were aware of it mentioned “these laws are an efficient way to protect the city heritage values and provide the regulatory provisions to preserve the heritage buildings”, other respondents commented “the laws regulate the removal, additions and demolition infringements, and put guidelines for the restoration method”, “It draws a road map for the preservation of As-Salt cultural heritage for future generations”. However, the local community feels that their needs and economic or social constraints were not considered and met by these laws by stating “no one helps financially, and we do not have the kind of money needed to renovate on such international standard”, others suggest that “there should be incentives programs for owners and tenants as a kind of stakeholders’ cooperation”. Another type of respondents feel that these laws are a tool for bureaucracy or influencing a level of control such as “authorities don’t help with the renovation, they just put the rules and expect us to follow, buying a new house outside

the centre is cheaper than renovating our current building" and "Regulatory provisions need to be disseminated and promoted, and it shouldn't be a tool for the bureaucracy of official institutions in the face of traders and investors". The last type of comments were technical comments on the CCSR as "there is no benefits for us within the laws, these laws were only built for the renovation guidelines" or "there is not enough control over the correct ways of restoration".

Laws can be greatly beneficial in terms of preserving cultural heritage and enforcing standards for good restoration practices. However, these standards should not overwhelm the local community with high end restoration techniques that are expensive and require professional human power without supporting these communities financially and technically or implementing an incentive program. Furthermore, these laws should not be perceived as bureaucracy or controlling tools, but an aid to maintain the tangible and intangible heritage. There is currently no programs of local incentives or tax reduction for the community, grants and funds are being allocated to the local authorities for the implementing urban regeneration projects. The international funds come often with conditions and string attached to them for a targeted sector or with their own human power or materials that does not necessarily meet the vision for the city or involve its community [35].

4.6. Theme F: Sustainability and Future Inspiration

The local community interviewees were asked about their expectations for the future of their city and their short-, medium- and long-term priorities in the future. For the next 5 years, most answers focused on "enhancing network and reducing traffic congestion in the city centre". Others were interested in having more tourism facilities such as "promoting and giving more facilities for the tourists and enhancing the visual appearance of the city centre". Other suggestions include "creating end of day activities for tourists in order to extend the tourists spent time in the city". Some respondent highlighted the importance of increasing public awareness levels about what is happening in the city "we need to know what is happening in the city centre, and specifically the nomination process" and considering social and economic constraints in the laws protecting the city.

When asked about their vision of the city in the next 10 or 50 years, most respondents left the question with no answer as they could not imagine the situation at that stage, however, some focused on "building local capacities and creating more job opportunities as well as strengthening the stakeholders' communication and coordination and empowering local and civic societies". One respondent highlighted the need for "strengthening the relationship between the centre and the hinterland and developing agricultural tourism" and "turning the city into an international touristic destination".

It is interesting to note that the local community did not predict the possible long-term scenarios such as excessive tourism or gentrification. The six themes investigated through As-Salt local community interviews indicate several issues that need to be addressed. Although opportunities for financial gain and job creation from a growing tourism industry that follows the inscription of the site on the world heritage list are expected, the threats that face the city are already perceived by the community through the current urban regeneration projects. These threats include the displacement of the local community through gentrification which has already started during the nomination processes. This would lead to losing the connection between the tangible and intangible heritage of the city.

The local community is the best carrier of the intangible heritage that has been instrumental in the success of the second nomination file of As-Salt. Local Community hospitality and harmonious coexistence between Christians and Muslims in the city are two key intangible heritage qualities that have been instrumental to the city being nominated on the world heritage site. Those qualities cannot continue without maintaining the local communities in the historic center of As-Salt. Yet, local authorities' interpretations of what the city should have and look like for the tourism industry tend to repeat the same unsustainable scenarios that can be easily identified in the world heritage cities in the MENA region which have acquired the status of world heritage in the recent or far past. The

examination of urban regeneration trajectories at different timescales can help to predict the scenarios that need to be avoided in As-Salt as a newly inscribed world heritage city and establish recommendations for changing the direction of As-Salt urban regeneration trajectory. The following section will highlight some of those trajectories and scenarios:

5. Heritage-led Urban Regeneration Lessons from medium- and long-term trajectories of WH cities in the MENA region

Lesson 1 Selective narratives for the urban regeneration of the historic core of Jeddah in Saudi Arabia.

Historic Jeddah was inscribed on the WHL in 2014 and witnessed a radical shift in its built heritage conservation policies at both governmental and non-governmental levels with a strong focus tourism development [28]. Unlike As-Salt city where the local population is still living in the heritage areas, Jeddah has been mostly occupied by low-income migrant. The first nomination attempt to be inscribed on the WHL was submitted in 2010 and was deferred because of the advanced deterioration of the historic fabric due to years of neglect. A second nomination file was resubmitted in 2013, focusing on a smaller urban area which led to inscribe the city on the WHL in 2014 [5], [47]. That chain of events has led to a radical shift in the purpose of conservation policies from preserving national identity towards using built heritage sites for developing international tourism after the country's closure for tourism for many decades [2628]. UNESCO inscription on the WHL has acted as a powerful catalyst in changing urban regeneration policies, as well as the swinging of key actors' roles and decision and key stakeholders' decisions with regards to urban policies, revitalization, and regeneration projects especially towards the tourism sector, focusing on presenting Historic Jeddah to the world in an 'aesthetic' condition—historic Jeddah as a city that has been "sanitized" with improved aesthetic appearance "appropriate for a WH site" [2628]. Furthermore, the Municipality of Jeddah controlled all financial aspects of the conservation master plan that. This latter focused on restoring separate buildings scattered in various parts of the city, without involving the local community or its needs [5448]. The nomination itself created aspirations and expectations of new horizons and new projects, it also stimulated major changes in the Saudi official and non-official discourse on heritage conservation by connecting it with tourism development [2628]. In fact, UNESCO rejection of the first nomination attempt in 2010 was due to the high level of negligence and the fact that there was a lack of resident's appreciation to the site historical value [2628]. This was a key motivational force for authorities to take an alternative approach to ensure future inscription, therefore, they a successful outcome for the second nomination file. They have adjusted their plan the original file to a new understanding of the significance of the historic areas that would influence not only buildings but the city as whole [2628]. This shift has led to Historic Jeddah's eventual inscription on the WHS list in June 2014. Immediately following the inscription, there were already indications of new projects in progress, the Municipality then acquired and owned heritage buildings, forced eviction with the purpose of investing in rehabilitating the buildings for adaptive reuse as restaurants, cafés, and other uses. Historic Jeddah has become the locus of public celebrations, hosting many national and religious events [26]. Also in 2014, authorities started gearing amongst others. Local authorities' priorities were geared up to give southern old Jeddah a massive revamp, with random neighborhoods and illegal slums being demolished and turned into privately owned attractive residential quarters with extensive infrastructure such as Ghulail and Petromin neighborhoods, illustrated in figure 14 below [55]. House owners were compensated for the acquisition and demolition of their buildings to be replaced by high end districts and infrastructure for a more affluent population.

Historic Jeddah has been transformed as a center for public celebrations, hosting many national and religious events [28]. Despite all the efforts and huge investments in developing the historic city as a tourist destination, the state of conservation of the

heritage buildings remains an issue. The report provided by UNESCO in 2021 illustrates that seven years after its inscription on WHL, Historic Jeddah continues to face many threats due to the lack of a detailed conservation strategy and management plan, high rate of decay of the historic houses, increased housing demands and finally the need for a risk management and prevention plan due to the projects and development work that has the potential to impact the authenticity of the heritage properties [7].

Although in As-Salt, the situation is different in a way that local families still inhabit the heritage houses, there are similarities between Jeddah and As-Salt in their nomination histories and the reactions of the local authorities in the way they dealt with the site before and after it was inscribed on the WHL. Learning from historic Jeddah's Al-Balad district in Saudi Arabia, they have become 'isolated islands within the modern cityscape surrounded by heavy traffic arteries' [23] experience -of the 7 years- the short-term period following its nomination, it is clear that the reliance on UNESCO inscription as catalyst for urban regeneration and real estate development is already jeopardizing the OUV of the site and its heritage value. The lack of local community involvement in the rehabilitation of the heritage areas, combined with gentrification processes and a decrease of affordable housing in the area are likely to be the core of unsuccessful heritage conservation and management. There should be a level of inclusiveness of different stakeholders to build coordinated strategies to increase the resilience of the local tangible and intangible heritage.



Lesson 2 Overtourism, gentrification and alteration of authentic heritage in the walled cities of Marrakesh and Fez in Morocco. Long term regeneration trajectories from WHL inscription of the sites in the 1980's

Morocco's geographical location as the closest country to Europe within the MENA region has helped the foreign capital for property investment to migrate into the country mainly towards the world heritage cities of Marrakesh and Fez, inscribed in 1985 and 1981 respectively. Moroccan cities have also been on the WHL for a longer span of time comparing to As-Salt city and Jeddah. [50]. These cities are an important example of extreme gentrification and tourism that can help provide key lessons for the development of more sustainable short and long-term scenarios for the city of As-Salt. For example, since the inscription of 'Medina of Marrakesh' on the WHL in 1985, the city has been altered and transformed by tourism, that had an influence on the tradesmen and craftsmen working there, removing part of their liveliness and authentic values [50]. Furthermore, in the recent decades of the 1990s and 2000s, the city has been receiving a high influx of European diasporas in search of better living conditions in the sunshine while remaining within few hours of affordable flights from their homeland. The rate of the transformations of the houses, forming the majority of the heritage urban fabric had seen an accelerated increase at the end of the 20th Century because of the rapid expansion of tourism projects. Overcrowded, neglected and/or vacant courtyard houses which formed most of the urban fabric of Marrakech and Fez were transformed into elite oriental holiday houses for an expatriate community [25].

The WH listing of Fez in 1981 has also marked the start of a three-decade long rehabilitation processes supported by international funds. Tourism has acted as a catalyst for consuming and commercializing the heritage courtyard houses while funds for

conservation have singularly been allocated to monuments to increasing the appeal of the city exclusively for tourists' investments, see [25] and [54]. This had a negative impact on maintaining the local population within the historic quarters of the world heritage cities. Middle class and low-income inhabitants of the medina moved out of the historic cities to live in contemporary housing in newly built suburban areas [55]. Therefore, commercializing, and consuming heritage that transformed the social composition of these heritage cities and led to the hybridization of their heritage by European diasporas.

Lesson 3 (a)	(b)
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Figure 14. Demolishing Chulail and Petromin neighbourhoods in Historic Jeddah [55]; (a) location (b) the demolishing process

Restoration of Heritage Buildings and Beautification of Urban Spaces urban spaces and conservation of heritage buildings without Adaptive Reuse and Urban Revitalization: Historic adaptive reuse of the heritage aurban area, Long-term regeneration trajectory in historic Cairo in (Egypt) since its inscription of WHL in the 1970's

Historic Cairo holds a remarkable record of Urban urban heritage sites, this has led to its inscription on the WH list in 1979, followed by global expertise attention and financial support [2426]. Cairo was listed in a different era than As-Salt city with different scale and urban configuration, nevertheless, urban regeneration policies in the city have also faced similar challenges such as the lack of public participation, competition between different stakeholders' agenda, and centralized governmental decisions with limited coordination between various public institutions and ministries, see, [56]; [57]; [58] and others.

Urban policies have resulted in the forced eviction, gentrification, and demolition of existing buildings to make way for new beautification projects and mega-scale financial businesses and entertainment corporations [57]. Furthermore, an influx of Gulf investors, which started in the 80s has had rapidly turned up increased old properties' prices while historic buildings often with nostalgic associations were converted into boutique hotels, see [58] and [56]. The inscription has also attracted international funding opportunities, one example of forging funding is the USAID who sponsored the restoration of Wekalat Bazara'a in El Camaleya market. The market was acquired, restored but never re-used. A survey conducted by Charib [24] in El Camaleya market has revealed that regeneration-Regeneration policies were based on the centralized Government government top-down approaches by the, which left the existing lively markets in the area suffer from poverty and neglect of public services, very poor condition, dense population, threatening pollution, and physical deterioration (see figure 13). That has the examples Wekalat Bazara'a within El-Gamaleya or the pedestrianization Muizz Street [26]. These interventions had neglected the needs of the local community needs and has put, hence jeopardizing social and cultural sustainability aspects aside [2426]

Another case in Cairo is the historic Furthermore, revitalization policies that are designed on the fundamental principle to preserve the monuments with a focus on aesthetic aspects without urban revitalization and adaptive reuse. For example, the Historic Hammams of Cairo such as al-Sinaniya and Inal public baths (hammams) that were also restored and closed without adaptive reuse in 2008 [59]. Hammams used to play a key role at socio-cultural, economic, and environmental levels, they form a part of both at local tangible and intangible levels of heritage. Responsible bodies of the restoration seemed to lack the vision for the adaptive re-use of historic buildings. They assumed that introducing water into a historic building would jeopardize the monument, this prevented any possible plans for restoring the hammam to its original function even though hammams are dedicated to using water and were originally conceived and built to cope with varying levels of heat and humidity. In fact, such hammam structures cannot survive without water and user clients, and lost their centuries old function of providing an affordable hygiene and wellbeing facility for the local community [59]. Therefore, the case of Cairo

clearly shows that focusing on the tangible heritage buildings without revitalization and adaptive re-use will on the long-term cause decay to the tangible heritage and loose the link to its associated intangible heritage. The lack of public participation, top-down centralized government decisions, demolishing neighborhoods for infrastructure will cause irreversible gentrification and dissatisfaction of local communities.

6. Results

The fieldwork at the center of this paper has highlighted many opportunities and threats are facing the local community as a result of the processes of nomination of As-Salt onto the UNESCO world heritage list. The suggested recommendations build on the six main themes of the local community survey, and the lessons learned from MENA region WH cities, the following are the key findings of each theme:

- Theme A: There is a need to develop a comprehensive understanding of the tangible and intangible heritage of the city and the way these two are associated. As well as acknowledging the importance of intangible heritage, existing modern architecture and the hinterland to provide the residents with accommodations, schools and other facilities that are also important for the continuation of living heritage.
- Theme B: Although the current regeneration within the boundaries of the city provides tourism infrastructure and enhances the city's visual appearance which are highly appreciated by the local community, the long implementation period that follows forced eviction and demolition of buildings, and the acquisition of heritage buildings without adaptive reuse after rehabilitation, are already having a negative impact on the city's heritage. The displacement of the local community is likely to lead to losing the connection between the tangible and intangible heritage of the city. Furthermore, the shifting of the commercial center to the edge of the city and the expressed dissatisfaction of a quarter of the local community interviewees are indicators for the urgency of changing the trajectory of the urban regeneration schemes to avoid irreversible consequences. The long-term extreme projection of these issues can be seen in Marrakech and Fez in Morocco where the heritage city is gradually emptied from its original inhabitants and becoming an investment site for foreigners who occupy the heritage buildings and benefit from the tourism industry.
- Theme C: The majority of the respondents expressed a level of exclusion of the local community from the decision making and processes of Urban regeneration projects in the city center. The short- and long-term trajectory of this can be seen in Cairo and Jeddah where the local residents have also been excluded resulting in the decay of tangible heritage and the disappearance of intangible heritage.
- Theme D: As-Salt local community wanted the city to be inscribed on the WHL, however, there is a need for risk assessments to be done on regular basis. Advantages from sustainable tourism should be balanced with maintaining the local community in place and monitoring the real estate prices. Learning the lesson from Jeddah when the local community could not afford continuing living in the historic center, leaving the city to become as holiday houses for the elite and the expatriate community.
- Theme E: Restoration and renovation guidelines within the laws protecting the city centre should not overwhelm the local community with high end restoration techniques that are very expensive and requires professional human power without supporting these communities financially and technically or implementing an incentive program. There is a need for local incentives, tax reduction, grants, and funds to allocated to support the rehabilitation of heritage buildings. Guidelines should be put forward for international funding that does not necessarily meet the vision for the city or involve its community.
- Theme F: The local community was interested mainly in short term challenges that have arisen from the new urban regeneration projects. These include finding a solution for the traffic congestion, providing adequate parking and public spaces for the local community. Local merchants also expressed the need for a finding a new

convenient location for the commercial activities that have been dismantled in the downtown area in order to implement the new projects. The local community is the best carrier of the intangible heritage that has been instrumental in the success of the nomination file of As-Salt as well as from other relevant cities in the region, these lessons include:

- Lesson 1: Selective heritage narratives that focus only on the UNESCO outstanding universal value can lead to urban regeneration processes that lack of public participation. This leads to the centralized the top-down governmental decisions as well as the demolition of existing neighborhoods to prepare the city for real-estate investment in Tourism. Therefore, causing gentrification and dissatisfaction among members of the local community in the short-term.
- Lesson 2: Commercializing, and consuming heritage lead to the transformation of the social composition of these heritage cities and cause urban issues such as overtourism, gentrification and alteration of the heritage value of the site in the long-term.
- Lesson 3: Beautification of urban spaces and rehabilitation of buildings without adaptive reuse will cause, in the long-term, decay to the tangible heritage and the loss of the link of communities' intangible heritage and their tangible heritage.

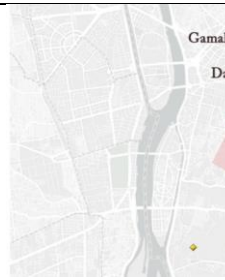
These scenarios should be avoided in the city of As-Salt by making sure that these trajectories are nudged to change direction towards a development that encompasses all aspects of sustainability with a particular focus on social and cultural sustainability.

A set of recommendations are presented in Table (2), according to themes investigated through community interviews and their priority in the short, medium, and long-term.

Table 2. List of prioritized recommendations for heritage-led Urban regeneration schemes derived from the local community survey conducted in November 2020



Recommendation for Heritage-led Urban Regeneration in the City of As-Salt (Jordan)



Timescale and the level of Priorities

Theme A: Local community definition, perception, and prioritization of As-Salt Heritage.	
• Develop a multi stakeholders' understanding the tangible and intangible heritage and encourage its documentation and protection	High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.
• Consider all the layers of history the site offers along with the 'golden era' which can be also considered in the regeneration processes.	Medium-term priority
• Maintain Integrity and authenticity by creating a sense of balance between local genuine experiences and intangible performances for tourism purposes.	Medium-term priority
Theme B: Current regeneration processes in the City Centre	
• Prepare a short-, medium-, and long-term risk assessment for the wellbeing of As-Salt local community especially in terms of tourism capacity and mega-scale projects.	High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.
• Develop a masterplan for the city growth and avoid projects that does not fit into the wider vision with strict implementation timeframes.	High Priority for long terms.
• Monitor heritage performativity, liveability, community diversity of intangible living heritage and its continuity, the quality rehabilitation processes, etc.	High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.

• <u>Reuse and rehabilitate buildings by encouraging the formalization and growth of micro-small- and medium-sized enterprises through the investment of abandoned buildings, therefore, avoiding the wasted effort, money and labour put into this process</u>	<u>High Priority for medium- and long terms.</u>
• <u>Create an alternative location for schools, accommodations, or commercial shops within the city centre in case a demolition is needed for Urban regeneration projects or infrastructure.</u>	<u>High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.</u>
Theme C: Key Stakeholders cooperation in the decision-making process	
• <u>Boost Institutional co-ordination between different stakeholders including the community involvement to enhance internal partnership and avoid dual management of tourism assets which might lead to a conflict of interest.</u>	<u>High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.</u>
• <u>Develop and regulate feasible qualitative indicators to measure local community engagement and satisfactions as well as the progress of heritage conservation and management.</u>	<u>Medium-term priority</u>
• <u>Capacity building: Improve or develop mechanisms to support young actors and emerging professionals in the field of Cultural Heritage preservation to provide job opportunities not only in tourism but also in the renovation of heritage buildings.</u>	<u>High Priority for the long terms</u>
• <u>Encourage and promote effective partnerships within the public, private, and civil societies by developing mechanisms for sharing knowledge, expertise, technology, and financial resources.</u>	<u>High Priority for all medium, and long terms.</u>
• <u>Support productive activities, decent job creation, entrepreneurship, creativity, and innovation from the local community.</u>	<u>High Priority for all short, and long terms.</u>
Theme D: As-Salt World Heritage Nomination and the associated OUV	
• <u>Set non-negotiable aspects/terms covering all pillars of sustainability including economic, environmental, social, and cultural dimensions. This includes maintaining As-Salt residents in their properties, allowing for the continuation of their intangible heritage of hospitality and harmonious of religions co-existence to be transmitted to future.</u>	<u>High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.</u>
• <u>Avoid swinging in key actors' decisions, and do not rely only on UNESCO inscription to be a catalyst for Urban regeneration practices in the city.</u>	<u>High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.</u>
• <u>Monitor real-estate prices and living costs before and after the World Heritage inscription to maintain affordability for the local community.</u>	<u>High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.</u>
Theme E: Legislation & Financial situation	
• <u>Include the intangible heritage protection within the City Core Special Regulations CCSR.</u>	<u>High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.</u>
• <u>Create, and incentive programs and subsidies for maintaining local residents in their properties and enabling them to improve their properties by providing competitive renovation awards, financial loans, tax incentive programs and exemptions.</u>	<u>High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.</u>
• <u>Introduce a certain level of flexibility with the CCSR laws considering the changing quality of heritage based on local community needs and aspiration.</u>	<u>High Priority for all short, and long terms.</u>
• <u>Avoid receiving grants and loans that have restricting conditions that does not resonate within the overall vision of As-Salt heritage protection and sustainable urban regeneration.</u>	<u>Medium-term priority</u>
• <u>~~(a)~~Organize a heritage fund that is collected internally and a long-term trust for the upkeep and maintenance of Urban heritage and support the incentive programs.</u>	<u>~~(b)~~High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.</u>
• <u>Encourage the local community to act as host to cultural tourists, providing genuine experience while creating an additional source of income for the local residents.</u>	<u>Medium-term priority</u>
Theme F: Sustainability and Future Inspiration	
• <u>Set mechanisms to deal with the traffic congestions and improve public spaces as well as providing parking in or around the city centre.</u>	<u>High Priority for all short-term</u>
• <u>Devise and implement policies to promote sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local products and crafts.</u>	<u>High Priority for medium and long-terms.</u>
• <u>Restore and protect the natural environment and ecosystems near the city centre and reduce the loss of agricultural land and local agricultural practices.</u>	<u>Medium-term priority</u>

Figure 15. (a) El-Gamaleya market [24]; (b) its location from the WH sites in Cairo [5] modified by El-Faouri in 2020.

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Overtourism, Centrifugation and alteration of heritage: The walled cities of Fez, Marrakesh, and Essaouira in Morocco

Morocco is geographically the closest country to Europe in the MENA region, therefore, most of the foreign capital for property investment has migrated into the country mainly towards three world heritage Medinas: Marrakesh, Fez and Essaouira. The cities were inscribed in 1985 and 1981 and 2001 respectively [5] and are the top tourist destinations of Moroccan cultural tourism [60]. Thus, they are also undergoing an extensive social-spatial transformation driven by European-led property investment and the accompanied regeneration projects aimed to promote tourism [61]. Morocco is on a longer span of time comparing to As Salt city and experienced a development of tourism that has largely and radically reshaped the contemporary spatial structure of its WH cities. As a result, the cities' commercial markets have transformed in size, physiognomy, and organization [60].

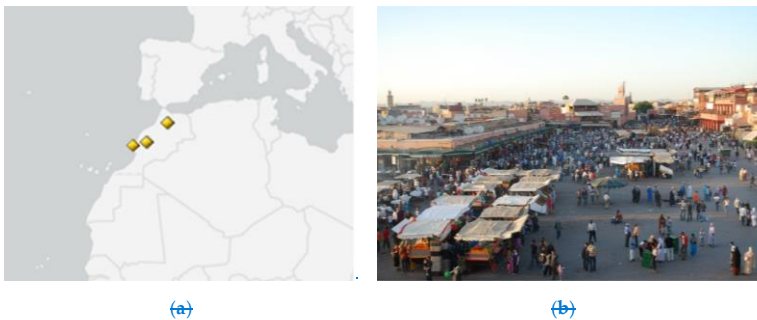


Figure 16. (a) WHSs of Marrakesh, Fez and Essaouira in Morocco [5]; (b) tourism in Marrakesh [5]

Moroccan cities are a very important example of extreme gentrification and tourism that can help provide key lessons for the development of more sustainable short and long-term scenarios for the City of As Salt. Since the inscription of 'Medina of Marrakesh' on the WHL in 1985, the city has been altered and transformed by tourism, that had an influence on the tradesmen and craftsmen working there, removing a part of their liveliness and values [60]. The lack of control of the tourism industry and overlooking the local needs led to an oversupply of workers and the gentrification of the city with displacement of its low income Moroccan residents, due to pursuing a more affordable way of living or forced by the tourism behavior and increasing property prices See [62] [63] and [60]. This also led to the disappearance of affordable residential quarters and the formation of a 'master-servant' relationship that has developed between the wealthy expatriates and the local Moroccan population resulting in the removal of the of Moroccan daily life [63]. Furthermore, in the recent decades of the 1990's-2000's, the city has been receiving a high influx of migrants—mainly European—but also from all over the globe who travel to the old city of Marrakesh. The rate of the changes increased even more at the end of the 20th century because of the expansion of tourism projects and the proliferation of low-fare flights from Europe. Overcrowded, neglected and/or vacant courtyard houses—which formed most of the urban fabric of Essaouira, Marrakech and Fez, transformed into elite oriental holiday houses for an expatriate community.

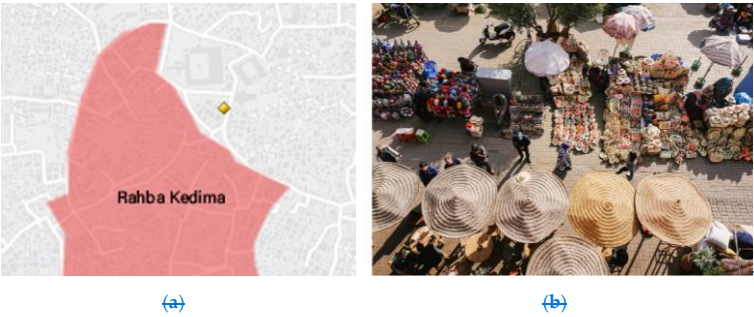


Figure 17. (a) WHSs Marrakesh in relation to one of the most touristic destinations in Marrakesh—(Rahba Kedima) modified by the researcher from [5]; (b) Rahba Kedima Square view [60].

The World Heritage listing of Fez in 1981 has also marked the start of a three-decade-long rehabilitation process. It acted as a catalyst for consuming and commercializing heritage where funds for conservation have singularly been allocated on increasing the appeal of the city exclusively for tourism see, [23] and [53]. This had a negative impact in maintaining the local population within the historic quarters of the world heritage cities. Middle class inhabitants frequently moved out to contemporary housing in newly built suburban areas seeking employment opportunities [64]. ‘Many places with great archaeological and historical values are now nothing more than a zoo for tourists to visit [...] the original inhabitants have been replaced by bazaars and Ali Baba’s adventures to build up a new façade based on “extraordinary” or exotic scenes’ [62, p. 473].

5. Results

The examination of the previous case studies has illustrated that tourism development has become the primary driver for heritage led Urban Regeneration in WH cities, the emphasis has been on a prime static value and beautification rather than upgrading the quality of the Urban fabric, thus jeopardising values important for other stakeholders such as the local community and neglecting the connection between the tangible and intangible dimensions that frequently link local communities to their heritage. Thus, in many cases, urban regeneration can become an instrument of gentrification, touristification, socio-spatial segregation, and social exclusion and many others, see [65], [23], [66], [67], [68]. Growing commercial interest generated by tourism also negative impacts on the surrounding land value and the loss of traditionally residential uses for the expansion of often unregulated commercial activity. The singularity of the OUV is now largely in the imagination of the travellers and the deliberate packaging and representation of the destination by the locals, while an element of the ‘exotic’ and the flavour of the ‘orient’ MENA region is still upheld [23]. All of these scenarios should be nudged and avoided in the city of As Salt that is currently following the same footsteps of those examples. The community survey has also indicated the shifting in the commercial centre to the edges of the city and the dissatisfaction of the locals from the regeneration schemes taken place in the city.

It is important to mention that these problems are not exclusive to the MENA region, they are global problems that can be illustrated in cities such as Liverpool in the UK which was recently been removed from the WHL due to the consequences of profit led and uncoordinated urban development projects that have undermined the character of the place [5]. There are also many other examples such as fish market in historic Venice [69], the Ellis Island Museum [68] Barcelona and Parte Vieja’s in Spain [65], Honghe China [66] New Orleans’ Vieux Carre French Quarter [70]. Therefore, many aspects of heritage led regeneration should be addressed differently, sustainable development alternatives are in need more than ever to be implemented in order to maintain a state of equilibrium

between all pillars of sustainability, including social and cultural sustainability. There is a need to showcase how negative urban regeneration aspects can be addressed and developed alternatively, a consensus sustainable substitute to correlate and to promote a state of balance for cities pursuing an inscription on the WHL.

The SDCs platform is used here as the guiding initiative, of which, the most related targets in the SDGs to Heritage-led Urban Regeneration practices discussed earlier are (Target 8.1: Sustainable Economic growth; Target 8.3: Promote policies to support job creation and growing enterprises; Target 8.9: Promote beneficial and sustainable tourism; Target 11.3: Inclusive and sustainable urbanization; Target 11.4: Protect the world's cultural and natural heritage; Target 11.a: Strong national and regional development planning Target 17.16: Enhance the global partnership for sustainable development; Target 17.17: Encourage effective partnerships; Target 17.18: Enhance availability of reliable data; Target 17.19: Further develop measurements of progress [30]). These targets will set a Criteria and would be the lens to evaluate the sustainability factor of the Urban regeneration processes in As Salt city. The targets are also used to set priorities for recommendations for Heritage-led Urban Regeneration in the context of World Heritage Listing, these recommendations are listed in table (1) below and can be used for the newly inscribed As Salt City and all other cities pursuing the inscription.

Table 1. List of prioritized recommendations for heritage-led Urban regeneration schemes derived from the lessons taken from the WH cities in the MENA region and the related SDGs

Relevant SDGs and targets	Urban regeneration issues in As Salt	Recommendation for Heritage-led Urban Regeneration in the City of As-Salt (Jordan)	Timescale and the level of Priorities
Goals 11: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable Target 11.3 Target 11.4 Target 11.a	WH nomination as a Catalyst for Urban Regeneration (Selective narratives based on the Singularity of the OUV and Loosing connection between tangible and intangible heritage	○ Set non-negotiable aspects/terms covering all pillars of sustainability including economic, environmental, social, and cultural dimensions. This include maintaining As Salt residents living in the city centre, allowing for the continuation of their intangible heritage including the hospitality and harmony of religions that covers the OUV of the inscribed property to be transmitted to future generations. ○ Consider all the layers of history the site offers besides the 'golden era' which can be also invested in the regeneration processes. This also includes other values important to the local community to be reflected in a certain level of flexibility with the CCSR laws. ○ Develop a multi-stakeholders' understanding the intangible heritage and encourage its documentation and its protection within the City Core Special Regulations CCSR. ○ Maintain Integrity and authenticity by creating a sense of balance between local genuine experiences and intangible performances for tourism purposes. ○ Restore and protect the natural environment and ecosystems near the city centre and reduce the loss of agricultural land and local agricultural practices.	- High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms. - High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms. - High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms. - Medium-term priority - Medium-term priority

	Demolition and Mega-tourism projects (e.g. Oqbe bin nafe' or sahet-al-ain)	○ Prepare a short, medium, and long-term risk assessment for the wellbeing of As-Salt local community especially in terms of tourism capacity and mega-scale projects. ○ Develop a masterplan for the city growth and avoid projects that does not fit into the wider vision. ○ Monitor Heritage performativity, liveability, community diversity intangible living heritage continuity, the quality rehabilitation processes, etc.	High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms. High Priority for long terms. High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.
Goal 8: Promote sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all	Restoration of Heritage Buildings and Beautification of Urban Spaces without Adaptive Reuse and Urban Revitalization	○ Reuse and rehabilitate buildings by encouraging the formalization and growth of micro-small and medium-sized enterprises through the investment of abandoned buildings, therefore, avoiding the wasted effort, money and labour put into this process, (e.g., the Latin school scheduled to be demolished can be an NGO building for female enterprises)	High Priority for medium, and long terms.
		○ Devise and implement policies to promote sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local products and crafts.	High Priority for medium terms.
		○ Encourage the local community to act as host to cultural tourists, providing genuine experience while finding an additional source of income.	Medium-term priority
	Target 8.1 Target 8.3 Target 8.9	Overtourism, Centrifugation and alteration of heritage & Displacement, Site Isolation ○ Create encouragement, facilitation, and incentive programs for maintaining local residents by providing competitive renovation awards, financial loans, tax incentive programs and exemptions. ○ Monitor real-estate prices and living costs before and after the World Heritage inscription.	High Priority for the long terms High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.
Goal 17: Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development	Overflow of foreign Workers and labour in the tourism industry	○ Support productive activities, decent job creation, entrepreneurship, creativity, and innovation from the local community.	Medium-term priority
		○ Capacity building: Improve or develop mechanisms to support young actors and emerging professionals in the field of Cultural Heritage preservation.	High Priority for the long terms
		○ Boost inclusive urbanization via regular community participatory in the integrated process of sustainable urban Regeneration.	High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.
	The exclusion of the local community from the decision making process	○ Encourage and promote effective public, private, and civil society partnerships, building on the experience and resourcing strategies of partnerships ○ Enhance Global Partnership for Sustainable Development, complemented by mobilizing and sharing knowledge, expertise, technology, and financial resources.	High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms. Medium-term priority

Target 17.16 Target 17.17 Target 17.18 Target 17.19	The lack of coordination between different stakeholders	○ Boost Institutional co-ordination and community involvement to enhance internal Partnership and avoid dual management of tourism assets which might lead to a conflict of interest.	High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.
		○ Regulate the coordination between different stakeholders and the revision of the regulatory framework for future action on the city.	High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.
		○ Develop feasible qualitative indicators to measure stakeholders' engagement and satisfactions as well as the progress of heritage conservation and management.	Medium term priority
	Relying on Foreign aid agencies financially	○ Avoid taking grants and loans that have restricting conditions that poses risks to sustainable regeneration and making sure that all funded projects fall within the overall alternative vision of heritage-led sustainable urban regeneration	Medium term priority
		○ Organize a heritage fund that is collected internally and a long-term trust for the upkeep and maintenance of Urban Heritage and support the incentive programs.	High Priority for all short, medium, and long terms.

¹ El Faouri, 2021

By considering the above recommendations, the ongoing urban regeneration projects happening in As-Salt might have an alternative to a more sustainable trajectory ~~and that avoids negative outcome might be avoided. Feeding back to the As Salt city scenarios mentioned outcomes identified earlier, in the paper. The above recommendations are only provide a start to consider for considering all other heritage values wherein addition to the ones nominated as OUV on the WHL. Authorities Local authorities should have integrate long-term vision of the implications and projections that might happen as a result of their visions for the city to avoid irreversible damage that could be caused by short-term decisions, hence increasing level of resilience of the city in the long-term.~~

67. Discussion & Conclusions

Literature has revealed that many ~~Heritage heritage-led Urban Regeneration-urban regeneration~~ schemes that ~~follows follow~~ the nomination of a city on the WHL focus on ~~specific static values with an emphasis on~~ tourism development and the OUV associated ~~to with~~ their inscription, while neglecting other urban sustainability factors. The common issues that ~~Urban urban~~ regeneration in a heritage environment ~~is often translated into a face is the~~ proliferation of hotels, bed and breakfast accommodations, souvenir shops and many other tourist-oriented leisure and catering facilities, which take over the spontaneous genuine experience and replace it with 'consumerism' leading to the disappearance of intangible heritage for financial profit, and potentially puts at risk the wider context of the tangible heritage. This often leads to losing sight of the connection between the tangible and intangible dimensions of heritage, hence attracting a large number of visitors at the expense of the wellbeing of the local communities, ~~highlighting mainly the criteria used for defining the OUV in the development processes.~~ There is no doubt that tourism plays an important role in advancing the Sustainable Development. However, the recent COVID-19 crisis has also opened the discussion around the risks associated with the over-reliance on tourism to economically sustain communities and heritage sites. No nation is unaffected both economically and socially, impacting livelihoods, public services, and opportunities on all continents [7464].

Lessons are to be learned from earlier case studies to avoid recurrent patterns of heritage-led Urban regeneration that are likely to destroy the value for which the site was initially inscribed, let alone other site values that have been neglected. Introducing the concept of resilience by retaining some of the intangible heritage and the character of the city, and by revealing the impact of neglecting other values though the promoting of one dominant value under the umbrella of UN Sustainable Development criteria.

As Salt City that was recently inscribed on the UNESCO WHL is experiencing a recurrent pattern of Urban regeneration. It is important to mention that the urban regeneration challenges that follows the nomination of a city on the WHL and identified in this paper are not exclusive to the MENA region. They are global problems that can be illustrated in cities such as Liverpool in the UK which was recently been removed from the WHL due to the consequences of profit-led and uncoordinated urban development projects that have undermined the character of the place [7]. There are also many other examples such as the fish market in historic Venice that has been gentrified by excessive tourism [65], the Ellis Island Museum [63] Barcelona and Parte Vieja's in Spain [60], Honghe-China [61] New Orleans' Vieux Carre French Quarter [66] amongst others.

Sustainable tourism and the consideration of local community needs are a key in all heritage environments. It is important not to destroy the nature of the communities that led, in the first place, to the recognition of their outstanding cultural value. The adoption of UNESCO WH listing is supposed to be a tool for raising the level of awareness among relevant parties, raising the level of protection and conservation given to heritage properties [20]. However, examining the urban regeneration patterns happening in Cairo, Jeddah, Fez and Marrakech and the ones that have started to be implemented in As-Salt, it is clear that there is a potential conflict that can arise, and which can undermine many of the tangible and intangible values associated with the sites. UNESCO and other international bodies should also provide state parties more guidance and additional recommendations that are not exclusive to the protection of OUV of the site but also, the protections of other values that are important to the locals such as retaining intangible heritage that connects local communities to their heritage.

8. Conclusions

Mapping the transformation of the city of As-Salt starting from the first attempt of its nomination on UNESCO WHL in 2014 to its inscription in 2021 after a second attempt, has revealed that the city is initiating tourism-led urban regeneration. Authorities are sterilizing the urban fabric from what is not considered heritage to be replaced with mega-scale projects and compensating the locals in order to move out. This has created issues such as the community displacement and tourism-led urban regeneration projects in the center of the city as well as losing the connection between the local tangible and intangible heritage. The shift in the OUV from tangible heritage in 2016 to the intangible heritage in 2020 has however not altered the vision for the city's future as the tourism focused projects initiated in the first nomination attempt have not been changed but continue without considering the fact that the local community is the ultimate carrier of the intangible heritage recognized as the outstanding heritage value of the city.

The results of As-Salt city community survey presented in this paper indicates a certain level of dissatisfaction with regards to the regeneration projects taking place in the city center. That has led many traders and residents to move towards an area at the edge of the city, moving the community commercial hub outside the historic center in order to regenerate it as a site with enhanced touristic facilities. Local communities were often unaware of the legislation or development projects around the city center and were not engaged in the decision-making processes. The City Core Special Regulations (CCSR) that includes the protection of tangible heritage should also include intangible heritage and allow some level of flexibility and incentives for the local community; they should not be seen as a burden but should include the local community interest in heart.

following the footsteps of other relevant WH cities in the MENA region. This paper has provided Possible trajectories and what if scenarios derived from cities that experienced similar Urban regeneration issues as As-Salt but on a longer timescale, and therefore, the result of taking tourism driven approaches is obvious. It is important to indicate that the OUV of the file that led to As-Salt successful inscription in 2021 was connected to the strong link between its intangible attributes (tolerance and co-habitations among Muslim and Christian communities; urban hospitality; and socio-urban welfare system); and tangible attributes (significant architecture and urban morphology) during the Golden Age ranging from the 1860s to the middle of the 1920s [4430]. Those intangible attributes might be jeopardized by the ongoing projects, leading to the loss the OUV that led to the inscription in the first place. following the footsteps of other relevant WH cities in the MENA region. Those intangible attributes of hospitality and harmony between religions might be interpreted differently from different stakeholders, therefore, jeopardising that delicate balance between tangible and intangible heritage. It is a key here to introduce the concept of resilience by retaining some of the intangible heritage and the character of the city, and by revealing the impact of neglecting other values though promoting one dominant value, which is usually the outstanding universal value (OUV).

The result of As-Salt city community survey indicates the dissatisfaction has led many traders and residents to move from the city centre towards an area at the edges of the city, moving the commercial hub outside and leaving the historic centre to be revitalised and reused as touristic facilities. Local communities were often unaware of the development projects around the city centre and were not engaged in the decision making process. The historic centre special regulations (CCSR) to protect heritage tangible assets should include intangible heritage protection and allow some flexibility and incentives for the local community, they should not be seen as a burden but should include the local community interest in heart. Lessons are learned from earlier WH case studies in the region in order to avoid recurrent patterns of heritage-led Urban regeneration that are likely to destroy and neglect other values of the site that are important to the local community. This paper has provided possible trajectories and what if scenarios derived from cities that experienced similar Urban regeneration issues as As-Salt but on a longer timescale, and therefore, the results of taking tourism driven approaches only are obvious, particularly in a post-pandemic situation. Furthermore, the paper developed recommendations that aim to avoid the repetition of the negative impacts identified in the WH cities of the MENA region. In doing so, it investigates how the urban regeneration practices that have already taken place in As-Salt can be nudged to change their trajectories by rebalancing priorities as informed by the results of local community survey.

SDGs were found strongly related to a comprehensive and sustainable heritage-led urban regeneration; however, even though these trajectories have been acknowledged before the SDGs, it did not address these issues. The platform should address its shortcomings and linkages with culture and heritage as an equal pillar to sustainability as the economic and environmental pillars. UN platforms such as the SDGs are a great starting point for initiating a more sustainable approach toward Heritage-led Urban Regeneration. Stakeholders' resilience and inclusiveness are key towards accepting all values within the site boundaries. UNESCO and other international bodies should also provide state parties more guidance and additional recommendations that are not exclusive to the protection of OUV of the site but also, the protections of other values that are important to the locals such as retaining intangible heritage that connect local communities to their heritage while meeting the UN Sustainable Development Goals. Many cities are now addressing the SDGs in general and include it in their framework of action; this is an opportunity to rebalance heritage-led Urban regeneration priorities in the context of SDGs and how we can change the trajectories of events that are likely to happen in WH sites, as well as avoiding the repetition of previous scenarios that already started in As-Salt City.

There is currently a rising awareness of the need to incorporate and attempt to find interlinkages among the different UN initiatives for Sustainable Development, this is

where it is visible that many areas of the initiatives are still to be covered and complemented to avoid such contradictions in future Urban regeneration schemes. For example, UNESCO is identifying areas of correlation within the HUL approach and the SDCs [72], others, try to correlate the NUA to the SDCs such as the Compass Housing Services [73] United Nations Human Settlements Programme [32], the General Assembly of Partners in 2021, and some academics [74]. Others research heritage or culture as an enabler to achieve the SDCs (see, ICOMOS, culture 21 committee of UCLC, 2018; CIVVIH/ICOMOS, 2020 in addition to also the formation by ICOMOS working group dedicated for include heritage and culture as a main driver to achieve the SDCs called ICOMOS SDCWG, of which the author is an active member and one of the three representatives for ICOMOS Jordan under the title of SDCWG/ICOMOS -NC Jordan [37]. These are timely recent initiatives which are still in progress with no published outcomes yet.

9. Acronyms and Abbreviations

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHL	World Heritage List
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
WHS	World Heritage Site
UN	United Nations
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
DDP	Distinctive Destination Program
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SDC	Salt Development Corporation
RSS	Royal Scientific Society
JICA	Japanese International Cooperation Study
CCSR	the City Core Special Regulation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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