Private Space-Based City Configuration,

Beirut case.

Khalid S. Al-Hagla

*Dept. of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering, Alexandria
University, Alexandria, Egypt
Faculty of Architectural Engineering, Beirut Arab
University, Beirut, Lebanon*

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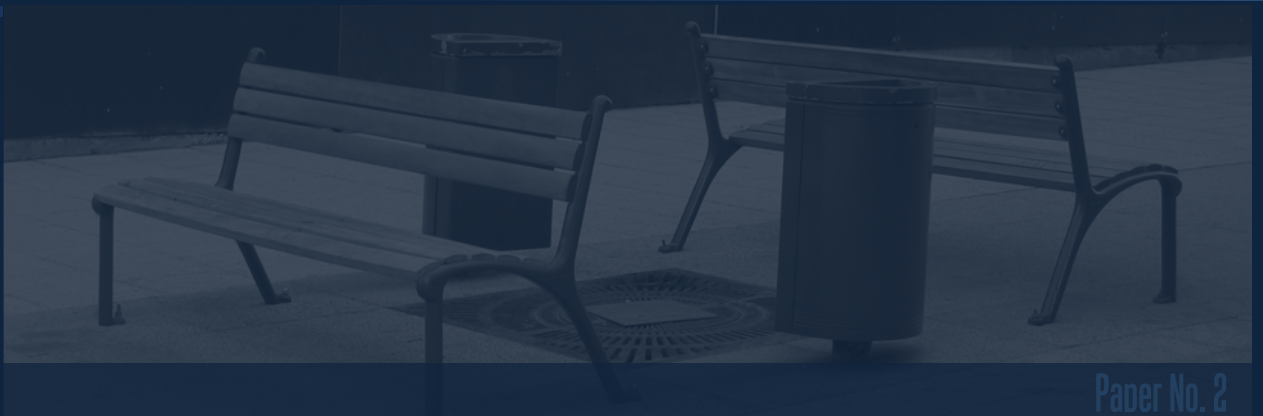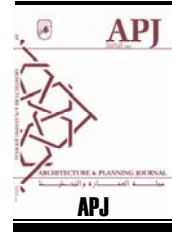chaos of large metropolitan areas.*

Dave Reichert

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Downtown Beirut

ABSTRACTS

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Khalid S. Al-Hagla

Dept. of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering, Alexandria University, Alexandria, Egypt
Faculty of Architectural Engineering, Beirut Arab University, Beirut, Lebanon

Abstract

Private property enables different personal dimensions in relation to space. For those who own and control it, private property provides an opportunity for the exertion of power and the attachment of emotions. As such, it becomes one of the most widely-used vehicles of psychological development as well as an expression of personal identity and empowerment within social networks. In light of these insights, this paper tackles the intangible dimensions of open spaces that shape their role at the center of a community's social interactions and coherence. This paper compares micro private space within cities to macro public zones, which could also be considered private according to certain classification criteria.This paper uses this approach to analyze the complex spatial pattern of Beirut, a city that has been deeply influenced by a long history of war and severe confessionalism. That is, the paper gives an interpretation of the private spatial islands enclosed within the overall city structure in the wake of its division into scattered private areas based on ethnic, religious, and sociopolitical criteria.

In its concluding section, this paper discusses the role of both Solidère (the reconstruction project of downtown Beirut) and the urban design competition in Martyrs' Square and the Grand Axis of Beirut, which have served as catalysts in the city's efforts to resolve the disagreement between its various conflicting partners. The paper concludes with the importance of reviving the role of city common spaces in the creation of a balanced co-existence among its different private areas.

Keywords: Private spaces, territory, Beirut, sense of community, city square, Shatila Refugee Camp, Martyrs' Square, Solidère

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Beirut Case

الفراغ الخاص كأداة لتشكيل المدينة

دراسة حالة مدينة بيروت

د/ خالد السيد محمد الحجلة

قسم الهندسة المعمارية – كلية الهندسة – جامعة الإسكندرية – الإسكندرية – مصر

كلية الهندسة المعمارية – جامعة بيروت العربية – بيروت – لبنان

الملخص

لمبدأ الملكية الخاصة المقدرة علي ربط مختلف الجوانب الذاتية للتعامل مع الفراغات الحضرية وذلك بإعتبارها مجالاً لممارسة النفوذ والتعبير عن الذات بالنسبه للإنسان الذي يمتلك و يتحكم فيها. لذلك فهي واحدة من أهم الأطر التي تنضوي تحتها فرص لدراسة التنمية السيكلوجية والتعبير عن كلٍ من المكانة والهوية الشخصية ضمن المنظومة الإجتماعية. في إطار هذه المفاهيم يقوم البحث بالتأكيد علي القيم الغير ملموسة للفراغات الحضرية والتي تلعب دوراً رئيسياً في رسم ملامح أدوار هذه الفراغات كقلب للتفاعلات والإلتفاف الإجتماعي لمجتمعاتها. يقوم البحث في هذا بعمل مقاربة بين الفراغات الخاصة علي المستوي الدقيق من جهة والتي تشكل التكوين الفراغي الأساسي للمدن والمناطق العامة فيها من جهة أخري والتي يمكن إعتبارها خاصة وفقا لمجموعة من الظروف الخاصة والمعايير المتبَّعة للتصنيف.

يستخدم البحث هذا المدخل لتحليل النمط الفراغي المركب لمدينة بيروت كمدينة تأثرت بعمق بسنوات طوال للحرب ومواجهات داخلية حادة، وهو في هذا يعطي تفسيرا للجزر المجتمعية الخاصة والمتحوصلة ضمن أطر فراغية اكبر للمدينة في ضوء تقسيمها وفقا لمعايير عرقية، دينية، سياسية وإجتماعية الي عدد من المناطق الخاصة المتفرقه. يناقش البحث في الجزء الأخير منه الدور الذي يلعبه كلاً من مشروعي إعادة إعمار الوسط التجاري لمدينة بيروت ومسابقة التصميم الحضري لميدان الشهداء والذي يقع علي المحور الفراغي الكبير بوسط المدينة كإمكانات يمكن تفعيلها لتضييق الهوة بين طوائف المجتمع المختلفة. ويخلص البحث في النهاية الي أهمية تفعيل دور الفراغات العامة بالمدينة لخلق نوع من التوازن بين مختلف الأجزاء الخاصة بها.

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1. Introduction

The relationship between the public and private gets at the heart of key concerns within the field of social philosophy. The study of public-private relations addresses the desired balance between the two as well as whether and how each can and should establish a distinctive realm. This paper argues for using these understandings in order to define the relationship between the individual and society (Madanipour, 2003). It highlights this relationship by answering two parallel questions: how can a realm be established that caters to the cultural and biological needs of a social individual to be protected from the intrusion of others? Additionally, how can realms be established that both cater to the needs of society and protect it from the encroachment of individuals?

The answers to these two questions are discussed in relation to broad definitions of "individual" and "society". This extensive vision makes a correlation

* Corresponding author.
  E-mail address: khalid@pylon-group.com

between two different scales of the study of the word "individual". While the main concern of the micro-scale study is to show the relationship between individuals and society according to the basic definitions of those terms, the macro scale develops a more complicated understanding of a cluster of individuals that form a micro society, a community that configures a new relationship to society as a whole. This wide-scope understanding can be used to express a multimodal definition of public and private spheres either in a positive or a negative way, depending on depending on whether one's focus is on protecting the private or public sphere (Madanipour, 2003). If one's aim is to protect privacy, one might highlight its positive value; in that case, publicity would need to be kept at bay as a negative force. Alternately, if one's aim is to protect the public realm, one might assign a negative interpretation to the private sphere.

The barriers between the public and the private realms remain important tools that are used to shape social relations and spatial arrangements. These boundaries are rooted in particular social and historical contexts and have evolved, transformed throughout history, and been used by society in order to create particular forms of distinction. Accordingly, the separation of public from private, an essential part of the constitution of society, has depended on the construction and protection of these boundaries.

This paper's case study analyzes Beirut as a city that was shaped by a long history of conflicts that are directly reflected in its spatial organization. Its modern history is marked by religious and political strife, which led to a succession of conflicts (1860, 1958) and culminated in the 1975-1991 Civil War. The city was also significantly influenced by its regional context. This includes the trans-Arab national movements of the 1960s as well as the Arab-Israeli conflict since 1948, which led to the Israeli invasion to the city in the summer of 1982 (Fawaz and Isabelle, 2003).

The demographic structure of Beirut, as a main shaping force of the city's private spaces, is a clear reflection of the different stages through which the city has gone. The city began to grow exponentially during the phase that preceded the French Mandate and already had 130,000 inhabitants by 1915. In 1920, Beirut became the capital city of Greater Lebanon. However, the city grew along three main axes: the Damascus Road (east), Tripoli Road (north) and Saida Road (south) (Fig. 1). Two milestones could be highlighted as the main driving forces in shaping the city's new demographic morphology (Fawaz and Isabelle, 2003).

- The first is the housing of waves of low-income refugees and migrants coming from Lebanon's own hinterlands (South Lebanon, Beka'a, and the north) as well as migrant workers and waves of Palestinian refugees displaced in 1948 by the creation of the state of Israel.

- The second is the civil war; both Beirut and its suburbs were severely damaged by the war, with an estimated 10 percent of construction destroyed. The city was divided into two sections: one section was predominantly Christian, and the other was predominantly Muslim, which was run by rival militias. The old core was completely emptied.

The idea of Beirut defined as a cluster of agglomerated private zones is primarily rooted in these two key events.

Figure 1: The City of Beirut, Source, the author

2. Private Area, Macro-Scale Understanding

The definition of "public" depends on both its context and on the other half of the formula, i.e., on the way the private sphere is understood. However, when the private is personal, the public can be considered interpersonal or impersonal. When the private is interpersonal, the public can be considered impersonal. Depending on the descriptive or normative orientation of the definition, each of these layers within the word's meaning can enable a different interpretation (Madanipour, 2003). Depending on the way the private realm is defined (e.g., mind, body, property, home, or community), the public sphere results in a related but opposite meaning. As a result, the private realm can be understood as one or a number of these layers, and as such, the public realm can also consist of a number of such layers.

Psychologists' research into territory demonstrates that the separation of territories into public and private spaces is not absolute and can vary according to three main aspects (Bell et al., 1996). These include the

number of people involved, the size of the place, and the length of occupation. In other words, the separation of territories depends on the conditions of society, space and time. Accordingly, public and private territories are not dichotomies; that is, their boundaries are socially constructed and permeable rather than sacred and natural.

Because law and politics demand the clarity of these boundaries and the maintenance of the dichotomy, the social and psychological nuances of understanding and action within cities are taken to be inappropriate within the normative framework of public-private separation. In this context, Epstein's suggestion is a compromise between clarity and ambiguity or between an ideal and an existing distinction between the two realms (Richard, 1998). Trying to confront the ambiguity of the divide between public and private, Weintraub (1997) identifies four broad domains in which discussions of public and private take place (Jeff, 1997): a liberal-economistic model, which focuses on the distinction between the state administration and the market economy; a civic perspective, which considers the public to be the arena of political community and citizenship (as distinct from both the state and the market); a public life perspective, which focuses on the fluid and polymorphous sphere of sociability (as distinct from the household); and, finally, a feminist perspective, which focuses on the distinction between family and the larger economic and political order, especially as reflected in the market economy.

Benn and Gaus (1983) tackle another classification approach when they notice the potentially puzzling diversity of activities and practices that are categorized as public or private. They identify three broad types, which constitute the dimensions of publicness and privateness. The three dimensions of social organization are access, agency and interest (Benn and Gaus, 1983). Most definitions of public space emphasize the necessity of access, which can include access to a place as well as to the activities within it. Benn and Gaus divide access further into four sub-dimensions as follows: physical access to spaces, access to activities, access to information and access to resources. Public places and spaces, therefore, are public because anyone is entitled to be physically present within them. Access to places, however, is often related to access to activities within them. However, it is possible to have access to a place without having access to the activities taking place there. Access to information often lies at the heart of debates about privacy. This access involves controlling information about oneself or managing one's public appearances. Access to resources allows a degree of influence over public affairs, which is why the issue of agency is significant. Benn and Gaus (1983) assert that *"Where the agents stand, whether acting privately or on behalf of a community, makes a difference to the nature and consequences of their actions. A public agency dealing with a part of urban space has a completely different mode of operation and aims than a private one".*

Similarly, the dimension of interest plays a major role in determining the public-private distinction. Who are the beneficiaries of a particular action? Are they private individuals or parts of the public as a whole? However, these dimensions of access, agency and interest can be usefully employed in empirical analyses of public spaces, in which it becomes possible to identify the degree of publicness and privateness of a place or activity. The dimensions of agency and interest clearly direct us towards an appreciation of the multiplicity of perspectives within urban space. The notions of interest, agency and access, however, enable one to interpret space with an instrumental approach, perceive it as an asset in exchange, use it as a resource and treat it as a commodity (Madanipour, 2003). These notions draw on an analysis of social relations as exchange among strangers rather than a set of emotional and meaningful ties.

3. Community, Sense of Community, and Territoriality

By contrast, and in keeping with the materialistic definition of the private realm, a *"sense of community"* constitutes the other half of an understanding of the private realm. This vision highlights a community as a group of people living in the same locality and under the same government; they have common interests and are perceived as forming a distinct segment of society. In this regard, the sense of community is a concept in social psychology that focuses on the experience of community rather than its structure, formation, setting, or other physical features (Chavis et al., 1986). Sarason (1974) discusses the role of the psychological sense of community as the conceptual center for the psychology of community. He asserts that *"It is one of the major bases for self-definition".* McMillan and Chavis define sense of community as *"a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together".*

Gusfield (1975) identifies two essential dimensions of community; these are relational and territorial. The relational dimension has to do with the nature and quality of relationships in a community, and some communities may even have no discernible territorial demarcation. Other communities may seem to be defined primarily according to territory, as in the case of neighborhoods. However, even in such cases, proximity or shared territory cannot by itself constitute a community; the relational dimension is also essential. McMillan (1996) and Chavis et al. (1986) identify four elements that explain the features

of the sense of community. These include membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs and shared emotional connection (Fig. 2).
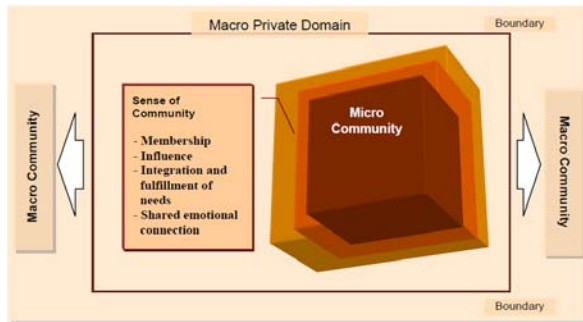

Figure 2: Private community: macro scale understanding, Source, the author

Boundaries constitute the most troublesome feature of the "membership" portion of the definition. Boundaries are marked by such things as language, which indicates who belongs and who does not. The other attributes of membership are emotional safety (or, more broadly, security or willingness to reveal how one really feels), a sense of belonging and identification (expectation or faith that I will belong and acceptance by the community), personal investment, and finally, a common symbol system. Nisbet and Perrin (1977) highlight the importance of understanding common symbol systems as a prerequisite to understanding community. They explain that *"The symbol is to the social world what the cell is to the biotic world and the atom to the physical world.... The symbol is the beginning of the social world as we know it"*.

Among the elements that define the features of the sense of community is influence. The sense of community's bidirectional influence increases its problematic typology. On one hand, members of a group must feel empowered to have influence over what a group does (otherwise they might not be motivated to participate); on the other hand, group cohesiveness depends upon the group having some influence over its members. These two apparently contradictory forces can be at work simultaneously. McMillan (1996) asserts that *"This process -of bidirectional influence- occurs all at the same time because order, authority, and justice create the atmosphere for the exchange of power"*.

In addition to influence, integration and fulfillment of needs are two other important features. In this regard, the word "needs" is used to indicate much more than the basic human need to survive. It also includes those things that are desired and valued. However, members of a group are seen as being rewarded in various ways for their participation, which Rappaport (1977) calls *"person-environment fit"*. This would include the status of being a member as well as the benefits that might accrue from the competence of other members. McMillan (1996)

shows that *"similarity to others and homogeneity contribute to group interaction and cohesion"*. In other words, a community's *"shared values"* can offer direction in identifying the "needs," beyond survival, that members of a group will pursue. This insight suggests that the "search for similarities" is an essential dynamic of community development.

The study of emotional connections, defined as an essential feature in shaping a sense of community understanding, has been approached using a number of hypotheses (Chavis et al., 1986, and McMillan, 1996). These include contact and the shared event hypothesis. While the former assumes that greater personal interaction increases the likelihood that people will become close, the latter addresses the direct correlation between the importance of a shared event (especially crises) and the extent of a group bond. Among other important features of shared emotional connection are the following: closure to events (ambiguous interaction and unresolved tasks inhibit group cohesiveness), investment (beyond boundary maintenance and cognitive dissonance, the community becomes more important to someone who has given more time and energy to it), and finally, the effect of honor and humiliation on community members (someone who has been rewarded in front of a community feels more attracted to that community, and if humiliated, feels less attraction).

4. Boundary of the Private/Public Definition

Public and private spheres in the city depend entirely on the boundaries that separate them. Both for those who defend the private sphere from public intrusion and those who defend the public sphere from private encroachment, the construction of boundaries signifies an act of delimitation and protection (Madanipour, 2003). Nagel (1998) demonstrates the importance of these values by suggesting that *"the boundary between what we reveal and what we do not, and some control over that boundary, are among the most important attributes of our humanity"*.

The character of the arguments in favor of the public or private sphere depends on the way this boundary is articulated as much as the configuration of what lies behind the boundary. There may be no intrinsic qualities to the subsections of a space. Rather, it is the way that the space is subdivided through boundaries that creates its character. Therefore, these qualities and characters are constructed through the process of boundary setting, which is a form of definition. Ali. Madanipour (2003) asserts that *"By defining space, enclosing it within boundaries which separate the public and the private, the social relations take a spatial form; a concrete and relatively fixed representation of constantly changing social phenomena"*.

According to this perspective, city building is essentially a boundary-setting exercise. The space of the city is shaped by its many forms and levels of boundaries, and each boundary contains multi-level configurations and meanings. City-building is a process through which space is constantly divided and reshaped in new forms. A living city witnesses, throughout its history, constant change in its spatial configurations. It is shaped by changing boundaries that define and redefine areas for different functions and meanings, such as those expressed in the distinction between definitions of public and private.

The boundary between the public and the private, as with any other form of boundary, is an expression of a power that can subdivide space, give those subdivisions different meanings, and encourage others to share those meanings by believing in them. As Madanipour (2003) highlights, regarding all boundary subdivision scales, the establishment of a boundary signifies the power of defining space, and as such, will encounter those who are satisfied by boundaries as well as those who are discontented. The way forward must not include eliminating all distinctions and boundaries, which would create a formless chaos in which the weak would suffer most. Rather, it must include creating sufficient flexibility to allow a dialogue between what lies inside and outside and must always allow the possibility of redrawing boundaries.

On the other hand, as much as a boundary enables the separation of two realms, protecting them from each other, it is also a site of interface and communication between them. At times, therefore, a boundary is part of both sides of a divide or falls on neither side because it forms a threshold. The boundary can have an ambiguous character, which in some circumstances may be welcome because it can promote permeability and social interaction. In the articulation of spatial boundaries, there may be an emphasis on creating links between the two realms so that social interaction and vitality can be generated within urban space. However, the more ambiguous the boundary, the more civilized a place appears to be. Conversely, when the two realms are separated by rigid walls, the line of interaction becomes arid, communication limited, and the social life poorer as a result (Madanipour, 2003). Thus, regardless of the different conditions of boundary-shaping configurations, the separation of public and private realms in cities should not be treated as a black and white distinction. The lines that divide the two have to be porous and ambiguous, especially in space. This ambiguity occurs in practice, where the boundaries are frequently crossed for a variety of purposes. That is, in practice, boundaries cannot be rigid, but must rather be *"semi permeable"* (Richard, 1998).

5. A private space-based morphological analysis of Beirut

The macro understanding of privacy could be used as an approach to analyze the spatial structure of Beirut. This approach would highlight the importance of "privacy" as a key value that configures the city's mechanisms. The importance of this value as a criterion of classification could be interpreted in light of the driving forces that have shaped the city's new demographic morphology (e.g., waves of low-income refugees and migrants as well as the civil war). The consequences of these two main forces are still influencing the city's formulation and are reflected in various facets of daily life within the city. Their role in shaping the city through the construction of several private areas varied as follows (Fig. 3):

Figure 3: The 'Private' areas of the City of Beirut, Source, the author

- The war caused Beirut to be divided into two major "Private" sections, one predominantly Christian and the other predominantly Muslim. Religion was the criterion of this territory classification. As a guarantee of safety, people moved out of their original areas towards areas where they shared religious belief with others. The large urban periphery provided new spaces for urbanization for displaced populations, and urbanization increased continuously along the entire coast and on the surrounding hills (Fawaz and Isabelle, 2003). At the time, much of the city's growth occurred illegally, in violation of building codes, construction codes, and property rights regulations.

- Between 1920 and 1952, three groups of camps grew within the city of Beirut in response to emergency situations that brought groups of international refugees into the city. These groups included Armenians, Syriacs, and Palestinians. These camps were the prototypes for drawing a new map of private areas in the city. This paper addresses both the Armenian and the Palestinian camps as the most influential, until now (Fawaz and Isabelle, 2003).

Armenian Camps

In 1922, the arrival of 10,500 Armenians to Beirut fleeing Cilicia (where the threat of massacres was intensifying) marked the formation of the first slum in modern Beirut. The League of Nations set up thousands of tents on empty terrain situated on the northeastern edge of the city in the area of Medawar. As of 1926, various Armenian associations working with Mandate authorities (seeking the refugees' disengagement from the camps) proposed more permanent solutions. As a result, the Armenian refugees were gradually relocated outside the Qarantina area to the nearby areas of Bourj Hammoud and Khalil Badawi, Karm ez-Zeitoon, and other "popular" low-income neighborhoods of the city. These were, to a great extent, consolidated over time, and improvements were made to the refugees' living conditions. In 1939, with the arrival of Armenians from Alexandrette as well as other areas of Syria, new extensions appeared to the north of the neighborhood, of which only the current Sanjak Camp remains. Today, the Armenians are settled in the Bourj Hammoud area, and only narrow sections of the area, such as Camp Sanjak, can still be labeled as the slums where mainly foreign workers live.

Palestinian Camps

The arrival of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon began in 1948 at the outset of the declaration of the State of Israel in their country and the perpetuation of a set of massacres that precipitated their departure (Pappe, 1992). During the first years, the refugees either rented places or lived in camps originally established for Armenian refugees, especially Qarantina. As of 1950, and under the auspices of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), a special UN body appointed to organize the temporary settlement of Palestinians in neighboring countries, camps were instituted to house various Palestinian communities (Fig. 4). Ten lands (Waqf, or religious lands) were rented out by private property owners directly to UNRWA, and refugees were allowed to first erect tents and then houses on these plots. The houses remain today within the same structures, and their occupants suffer from poor levels of services and living conditions. As of 1952, there were a total of six Palestinian camps within Beirut (and 15 in all of Lebanon), all created between 1949 and 1952. The largest among them are those located in the southern suburbs of the city, Shatila and the Bourj el Barajneh. According to UNRWA figures, these two camps occupy over 39,500 m2 and 104,200 m^2, respectively and house 1,600 and 8,200 refugees (UN-UNRWA, 1992).

Extensions to Palestinian Camps

By 1974, two new camps were recognized as de facto Palestinian camps in the city in spite of the fact that they were neither registered nor recognized by UNRWA. The first, Sabra, was a direct extension of the Shatila camp from which it was indistinguishable (Fig. 5). The squatter settlement of Sabra expanded considerably during the mid-1970s. This expansion was fuelled by a series of national, regional, and institutional events such as the land pooling and re-cartelization project of a large section of this area, which created confusion over property rights and thus facilitated squatting. The other "camp", Bir Hassan, also expanded in close proximity to the Shatila camp and housed 1,785 persons in 1974; these were mostly Palestinian refugees (Fawaz and Isabelle, 2003).

Figure 4: Palestinian refugee camps in 1955

Figure 5: The Extension of Palestinian refugee camps in Sabra and Shatila

6. Sense of Community and Territoriality in Beirut

The classification of Beirut into scattered territories is clearly linked to its modern history and the different circumstances that have shaped its "private" areas. The identification criteria of territory, addressed by McMillan & Chavis (membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional connection; Figs. 6, 7, 8), could be used to classify the spatial structure of the city regarding two different scales (macro and micro) as follows:

Figure 6: A] Civil War Memorial, B]The major two divisions of Beirut,

b] Hamra-West Beirut

c] Gemmayze-East Beirut

Figure 7: Sense of Community aspects,   a] Airport Avenue   b] Shatila Refugee Camp   c] 'El Dahia El-Jnobiah'

The macro scale: This scale splits the city, based on a religious basis, into two main sections. These are the eastern and the western sections (Fig. 6). The eastern is predominantly Christian, and the western is predominantly Muslim. This division is a direct circumstance of the Civil War (1975-1990). Depending on their religion, entire populations were evicted from the western and eastern sections of the city, and they moved in waves out of their areas of origin towards areas where they would be safer. This division runs between the two hills on which Beirut was built; Lebanese Christians live mostly in Ashrafîyah, in East Beirut, while Lebanese Sunni Muslims live in Musaytibah, in West Beirut.

The micro scale: This scale divides the city, based on ethnic and religion bases, into a number of scattered territories encapsulated within the outlines of the previously-mentioned macro-scale city's divisions. Among these territories, we can distinguish territories based on refugee camps, which could be further subdivided into two main categories:

The first category consists of the refugee camps that are set apart due to their distinguishing characteristics and the uniqueness of the conditions of their formulation compared with their surroundings. These camps create an introverted territory that internally shares a wide range of community behaviors and practices. This depends mainly on the typology of the refugee camp and the way it is enclosed within its surrounding environment. This type of enclosure can be seen within Armenian territory in the Bourj Hammoud area and within a number of Palestinian Refugee Camps that are isolated within the urban pattern of the city.

The second category consists of the refugee camps that expanded over their surroundings and acted as a magnet to attract people sharing similar life conditions. This phenomenon is clear in the southern areas of the city, where predominantly Lebanese Shi'a Muslims (mainly Hezbollah) and Palestinians (mostly Muslims) live. This part of the city is dominated by Shi'a Muslims, Lebanon's poorest community, and suffers from overcrowding due to high birth rates, lack of housing, and the regular influx of Shi'a fleeing the instability and violence of southern Lebanon (Fig. 7). These areas are the place for the largest Palestinian refugee camps, or, Sabra, Shatila and the Bourj el Barajneh camps (Fig. 8). These territories share similar bad life conditions and the continued threats, whether internal or external, that led to the creation of a region that encompasses the southern portion of the city, *"El Dahia El-Jnobiah"*.

7. Spatial Boundaries in Beirut

The boundaries of private territories within Beirut shape the city. They enclose different ethnic and religious-based groups. These boundaries were

especially enforced after the civil war, and ethnic and religious-based groups' spatial distribution has contributed to the violence in Lebanon in general, and in Beirut in particular.

Figure 8 [a]

Figure 8 [b]

Figure 8: Territorial spatial identification, Shatila Refugee Camp. *Source* [15]

The most significant boundary going through the city is the Green Line. The Green Line began as a line of demarcation in Beirut during the Civil War (1975-1990); it served to separate the Muslim Lebanese in West Beirut from the Christian Lebanese in East Beirut. The appellation refers to the coloration of the foliage that grew because the space was uninhabited (Fawaz and Isabelle, 2003). Many of the buildings along the Green Line were severely damaged or destroyed during the war (Fig. 9). It is an unofficial boundary that divides Beirut into two sides. Each of these sides is a "private" territory that belongs to a coherent and homogeneous community that shares the same values.

Within the two territories that 'The Green Line' created, the city is divided into the previously mentioned "Private" areas that are bordered by circulation routes. These circulation routes play a dual role based on their physical characteristics; they both link and separate different territories of the city simultaneously, depending on their proportions and the typology of the circulation within. The degree to which the territory is identified as a unique "Private" area is directly proportional to the power of its boundary working to isolate it from its surroundings. This process is clearly evident in the Palestinian refugee camps, specifically the Sabra, Shatila and the Bourj el Barajneh camps, as well as the southern portion of the city, *"El Dahia El- Jnobiah",* as shown in figure 10.

8. Private / Public Balanced Coexistence

The spatial structure of the city establishes the boundaries of its private and public areas. The dual role that open spaces play is significant. They create an overall balanced existence out of different territories within a unified being, that is, "the city". However, they also draw the borders that shape the profile of the city's private areas. Moreover, open spaces are used as outdoor living rooms, utilized by all different territories to interact with others, participate in common activities, share and celebrate national events, and sometimes protest against undesired actions. This role assigned to open space is a function of its configurations. Accordingly, this role varies considerably in relation to the qualities and the typology of the comprehensive urban matrix within which private territories are fitted.

The hierarchy of community identification with the space determines the rank of the space's influence on the overall urban organization. This insight could be used to classify the spaces of the city into two main
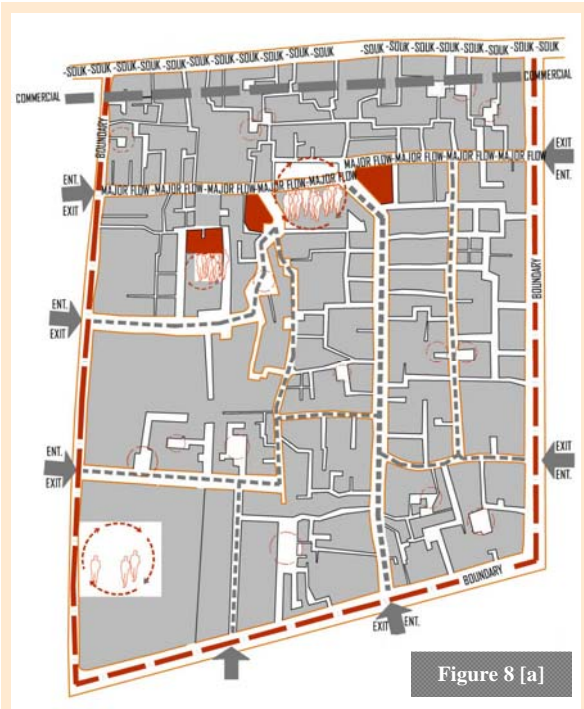

Figure 9.a: The Civil War (1975-1990) destruction along The Green Line, Beirut
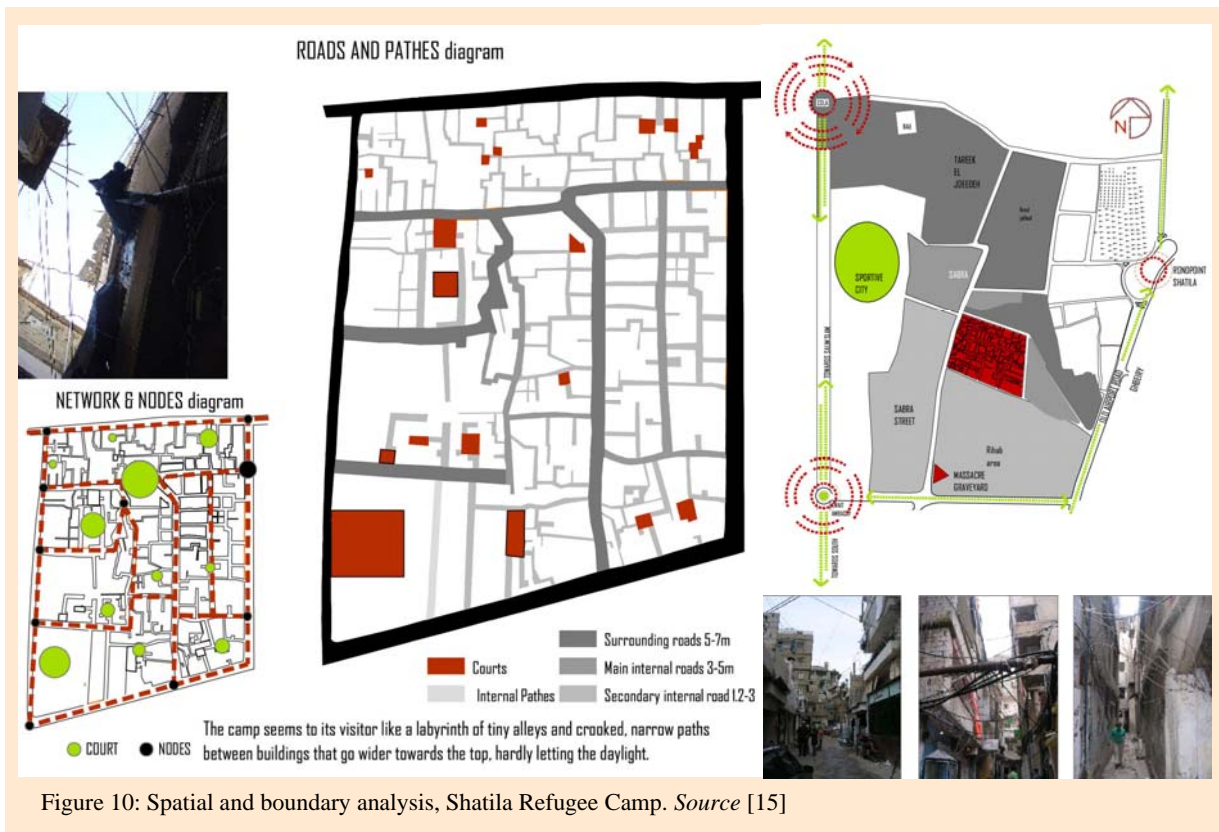

Figure 9.b: Green Line

Figure 10: Spatial and boundary analysis, Shatila Refugee Camp. *Source* [15]

categories. The first consists of the heart of private areas that reflect the community's shared values. The second consists of the aggregate of all scattered private areas around the city. However, the second category could be used to bridge the gap between different private areas' interests. This bridging could be achieved by creating or enhancing qualities that are shared by all of the private areas of the city. The creation of public spaces in the city, or "city squares" that belong to nobody, is essential.

The spatial structure of Beirut reflects its territorial subdivision. The main arterial roads enclose the city's different "private" areas. The conservative typology of these territories and their potential to share their values and interests with others is a function of their boundaries' degree of permeability (Fig. 8).

On the other hand, the urban structure of the city highlights a number of urban common grounds, or "places", which act as urban catalysts to maintain the balanced existence of all of the city's private areas together. Two main examples will be considered: the reconstruction of the downtown area in Beirut and the role of Martyrs' Square in the city's urban experience (Fig. 11).

The reconstruction of the downtown area of Beirut is one of several large-scale urban projects that the state has developed. It is considered the most important because it was able to reconstruct the modern image of Beirut. The project was entrusted to a private company, Solidère, under the direct guidance of ex-Prime Minister Hariri, a major shareholder in the operation. Begun in 1994, the work plan consisted

of the construction of some 4 million m^2. Solidère as a project has been subject to many controversies. These have included opposition from the original property owners, architects, and planners. The project has continued nonetheless, albeit with some changes. Within this framework, the city's infrastructure has been rebuilt, almost 300 buildings have been restored and new projects have been realized. In spite of strong criticism from a number of perspectives, it proved its ability to reflect the image of Beirut as a whole, an image to which every citizen can feel that he or she belongs.

Martyrs' Square is within the main living area in the city of Beirut. It has undergone a number of modern planning schemes, a process that originated in 1932. The typology of Beirut as a city of a number of scattered private areas underscores the role of Martyrs' Square within its urban structure. The Square is perceived as an identification point within the city to which everyone belongs and a place where each person can share his or her ideas with others. The vital role that the Square plays within the city's life is appreciated by the Lebanese development corporation, Solidère. It launched an international competition for the design of Martyrs' Square and the Grand Axis of Beirut. It identified the aims of the project as the following:

- Identify the new and emerging roles of Martyrs' Square and the Grand Axis.

- Obtain an urban concept that will provide a new identity for these two historic spaces, engender a new regional profile for Beirut and participate in the
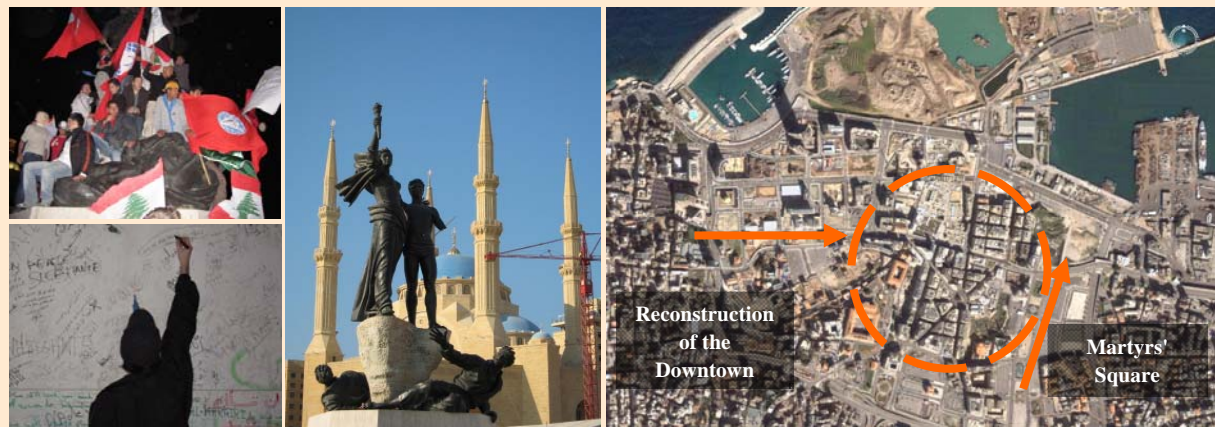
Figure 11: City Rooms, Creating balanced public/private coexistence.
- Martyrs' Square   - Reconstruction of the Downtown 'Solidère'

reunification of the city, which is now in rapid recovery.

- Give the Lebanese the opportunity to integrate the city's archaeological and historic heritage according to a new cultural dimension. At the same time, allow the repositioning of global city functions within a trans-territorial network.

Conclusion

This paper discusses "privacy", in its broad dimensions, as a motivator of cities' different urban mechanisms. It highlights the importance of this value as a criterion for shaping the spatial structure of the city. It develops an approach for understanding the city as a cluster of macro-scale private areas, where people share common values and ideals that are reflected in their identification with space.

This paper discusses the "private" areas of the city in its macro-scale formulation, demonstrating the basics upon which private areas are developed in relation to the conditions of society, space, and time. It gives special emphasis to accessibility as a value that is used to determine the degree of interval of the private and the public. Moreover, this paper gives an intangible interpretation of macro-scale privacy understandings. It discusses the "sense of community" formulation and its related dimensions: membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional connections. Additionally, this paper discusses the definition of boundaries between private and public realms within the city. It establishes the criteria upon which the role of boundaries, either as a linkage or barrier, is identified. Finally, it highlights the importance of revitalizing outdoor city "living rooms" in creating the desired balanced coexistence between the city's different "private" areas.

In its final conclusion, this paper asserts that the social and psychological variations of understanding and action would be considered inappropriate in the normative framework of public-private separation. It highlights the fact that public and private territories are not dichotomies; that is, their boundaries are socially constructed and permeable rather than sacred and natural.

In its application study, this paper analyzes the case of Beirut, as a city that is suffering from severe confessionalism as well as a long history of civil wars. It applies theoretical findings to the city's spatial structure. However, it diagnoses the conforming of the city's private areas to events in the city's modern history. Finally, it investigates the potential of the city's public open spaces reflecting community ideals. In this regard, the paper discusses two important urban projects, Martyrs' Square' and the Solidère reconstruction of downtown Beirut, as driving forces in the unification of the city's different and scattered areas.

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PUBLICATION DOCUMENTS

الدبية في ٢٠١٠/٦/١٠

<u>إفـــــــادة</u>

تفيد كلية الهندسة المعمارية بجامعة بيروت العربية بأن البحث المقدم من:

الدكتور خالد السيد محمد الحجلة
أستاذ مساعد
كلية الهندسة المعمارية
جامعة بيروت العربية

<u>وعنوانـــــــــه</u>

Private Space-Based City Configuration, Beirut Case

قد نشر في مجلة العمارة والتخطيط التي تصدر عن كلية الهندسة المعمارية بجامعة بيروت العربية بتاريخ ٢٠٠٧/١٢/١٢، وذلك ضمن محتويات العدد التاسع عشر - يناير ٢٠٠٨، وهذه إفادة بذلك.

عميد الكلية
رئيس تحرير المجلة

أ.د. حسن عبد السلام