

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

MITIGATING THE GENTRIFICATION IMPACTS OF
INNOVATION DISTRICTS: THE CASE OF BEIRUT
DIGITAL DISTRICT(BDD) AND BACHOURA, BEIRUT

by

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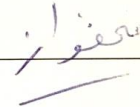
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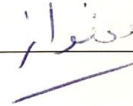
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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Israa Mahmoud Darwish for Master of Urban Design
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Title: Mitigating the Gentrification Impacts of Innovation Districts: The Case of Beirut Digital District (BDD) and Bachoura, Beirut

Over the past decade, Innovation Districts have gained importance among urban economic revitalization strategies across the world. To many, these districts are a source of serious concern because they accelerate ongoing processes of gentrification, rendering cities more exclusive (Mirabal, 2009). Others have however highlighted the potential of such urban interventions, provided proper measures are taken to foster inclusive and integrated environments within the cities where they are introduced.

The 'Beirut Digital District' (BDD) is an enterprise-led block-scale development located at the north-eastern edge of the Bachoura district in Beirut. Launched in 2012 by Zain real-estate company (ZRE), the BDD is the first innovation district to be developed in Lebanon. The project was presented as a pillar initiative to brand Beirut an entrepreneurial city with knowledge economy as its foundation. Consequently, numerous public facilities were extended by public agencies, particularly the Central Bank and the Ministry of Telecom at the time. Despite the good intention of project developers who have created work opportunities for young people in Lebanon, including a few of the nearby Bachoura district, the BDD was not required to mitigate any of the gentrification implications on the nearby areas. A reconverted real-estate project, the project's detailed master plan proposes a high-end modern urban renewal intervention extending over half the area of Khandak Al-Ghamik, the main neighborhood of Bachoura. As expected, the project triggered rapid gentrification in surrounding districts, particularly given its strategic location on the southern edge of Beirut Central District.

Building on the concepts of 'Spatial Ethics' and 'Inclusive Innovation', the thesis investigates the relationship of innovation districts with their immediate urban environments, taking the BDD-Bachoura as its case study. Through a case-study analysis of Innovation Districts that successfully mitigated negative externalities on their contexts, the thesis articulates a set of criteria against which BDD is assessed. The analysis is informed by a thorough and multi layered understanding of space, including the BDD space and the nearby neighborhoods. It also looks at the processes through which the company was established.

Based on this multi-layered analysis, the thesis devises an urban design framework that helps orient the BDD towards becoming an inclusive digital district, considering the need for intervention in both processes and physical forms. This requires reviewing the master plan radically by expanding the boundaries and injecting functions to ensure a better integrated and inclusive urban development. The thesis also argues that the processes associated with Placemaking and Temporary Urbanism can constitute a proactive strategy deployed to help the district adapt to the shifting dynamics and manage change resulting from gentrification.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	xv
LIST OF TABLES.....	xix
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
<u>II. LITERATURE REVIEW</u>	13
A. Innovation Districts: Between the Conceived Values and the Dilemmas of Practice	13
1. The Emergence and Evolution of Innovation Districts	14
a. The Notion of the Creative City.....	15
b. Knowledge Economy.....	16
2. A revised spatial model of urban structure: Innovation districts as a spatial dimension of the paradigm shift	16
a. From spontaneous market-led clusters to planned innovation districts.....	17
b. The Urban Form & Development model of Innovation Districts & Clusters.....	18
i. Urban Form.....	19
ii. Governance Structure	22
3. Innovation Districts and their "Dilemma with Place".....	23
a. Spatial and Socio-economic patterns produced by innovation districts; A new form of Gentrification?.....	23
i. The different dilemmas with place defined by (Wagner, 2019).....	25

B. Towards a Methodology of Analysis and Intervention.....	27
1. Lefebvre’s Spatial Triad	27
2. Punter (1991) and Montgomery (1998) Components of Place as an Urban Design tool for Analysis.....	28
3. Spatial Ethics as an approach in designing and assessing space	29
4. An Integrated Framework.....	31
<u>III. THE BDD</u>	32
A. The BDD Profile: Location in the city, size, scope, plan	32
B. BDD and Bachoura: The initials of growth	38
1. The Physical Transformation.....	38
2. The Developer.....	39
a. The ‘dissimulation’ of the developers.....	40
3. A Market-led Planned Regeneration.....	43
4. The BDD Project: Conflicting Perceptions	48
Conclusion	51
C. BDD’s position it in relation to the government’s city-scale strategy/agenda for Beirut and BDL’s goals in their financial support to such ‘projects’	52
1. BDL’s Incentive.....	52
a. BDL objective in line with the recent ‘city-scale’ vision of Beirut: What does BDL aim for in funding ‘knowledge economy’ and ‘start-up ecosystem’ and mainly ‘technological and digital sector’?.....	53
2. Ministry of Economy and Trade (SMES).....	59
3. Ministry of Telecommunication	60
Conclusion	62
<u>IV. DYNAMICS OF CHANGE: HISTORICAL & RECENT TRANSFORMATIONS OF BACHOURA</u>	63
A. Phase One (Pre-Independence; Ottoman and Mandate period; 1840s to 1920s): The Initial Formation of Bachoura.....	64
1. The initial growth: 1840-1920s: The formation of Bachoura as a suburb in the Ottoman Period.....	64
a. Overview of Events influencing Ottoman Beirut	64
b. Implications on the formation of Bachoura’s Urban Fabric	68

i. The role of the city’s bourgeoisie in the formation of Bachoura	70
ii. The formation of the Old Christian neighborhood	72
2. From a Suburb to an Important Peri-central District(1920s-1940s): The French Mandate and Independence Period	72
a. Physical formations: Urban Form and Connectivity.....	74
i. Changes in Block and Building Typologies	74
ii. Road Network transformations: New roads with primary roles	76
b. Social composition: Population growth and the Confessional Mix.....	77
B. Phase Two (1940s-1960s): Socio-spatial transformations, Rural migrants’ influx introducing new urban typologies and changing in the socio-political/sectarian and economic structure within the neighborhood.....	78
1. Changes in the Social & Sectarian landscape of Bachoura:	79
a. The spatial manifestation: The formation of a new typology in Bachoura: the neo-Hawsh.....	79
C. A Transitional Phase (1950s): Municipal Master Plan and Zoning Law initiating the change in the urban form and politics of space.....	82
D. Phase Three (1960s): A Radical Irreversible Change due to Infrastructural Development	84
1. Implementation of Large Arteries.....	84
2. From an integrated fabric into an island with transport edges.....	85
E. Phase Four (1975-1990): The Civil War Production of Space	86
1. In & Out-migrations.....	86
2. Abandonment and Destruction continuing post-war	88
3. The sectarian identity formation manifested through urban appropriation: Militias as the war stakeholders; their ‘services ‘and their relation to the State	88
4. The influence on the development dynamics and produced space ..	89
F. Phase Five (Late 1990’s-2012): The Influence of the Post-war Reconstruction Plan and other post-war dynamics on Bachoura	89
1. CBD-SOLIDERE: Large-scale redevelopment defined area	90
2. Infrastructural development: Northern Edge Expanded	92
3. Real-estate transactions produced on the northern edge.....	92

4. Temporality and Abandonment as the prevailing character of the eastern edge:	94
G. Phase Six (2012-2019): The BDD as the major transformer of the district edge	95
H. Conclusion	98

V. THE BDD AND BACHOURA INTERSECTION..... 103

A. BDD and the Neighborhood(s): Assessing BDD’s impact on the social space of Bachoura.....	104
1. Places of Worship and Spaces of Religious Significance.....	104
a. The Shia Mosque & Husseiniya Complex: A Strong leadership translated in the relation of the Shia community with BDD	106
b. The Syriac Church museumified and taken from the neighborhood	108
c. Bachoura Cemetery as both religious and heritage space..	109
2. Places of leisure and socialization: (informal) community places lost to BDD’s expansion, and others persisting	112
a. The lost playground	112
b. Backyards of abandoned buildings	115
i. The Hawsh and alleyway: Some lost and other persisting.....	115
3. Places of Exchange: active souks and vacating others	116
a. Diminished commercial activity in Khandak al Ghamik neighborhood and only few survive, some profiting from BDD presence	117
b. Active souks are on the southern edge which link more to Basta Tahta	119
4. Places of strong political presence: still on the whole territory, only its signs diminished in the BDD property	121
a. Neighborhoods of Bachoura as political enclaves	121
b. Diminished Political Markers in the zone of BDD.....	122
Conclusion: is there still a neighborhood? What has persisted and what has been lost?	123
B. Contrasting Perceptions: BDD and Bachoura Communities Associated Images of their own and the other’s space.....	125

1. The BDD Community perceptions about Bachoura-Khandak	127
a. Knowledgeability of the neighborhood behind and perceptions on boundaries and the psychological access	127
2. Bachoura community Associated Images of their own and the other's space	129
a. Inhabitants and users' divergent images and experiences with the notion of their neighborhood	130
i. On the question of the neighborhood image and its association with 'Zu'ran': (Fear and psychological access, attractions, and experiences).....	130
ii. Cosmopolitanism/Sophistication Versus (Rural) and the popular neighborhood Connotation as 'Hay Sha'bi'	132
b. Perceptions of Khandak community (Inhabitants and users) towards BDD	135
i. Knowledgeability of BDD by Khandak inhabitants/users.....	135
ii. Psychological access and Associations Khandak's community relates BDD to: Between fear and acceptance, and negative and positive views of impact	137
iii. The role of political parties in forming perceptions towards BDD	140
C. The Regulatory Framework Influencing Interaction of Bachoura & BDD	141
1. Potential Development based on Zoning, rent gap & Other factors	141
<u>2.</u> Conclusion: the edge versus the core.....	148
D. The role of Political Parties: Battle of political territories and its translation into the development war	150
1. The role of politics in the 'protection' of the core and the 'neglect' of the edge to be left for BDD.....	150
2. Social and Demographic transformations: Past socio-political boundary becomes a socio-economic boundary, an Accentuation of the war-formed boundary or its neutralization?	152
<u>VI.</u> MODELS FOR BDD TO FOLLOW	155
A. Case Studies on Innovation Districts and their Relation to Neighborhoods- Mitigating the Negative Externalities.....	155

1. Case Study One: The 'Chattanooga Way'- Chattanooga Innovation District.....	156
a. Urban design	159
ii. Affordable Housing as a Key Strategy for Inclusion.....	160
ii. Connectivity.....	162
iii. A Strategic Design.....	162
2. Case Study Two: The 'Medellin Model'/ 'Medellin Miracle'- Medellininnovation District	164
a. Design	170
b. Limitations and Underlying problems to consider	171
3. Case Study Three: The 'Barcelona Model' -@22Barcelona	172
a. Limitations of the Top-down Approach and Bottom-up approaches emerging to fill in its gaps	174
4. A Grid of Evaluation.....	175
5. Findings: Ingredients for Success	179
a. Participatory Urbanism	179
b. Central role of Public Sector.....	179
c. Inclusion.....	180
d. Reducing cognitive distance	180
e. Connectivity to the surrounding context and to transport infrastructure	181
f. Continuity from the existing urban fabric	181
 B. Assessing BDD as an Innovation District: Applying the Evaluation Grid to determine its position vis a vis socio-spatial value	182
1. Actors, process and Values: BDD as corporate private-led development with a top-down approach lacking larger social values	182
2. BDD's Design Assessed	184
a. Observations on the development process and proposed master plan of BDD	184
b. Reflecting on the evaluation grid.....	186
i. Connectivity: missing middle scale and city-scale needs to be enhanced	186
ii. Continuity: 'The dead zone dilemma'- loss of place-heritage.....	186
 C. Conclusion.....	191

V. BRINGING IT TOGETHER- SHOULD I INTERVENE- WHY-HOW	194
A. Findings Restated.....	194
1. Second Solidere?.....	195
2. Edge versus Core Framing.....	196
B. Should I intervene and why? What do I gain and what do I lose in each scenario?.....	196
1. Do nothing scenario	197
a. BDD’s position understood from their actions throughout the two past years:	197
C. How to intervene?	198
1. Forces that influence the Design.....	198
2. Defining Opportunities and challenges from the Context	199
a. Of possible soft intersection/interface between the two entities	199
b. On development and property spatial and temporal aspects: Possible spatial and programmatic entry points in the context	200
3. Applications from case studies: Principles and tools of Intervention	201
4. An Urban Design Framework of Intervention	201
a- A Socio-Spatial Urban Strategy.....	201
b- Implementation Mechanisms.....	202
i. Top-down incentives	202
ii. Bottom-up incentives.....	203
ii. Public-private Partnerships (PPP)	203
c- Space-time gap as possible approach for the development process	203
i. Case Study on Space-Time Gap: Urban Catalysis and Temporary Notion, the case of a decaying urban area: AmsterdamNoord.tmp”:	204
ii-Application on BDD-Bachoura Context: Benefiting from the Space-time Gap	208
BIBLIOGRAPHY	217

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

1. A diagram of the Overall Research Methodology in this thesis. Source: Israa Darwish, 2020. 7
2. The three spatial typologies of innovation districts according to Hanna (2016). ... Source: Hanna (2016, p.70) 21
3. The Descriptive components of place identity suggested by (a) Punter (1991), and (b) Montgomery (1998). 28
4. Fisher (2009)'s Four dimensions of Spatial Ethics used as basis for spatial planning and urban development. Source: Lee, 2018 adopted from Fisher, 2009 30
5. concluded scheme from fisher's concept..... 30
6. Phasing of BDD plan with the land use specified by ZRE. Source: BDD Website, 2020. Factor in the Future. Retrieved from: <https://beirutdigitaldistrict.com/our-story> 35
7. BDD's originally proposed Master plan showing its regeneration guidelines. Source: BDD, 2016..... 35
8. The location of BDD in relation to the 'Old Christian Neighborhood' defined by (Boekelo, 2016), and it shows how BDD has taken over the largest part of the neighborhood 38
9. A comparison between the old 'war-torn' buildings as described by Mohamad Rabah, their current renovated version, and the future vision of the whole area. Source: BDD Wesbite. 2020..... 42
10. Different forms of Creative Clusters and the gentrification they produce. Source: Israa Darwish, 2020 44
11. Aerial photos dating back to 2014-2015 showing BDD buildings and the large empty lands it created (used as parking in the wait for the future coming phases) in the 'Old Christian Neighborhood' 45
12. Knowledge economy potential hubs in Lebanon mapped along with the other four sectors. Source: McKinsey Report 2018. p.113 55
13. Lebanon Innovation. Source: McKinsey Report p.1250 56
14. "The Tripoli Outsourcing Park could be established as a remote extension of the SEZ currently under development" Source: McKinsey report 2018, p.1252..... 56

15. “The Beirut Knowledge Village could be designed as a collection of districts, with Beirut Digital District being one of them” Source: McKinsey report 2018, p.1251	57
16. cluster concept of knowledge village provided in McKinset report.....	57
17. SME National Strategy Framework. Source: MoET 2014, p.23	60
18. The Hawsh/ “Neo-Hawsh” Typology formed by the rural migrants in Bachoura. Source: (Saksouk & Bekdache, 2014)	80
19. the spatial segregation created by Fouad Chehab avenue between Bachoura and BCD. Source: public work.....	86
20. Construction of Highways on the edges of Bachoura, transforming it from integrated urban fabric with city center and the surrounding neighborhoods to an island. Source: Dibo M. 2016. “ <i>The Myth of Demographic Purity</i> ” from “Middle East & North Africa: Borders: Lines in the Sand or in the Mind”. Perspectives. Issue 10. September 2016. p.28-29. Retrieved from: https://www.lb.boell.org/sites/default/files/20160930_-_perspectives_10_-_final_draft.pdf	86
21. New projects developed in Bachoura and other pericentral districts of Beirut between 2000 and 2003. Source : AUB Neighborhood Initiative, 2016. Mapping New Construction in Beirut (2000-2013)	93
22. Cycle of Real Estate Sprawl accompanied by creative clusters that started as an effect of Solidere. Source: modified from Gerbal et al. 2016. "Linking Economic Change with SocialJustice in Mar Mikhael". GAIA Heritage, Sciences Po, & IFI	94
23. Basic Timeline of Changes resulting in the current dynamics of Bachoura and the emergence of BDD. Source: Israa Darwish, 2020.....	99
24. Concluding Map of Physical change: Spatial distribution of New Developments and those under construction. Synthesis: Stable and transitional neighborhoods outlined, BDD expansion area outlined	101
25. a photography by M. Iskanda of Bachoura overlapped by graphics by author	102
26. Imam Ali bin Abi Taleb Mosque & Houseyeneya	107
27. the syriac church	108
28. The Syriac church before BDD’s renovation process (photo taken by Israa Darwish, 2018) and a rendering for its proposed shape after renovation by BDD (Source: Bonjour Beirut. 2020. Beirut Digital District, A green Future)	109

29. The Ottoman Wali of Syria Ahmad Hamdi Basha’s Tomb in its original location between 1874& 1888, before its transfer to the inner walls of the Bachoura Cemetery . Source : https://ar.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D9%85%D9%84%D9%81:A1-Bashoura_cemetery-Beirut.jpg	110
30. the transformation of the previous football playground	114
31. alleyways of khandak.....	116
32. old abandoned shop	118
33. the communities of Bachoura	124
34. Interviewees	126
35. zoning of Bachoura.....	142
36. APSAD study.....	148
37. Map of Downtown Chattanooga showing the span of the Innovation District; i.e. the extension of its designed masterplan. Source: Morisson & Bevilacqua, 2018	158
38. master plan of chattanoga innovation district	160
39. strategic design of Chattanooga downtown in innovation district.....	162
40. A graphical representation of the Principles of Medellinnovation District Development Plan. Source: https://ongreening.com/en/News/digital-technologies-that-are-changing-the-construction-industry-1215	166
41. Area of intervention (in white) and area of influence (in orange) of Medellinnovation district. Source: Tecnologías, Mercados Y La Ciudad En Transformación. Distrito Medellíninnovation: Estrategia De Diseño Urbano. Retrieved from: https://www.medellin.gov.co/irj/go/km/docs/wpcontent/Sites/	166
42. The metro cable passing though the poor neighborhoods. Source: http://wideopenproject.com/2011/03/03/ruta-n-the-innovation-hub-of-medellin/	168
43. The larger city Vision: Strategic Redevelopment Areas: REGIONAL ARTICULATION + CENTRALITIES + SUSTANINABLE MOBILITY. Source: http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/809831464879257666/housing-finance-conference2016-session-8-presentations.pdf	169
44. Design plan composed of six components: 1-A Green Network of spaces and routes oriented to the pedestrian will give accessibility to the District -2- University Research Axis-3- Business Hub-4- Local Production-5-Digital	

Production -6- Mixed-use housing. The plan is also divided temporally into three phases. Source: Tecnologías, Mercados Y La Ciudad En Transformación. Distrito Medellíninnovation: Estrategia De Diseño Urbano.....	170
45. Development Phases: Phase 1: Mobilization (years 0-3), Phase 2: Critical Mass (years 3-6), Phase 3: Consolidation (2023) . Source: Tecnologías, Mercados Y La Ciudad En Transformación. Distrito Medellíninnovation: Estrategia De Diseño Urbano	171
46. Private developmetn incentives in the new coding of @22 Barcelona	173
47. BDD originally proposed masterplan	188
48. Legend	189
49. BDD now compared to BDD in the coming phases . Source: ZRE Website. BDD Master Plan. Conceptual Design. Retrieved from: http://www.zre.com.lb/conceptual-design/	190
50. A rendering of the future proposed development for BDD. Source: ZRE Website. BDD Master Plan. Conceptual Design. Retrieved from: http://www.zre.com.lb/conceptual-design/	191
51. Principles, Strategies & Implementation Mechanism learnt from case studies. Israa Darwish, 2020.	201
52. The Amsterdam Northern IJ-embankment can become a ‘safe shore’, where ideas, projects and programs that are too ‘weak’ for the market competition of the central city will get grounding, time and space to develop.....	204
53. new programs versus old programs	205
54. Space Time diagram: 1 - existing use, 2 - planned, 3 - time/space gap, showing the possibilities for alternative programs to enter the redevelopment process .	208
55. Framework of Urban Intervention	210
56. Implementation mechanisms	211
57. a network of open spaces on multiple district level.....	213
58. city-scale connectivity network	214
59. Time frame.....	216

Map

1. Bachoura District (in red) location with respect to BCD. Source: Israa Darwish, 2020	11
2. The Study area Boundaries. Source: Israa Darwish, 2020.	12
3. BDD's location in the heart of the city, proximate to BDD, major universities and 'creative clusters.' Source: Israa Darwish, 2020.....	33
4. BDD's property (in purple) versus other Real estate developers' properties (in yellow) Source: Israa Darwish (2019). Information on BDD property based on their master plan and interviews with residents, while information on other real-estate developments are based on AUB Neighborhood Initiative, 2016. Mapping New Construction in Beirut (2000-2013).	37
5. A map of the study area showing demolished buildings (in red) by BDD appearing in the BDD property (in purple). Source: Israa Darwish. 2020.	46
6. A map showing the re-parcelization of properties before 2004 versus before 2019, the thick purple line represents BDD property. Source: Israa Darwish. 2020., based on cadastral maps of 1964 and 2004 and Google Satellite Imagery of 2019.	47
7. Bachoura in 1841 Beirut (overlapped on 1876 map surroundings). Source: Israa Darwish, 2020, based on map from: Research Gate. Santiyah Garden (After Plan of the Town and Defences of Beyrut and its vicinity (1841).' Syria/Fortified Towns & Forts, The National Archives of the UK, ref. WO 78/1000/31)	66
8. The 1841 map of Beirut (overlapped on 1876 map surroundings) showing the main roads passing through Bachoura, extending from the southern gates of the Old Town. Source: Israa Darwish, 2020, based on a base map of Beirut 1841 from: Research Gate. Santiyah Garden (After Plan of the Town and Defences of Beyrut and its vicinity (1841).' Syria/Fortified Towns & Forts, The National Archives of the UK, ref. WO 78/1000/31)	69
9. Bachoura and the study area in 1876 Beirut. Source: Beirut's Loytved map of 1876 with boundaries of Bachoura and Study area added by author.....	71
10. Bachoura and Study area in 1920. Source: IFPO, with overlapped graphics by author	72
11. Bachoura and the study area in 1941. Source	74
12. Bachoura and the study area in 1957	76
13. the Hawsh spaces spread in between buildings (in green) in the study area and the pathways leading to them from the streets (in yellow). Source: Author. 2019	80

14. Hawsh names and locatons- public works 2014-2019.....	81
15. a 1964 Cadastral map showing Bachoura and the study area.....	83
16. Land use of Beirut in 1967. Source:	84
17. Solidere Master plan that encroached the northern sector of Bachoura. its edge became the study area.	91
18. Places of worksop in Bachoura.....	105
19. commercial activities in Khandak.....	120
20. building heights in Khandak	143
21. real estate prices of Beirut districts showing bachoura district of lower prices than surrounding neighborhoods	145
22. vacant buildings in study area (in light orange).....	146
23. building conditions in Khandak	147
24. Strategy Map: In orange, the newly owned buildings by BDD to be kept for affordable housing. The green arrows represent ground floor connectivity.....	212
25. Long-term City-scale vision	215

TABLES

Table

1. Comparative Table of Three Case Studies from Which Evaluation Grid is Formed. Source: Israa Darwish, 2020. 178

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Radical processes of transformation are changing the cities and landscapes we inhabit. Among the highly prevalent trends reshaping contemporary cities are the injection of 'creative industries' and 'innovation districts' as tools of urban economic revitalization¹. This derives from a paradigm-shift favoring knowledge-based activities (Morisson, 2017), accompanied by the rise of the experience economy and the creative economy, as strategies for global competitiveness (Florida, 2002; Klinenberg, 2012; Landry, 2008; Neff, 2010; Pine & Gilmore, 1998; Speck, 2013). While Florida (2002) and Landry (2008) perceive this transformation and remake of the cities as an 'exciting and transformative experience' lived by inner cities (Morisson, 2017), in many cases such trends take the shape of large-scale developments generating an accelerated process of gentrification (Mirabal, 2009).

In Lebanon, there are only a few experiments with this type of development. The best known, the 'Beirut Digital District' (BDD), is a block-scale development at the edge of Beirut's historic core. Located in the peri-central district of Bachoura, the development has triggered a process of urban transformation that has profoundly impacted this neighborhood.

¹ In addition to urban entrepreneurialism considered as the new facet of neo-liberal economy. (Miró, 2011)

A. Problem Statement and Argument

BDD, an enterprise-led innovation district, was launched in 2012 as a form of entrepreneurial urbanism scheme applied by Zain real-estate Holdings (ZRE) at the north-eastern edges of Bachoura. The project, which was first envisioned as part of the Beirut's vision to locate itself on the global map and brand itself as an entrepreneurial city with knowledge economy as its foundation, is facilitated and incentivized by the Central Bank of Lebanon, the Ministry of Telecommunication, and the Ministry of Economy and Trade. This urban intervention is the first of its kind in Lebanon to be labeled as an 'innovation district.' In its statement, the vision refers to other successful cases in the globe, such as 'Silicon Valley', after which it claims to be modeled. Although this intervention has created work opportunities for some young people in Lebanon, including some of the residents of nearby Bachoura who were hired to clean and/or guard the district, the BDD was not required to mitigate any of the gentrification implications on the nearby areas. As a result, the BDD developers purchased, brought down, redeveloped, and redesigned a different number of blocks in the area.

The project's detailed master plan proposes a high-end modern urban renewal intervention. The BDD explicitly takes over the district known as the Old Christian Neighborhood of Bachoura, which extends over half the area of Khandak Al-Ghamik. By doing so, the development process of BDD generates, especially on the north-eastern edge of Bachoura, an excessive state of transformation to what the Bachoura district is already

facing due to its strategic location on the southern edge of BCD². The area encounters complex development dynamics mediated by its socio-spatial and politico-religious singularities (Levesque, 2015). A large portion of the district has been experiencing drastic and rapid changes in function and morphology, accompanied by a change in its social fabric and identity. Witnessing these dynamics, Bachoura represents a place through which one may examine the ravages reaped by this form of urban renewal. Inhabited by rural migrants, immigrant workers, pre-war owners, all of whom typically rent these properties, the neighborhood is threatened by ravaging changes and displacement.

1. Research Question(s)

Starting from the premise that: 1) urban gentrification is an irreversible process witnessed in multiple contexts world-wide; 2) peri-center neighborhoods in Beirut constitute strategic locations for urban economic development and corporate business extensions, and 3) The *right to the city* is a recognized right that public authorities and private development agencies should be required to mitigate the negative impacts of gentrification, this research seeks to answer the following questions:

- How to mitigate the impact of large-scale corporate developments on inner city transitional lower-income neighborhoods?
- How to reconcile inescapable market-led developments with the provision of a responsive social infrastructure inclusive of the urban poor?

Looking specifically at the case of Beirut, the thesis asks:

² Bachoura faces a fate similar to other peri-central districts of Beirut that have been subject to a high level of gentrification and real estate speculations.

- How can an urban design approach incorporate within the BDD master plan an integrated and inclusive urban development strategy that mitigates and contains its gentrification effects?

- Finally, and looking specifically at the urban design potential of this intervention, how to redefine the spatial and functional interface between BDD and the surrounding Bachoura community to promote a softer transition?

The thesis starts from the premise that it is imperative to review the master plan in ways that recognize its inscription in social and historical contexts which it should engage in. Accordingly, in this thesis, I argue that to respond to the challenge of urban integration, the BDD needs to implement the lessons reaped from other similar successful districts across the world. This requires reviewing the master plan radically by expanding the boundaries to ensure a better integrated urban development. This, in turn, will allow for improving connectivity (-infusing a network of public spaces and mobility that expands beyond the boundaries of the current master plan of BDD), directing development away from the neighborhood core, inserting programmatically functions that secure the long-term inclusion such as [digital] and affordable housing, and enhance and valorize the heritage of the area and its historical identity. This thesis also argues that the processes associated with Placemaking and Temporary Urbanism can constitute a proactive strategy deployed to help the district adapt to the shifting dynamics and manage change resulting from gentrification.

2. Research Goals and Objectives

The main objective of this research is to redefine the spatial and functional interface between BDD and the surrounding Bachoura community. To this end, a revision of the project boundaries and the insertion of Place Making design strategies will provide adequate pathways to reach the goal.

To tackle the problematic, primary principles that the BDD design and development approach should account for are:

- **Reducing the cognitive distance between BDD and Bachoura** by introducing physical and economic interventions that respond to *shared needs* and/or *shared aspirations* of the two groups. Such interventions also create a livable place for diverse communities in the district.
- **Inclusivity** of the public in general and the immediate context of Bachoura in specific in the district's development on the socio-spatial level through an integrative urban design that reduces the barriers.
- **Connectivity** to the surrounding context and transport infrastructure
- The adoption of a **participatory** approach in the process of governance of the district's development which engages diverse communities in the area. In addition, stakeholders of diverse profiles (public agencies, non-profit-sector, ...) should be integral of the participatory process and their engagement should be leveraged towards creating successful partnerships.
- Public agencies central role in the development process.

B. Research Significance, Limitation & Delimitations

By proposing an integrative scheme between the corporate and the social layers of an urban area, this research can contribute to the discussion of the possible integration of corporate urbanism and social urbanism. These two approaches stem from opposite ideologies in the urban field.

Due to the contextual specificity of this thesis, the model might not be generalizable in other cases. However, it may sprout further future research to reach generalizable results. Moreover, because of the confined time frame for the research, which relies majorly on qualitative data collection and analysis, the research has some limitations added to those mentioned above. The fieldwork and interviews are strategic, focusing on specific questions that serve the framework of analysis. By that, results might not accurately reflect the opinions of all members of the included population.

C. Research Methodology

In order to respond to the research question, the thesis takes the following methodology: (fig. 1)

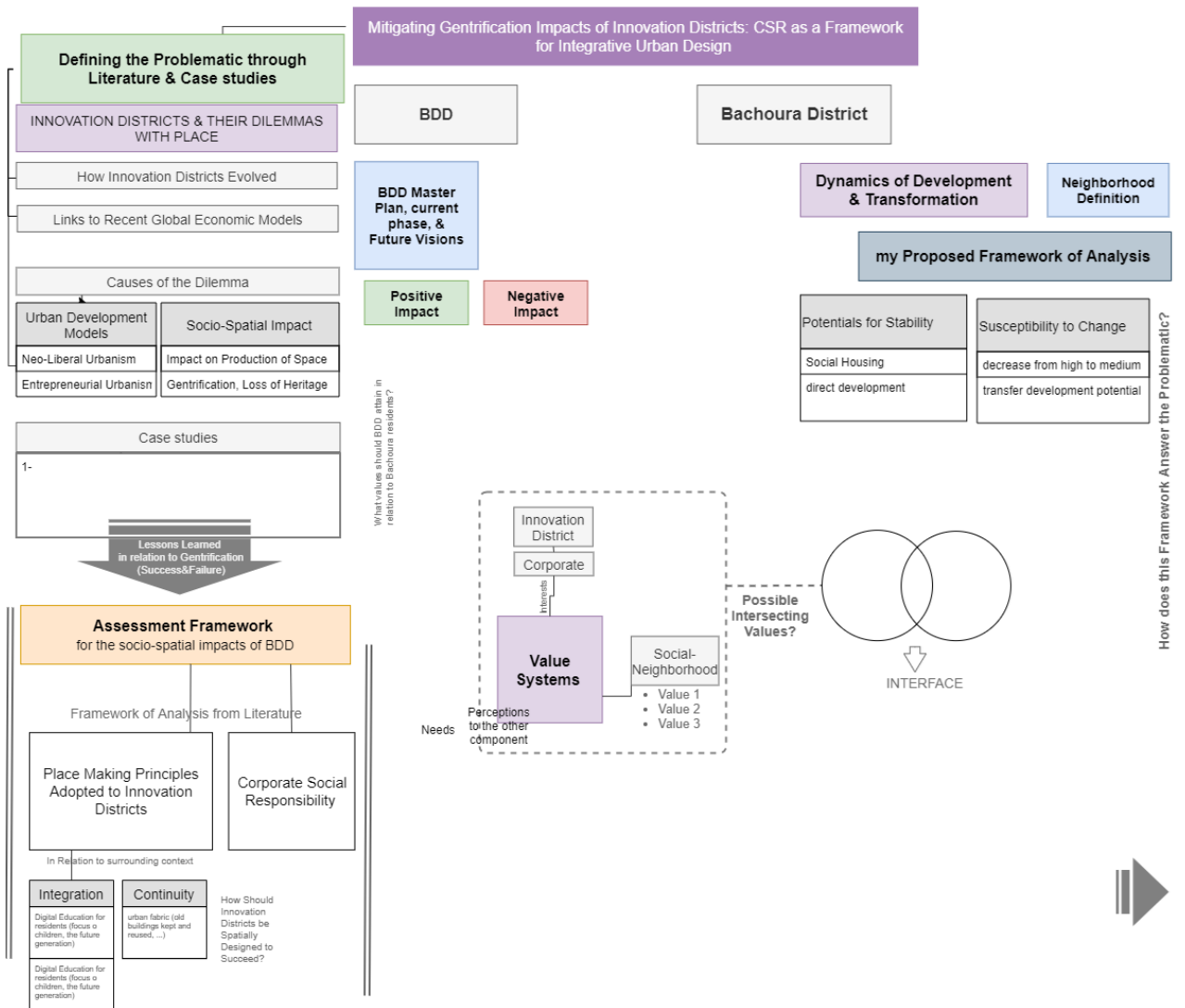


Figure 1 A diagram of the Overall Research Methodology in this thesis. Source: Israa Darwish, 2020.

1. Case Study Selection

The case study selection was informed by my familiarity with the area that dated back to my undergraduate studies. This enabled me to witness and track the significant transformations in the district for the past few years, especially those resulting from the implementation of the innovation district project, BDD.

In the first visit to the site, I noticed the abandoned and deteriorated heritage buildings and the decaying urban infrastructure. During later visits, I was aware of other dynamics in the area: the political affiliation of a specific sectarian group, the low-income general status of the inhabitants and the strong sociability on one hand, and the emergence of empty parcels. Moreover, talks about new real estate developers affiliated to known political figures led me to problematize these observations as a case of a neighborhood witnessing devaluation that supports the beginnings of its gentrification. A significant change on the district-scale was the contrast between the edge of the district-side along Bechara el-Khoury street, characterized by a high concentration of multi-floor modern commercial and office buildings and the inner neighborhoods of Khandak el-Ghamik that maintained an environment similar to quiet, historical neighborhoods where residents remain socially connected .

The third encounter with the area was in the Design Studio of 2017, under the title of Creative Beirut. Then, the new identity of the district's eastern edge has formed; BDD appeared as a clear actor; a large-scale project with a master plan for future growth, that acts as an [innovation district], a platform for business startups, creative and digital incubators, with their vision and objectives represented; the other 'Silicon Valley.' So, looking at BDD as an emerging creative cluster, it was studied in relation to the literature on creative cities, and a thorough analysis was made for case studies to deduce urban design implications reflecting the components of creative districts/clusters.

The last revision of the case allowed for a more specific and defined scope of my research. In 2019, through my participation in a Design Charette by the Landscape Department of Sheffield University working on BDD and public space, I had the chance to

connect more with this community. I found that BDD was re-visiting its values concerning the surrounding context and that they are looking for ideas on how to positively impact and grow in a better manner to benefit the city of Beirut. They invited the Mayor of Barcelona for input, reflections, and proposals based on his experience in the Barcelona smart city initiative (In his recommendations for BDD's successful development, the Mayor stressed on the need to 'bury' Fouad Chehab Bridge and connect BDD to the city center). Throughout this last encounter, I found that BDD had transformed into a major actor and agent of change within a broader vision of the city.

2. Data Collection

In order to collect data, the first task was to frame the boundaries of the study area. Starting with the boundaries of Bachoura, this denomination applies on multiple scale in the district. Based on earlier studies and interviews with dwellers, the thesis adopted the following boundaries as the boundaries of area studied (see map.2). In addressing the impact of BDD on the immediate context, and in understanding the perceptions of the communities towards it, a more focused study area is selected based on identifying the area of direct influence by BDD, concluded to be Khandak Al-Ghamik neighborhood. The boundary of this neighborhood is drawn based on interviews with residents.

The methodological approach of the research is a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods, with more emphasis on the latter method.

In the process of data collection, I adopt a variety of qualitative and quantitative methods relying on primary and secondary resources. The primary sources include

mapping at various scales, observation, photographing, informal conversations with the neighborhood residents, and BDD users and employees. This is in addition to semi-structured interviews with Bachoura residents and mukhtars and BDD's directors and employers to understand the perceptions of each community towards the other and the value systems of the different actors.

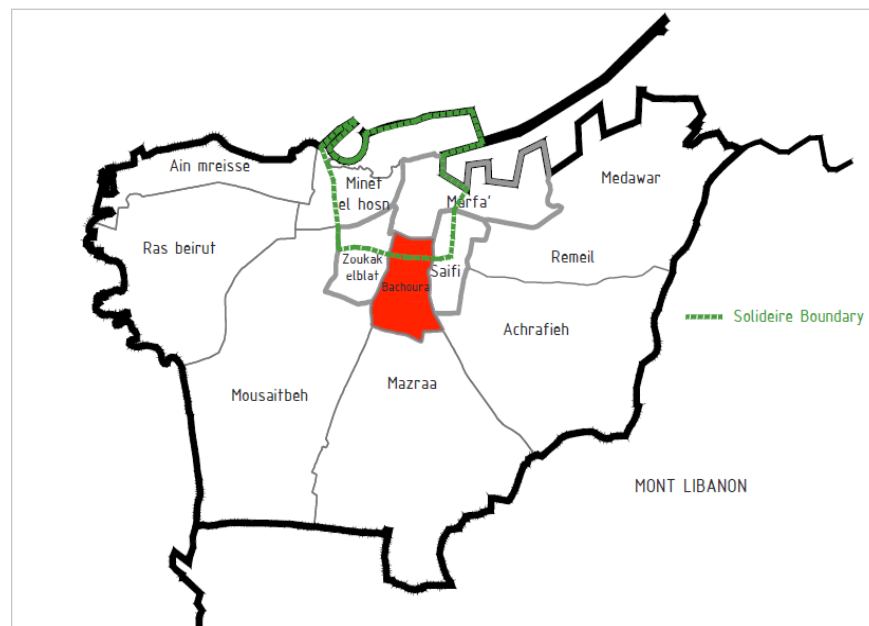
The qualitative survey is based on a total of 15 semi-structured interviews. The questions of the interviews mainly revolve around specific themes: the impact of BDD on the neighborhood, the community perception of BDD in Bachoura, and community recommendations to work jointly with BDD for 'mutual benefits'. The same questions apply to the BDD directors and community. Secondary sources are used both for empirical and theoretical research. For my case study, quantitative data are collected based on satellite imagery, and existing research made on the area (APSAD, MAJAL, Urban Planning Workshop 2005 at MUPP/MUD-AUB, Urban Design Studio 2016 at MUPP/MUD-AUB, Public Works 2014-19, Design Charette by University of Sheffield 2019 at BDD). Theoretical literature and case studies created the base for my assessment, analysis, and intervention frameworks. The analysis of the collected data is achieved through digital programs, mainly GIS. Visualization through maps, diagrams, photographic editing, is used as an analytical tool.

D. Brief Profile: Location of Bachoura, its current boundaries & population

Bachoura is a peri-central district that is located on the southern edge of Beirut central district. It is bounded by Fouad Chehab Avenue (Ring Road) to the north, Bechara Al-Khoury Street to the east, and Independence road to the south. It is mainly inhabited by

Shia residents who live in the western part of the area. The eastern part was once inhabited by Christians, who have sold their property to BDD.

The main neighborhood of Bachoura, and which is the part most influenced by the BDD development, is Al-Khandak al-Ghamik. It's a neighborhood of some 25,000 people. The majority of residents belong to the working-class while “the entire socio-economic range extends from the near-destitute to the more comfortably middle-class”. About 80% of its residents belong to the Shia community, most of which came as rural migrants since the 1950s, and the remaining 20% are Sunni (Boekelo M. , 2016). The neighborhood has a strong political identity. It is dominated by the two Shia parties: Amal and Hezbollah. Amal has the strong influence/control over the neighborhood and its relationship with its surrounding context, making the neighborhood perceived as a ‘political enclave’ by many city dwellers.



Map 1 Bachoura District (in red) location with respect to BCD. Source: Israa Darwish, 2020



Map 2 The Study area Boundaries. Source: Israa Darwish, 2020.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter aims to locate the BDD's position in the growing body of literature on 'creative city' as a global trend and its socio-spatial translation into the urban field. The chapter is composed of two sections. In the first section, it explores 'Innovation Districts' and their consequential impact on the production of space in their urban contexts. Based on this exploration and adding to it an understanding of the context of the problematic previewed in the following chapters, the second section identifies urban design concepts and paradigms as a basis to formulate the framework of intervention.

A. Innovation Districts: Between the Conceived Values and the Dilemmas of Practice

This section explores the emergence and evolution of the Innovation District as a new model of urban development. It starts with understanding the recent global trends and the shifts in economic models pertaining to the formation of such models. First, on the conceptual level, the literature views the innovation district model as an outcome of a paradigm shift to the knowledge economy (Amin, 1994; Drucker, 1998) and the emergence of the 'creative city' notion (Florida, 2002). These new concepts, though a response to an intellectual and technological advancement that we have been witnessing since the turn of the 21st century, are defined by many scholars, like Ward (2010), as a new phase of neo-liberal urbanism named as 'entrepreneurial urbanism'. Some such as Sonia Vives Miro (2011) view it as nothing but the spatial product of a new facet of Neo-liberal Economy, or as an extension of the urban regeneration of downtowns, through Business Improvement

Districts. This view gives a better understanding of the reason why in many places the outcome of this urbanism, recently referred to as innovation districts, promotes gentrification in their contexts.

In the second part of the section I explore the latest established forms that represent a spatial manifestation of this 'entrepreneurial urbanism' model, the 'innovation district'. I analyze its urban form and governance depending on a multiple-case study analysis done by Kat Hanna (2016) and , and I discuss how specific forms produce spatial and social problematics to their contexts.

1. The Emergence and Evolution of Innovation Districts

Since the 2000s, innovation-driven developments have been implemented as urban initiatives, involving public institutions, universities, and private firms, as urban regeneration strategies in cities to strengthen urban competitiveness while promoting a better quality of life (Castells & Hall, 1994; Etzkowitz, 2015; Morisson, 2017). This derives from a paradigm-shift favoring knowledge-based activities (Morisson, 2017), accompanied by the rise of the experience economy and the creative economy, as strategies for global competitiveness (Florida, 2002; Klinenberg, 2012; Landry, 2008; Neff, 2010; Pine & Gilmore, 1998; Speck, 2013). The origins behind the concept of innovation districts stems from several scholars, including Alfred Marshall's industrial districts, Jane Jacobs' mixed use city, Michael Porter's theories on urban clusters and locational advantage, David Yencken's creative city, and Richard Florida's work on the creative class (Morisson, 2014). Moreover, the term innovation district has turned into a buzzword in popular culture used to signify renewal projects in under-functioning downtowns (Morisson, 2015).

a. The Notion of the Creative City

This paradigm shift started from the 'creative city' notion first developed by Australian David Yencken in 1988, and since then has become a global movement reflecting a new planning paradigm for cities (Molotch, 1999). In that context, cities target the 'creative class', a socio-economic class first postulated by Richard Florida (2002, 2005)

"Just as the feudal aristocracy derived its power and identity from its hereditary control of land and people, and the bourgeoisie from its members' roles as merchants and factory owners, the Creative Class derives its identity from its members' roles as purveyors of creativity,"

(Florida, 2002)

Florida for his part pushes the concept of creativity to a kind of 'economic creativity' resulting from all kinds of entrepreneurial activity. For him, the growth of creative industries relies on technology, talent, and social tolerance – what he calls the "three T's" (Sorensen, 2014). The creative and innovation districts arose from that context.

Proponents of this concept like Landry (2008) argue that this transformation and the remaking of the cities, perceived by many as another forms of gentrification, is an 'exciting and transformative experience' lived by inner cities (Morisson, 2017). Morisson and Bevilacqua (2018) argue that these developments have many benefits and that arguments about gentrification only hinders approaches to distribute the benefits of urban redevelopment strategies. For his part, Freeman (2005) adds that neighborhoods have always experienced change and who moves in can be just as important as who moves out.

b. Knowledge Economy

The expansion of 'knowledge economies' in recent time has its roots back to the end of the 20th century. According to theorists such as Amin (1994) and Drucker (1998), many countries in the 1990s undertook economic transitions from post-Fordism to knowledge-based economies. This transition is described by Richard Florida and Martin Kenney (1991) as capitalism “undergoing an epochal transformation from a mass-production system where the principal source of value was human labor to a new era of ‘innovation-mediated production’ where the principal component of value creation, productivity, and economic growth is knowledge” (p. 637). This transition translated on the urban level in the form of knowledge-based urban development (KBUDs) (Yigitcanlar et. Al, 2008), lately becoming popular as ‘innovation districts.

2. A revised spatial model of urban structure: Innovation districts as a spatial dimension of the paradigm shift

According to Metcalfe & Ramlogan (2008) and OECD (2015), innovation is a major driver and transformative force for economic growth of the city by providing new business and jobs. The rapid rise of innovative industries has created a “revised spatial model of urban structure” (Liao & Gebhardt, 2013). The spatial dimension of Innovation districts as a concept is rooted in models such as regional innovation system, Learning Regions, innovative milieu, cluster, and industrial district (Bougdah et al, 2019).

a. From spontaneous market-led clusters to planned innovation districts

Innovation districts are the newest version of knowledge-based urban development that developed from unplanned enterprise-led hubs and clusters to planned public-led parks and districts. The first planned concept was the ‘technology park’, which was initiated in the 1980s and 1990s by regional and urban policymakers as a strategy to imitate the success of the Silicon Valley, the first innovation cluster that grew spontaneously from market forces resulting from Stanford University’s Research Park foundation post-1951 (Castells & Hall, 1994).

The advance of the spatial model of innovation from cluster to district became evident in the last decade of the twentieth century, the period marking the economic transition from mass-production towards Knowledge-Economy. With this transition, the increasingly growing innovative startups and creative companies began to cluster and replace former manufacturing districts taking advantage of their “centrality, high urban amenities, and low rents” (Barceló & Oliva, 2002). Some examples of these enterprise-led innovation districts are Silicon Alley (New York), Mission District (San Francisco), Shoreditch (London), and Silicon Sentier (Paris) (Morisson, 2017). The recent form of Innovation districts is a formally planned replicate to these spontaneously grown market-led innovation districts (Morsson, 2017). As the case of technology Parks, city authorities aimed from such planned urban developments to create “the needed agglomeration economies to foster a self-sustaining and cumulative causation growth” (Morisson, 2017)

As a result of this evolution in the urban structure of innovation developments, most of the recently developed districts are pre-planned, whether by local governments or private sectors. This formal approach to development made planned innovation districts

similar to other top-down planned culture regeneration (Knox, 2010) and urban renewal developments aim at revitalizing under-functioning downtowns. This similarity is evident through a recent definition of this formal structure of innovation districts by Morisson (2017), based on his multiple studies of recently developed innovation districts by local governments. According to Morisson,

"An innovation district is a place-based urban development strategy that aims to regenerate an under-performing downtown neighborhood into a desirable location for innovative and creative companies and workers."

(2017, p.3)

Many scholars (Edlund, Machado, & Sviatschi, 2015; Florida, 2017; Glaeser, Resseger, & Tobio, 2009; Stehlin, 2016) have criticized the development of innovation districts being conceived as a mere local economic development strategy. According to them, this approach directed the process to be a non-participative top-down initiative that "encourage gentrification and economic polarization" (Morisson & Bevilacqua, 2018). These critiques conform to what Harvey (1989) describes on the production of space in cities by the end of the 20th century onwards, the production of space in cities have been linked to global economic models that prioritize capital production over the urban form and everyday experience of citizens in the city.

b. The Urban Form & Development model of Innovation Districts & Clusters

Innovation districts come in different typologies in design and planning dimensions relying on the huge differences in regional economies, drivers, goals and 'access to knowledge' (Veer, 2016). In terms of designs, multiple models exist varying in scale and

forms of clustering. The process of development differs from private and public actors, but most are led by local governments as an urban strategy to revive their cities. Some are set-up from a bottom-up or top-down approach, some may be market-led, and some are planned initiatives by corporate bodies or the city. In terms of land-use, some are set-up by real estate firms, and some are built by universities (Katz and Wagner, 2014; Morisson, 2015, Hanna, 2016).

Three main studies on innovation districts by Hanna 2016, Morisson (2015), and Katz and Wagner (2014) categorize typologies of innovation districts in terms of urban layout and governance structure (actors and process).

i. Urban Form

A study by Hanna (2016) of London's established and emerging innovation districts classifies these districts' typologies according to their urban form, reflecting on the impact of these new districts on their urban geography. Although it only relied on case studies in London, this study³ provides an important analytical framework to the analysis of innovation districts.

According to Hanna (2016), there are typically three distinct categories of innovation districts, classified according to the permeability of sites and its connectivity (i.e. the proportion of publicly accessible roads). These categories are: (1) Embedded, (2) Cluster, and (3) Campus. Spatial models allow us to analyze the extent to which the

³ These typologies are developed based on a multiple case study analysis of innovation districts in London (including universities, clusters and nascent innovation districts), and considering multiple criteria like timeframes/age, geographic spread, and development model. (Hanna, 2016)

districts are stitched into the fabric of the locality around them. It should be noted, however, that permeability does not necessarily mean accessibility in terms of public transport, or engagement with the local area.

- Embedded Model

Embedded models are those districts that are woven into the urban fabric of the city (often long established). These models have a maximum number of roads, of which are public ways, a range of shared facilities between users & the general public, and traffic mix with general traffic flow to a high degree.

- Cluster Model

The cluster model is separated into several ‘sub-campuses’, crossed by a few roads, which include some shared facilities and an accessible public realm. In this model, some mixing of general traffic and user traffic happens.

- Campus Model

The campus model is detached from its urban environment, sometimes with controlled access, but little mixing of general traffic and users’ traffic. They are described by Hanna (2016) as ‘urban enclaves.’

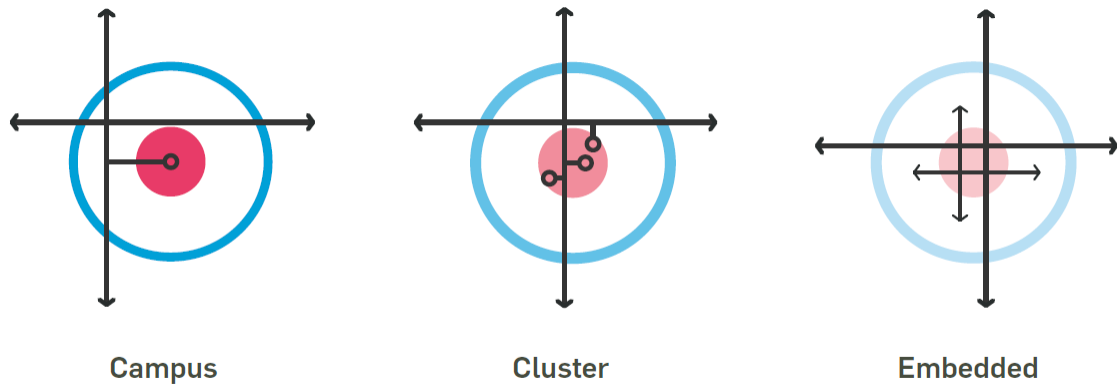


Figure 2 The three spatial typologies of innovation districts according to Hanna (2016).
 Source: Hanna (2016, p.70)

Katz and Wagner (2014) recognize three main models concerning the urban layout of innovation districts.

- Anchor-plus model

This model is developed in the context of an existing urban fabric of the city; its downtown or midtown, anchored with major institution(s) such as a university or a medical center. Usually, such districts are initiated by these anchor institutions.

- Re-imaged urban areas

In this model, new innovation districts are created in older cities, usually former industrial or warehouse sites and waterfront area, in the aim of rebranding them. The structure of this type of districts is similar to the anchor-plus model.

- Urbanized science parks

This model is built on pre-existing isolated tech and science parks formed in the 1980s and 1990s by adding new facilities (Castells & Hall, 1994).

ii. Governance Structure

The same study made by Hanna (2016) that categorizes innovation districts into different spatial typologies also categorizes them based on their governance structure into four categories.

- University-led

These Innovation Districts are based entirely in university campuses, with some commercial space, with access almost exclusively to students.

- University plus

This model is established in partnership between universities and the private sector such as a research center or a private hospital.

- Radical Mixed Development

Like other mixed-use spaces, this innovation district features residential space, offices, along with incubators and some university presence. Here, there is mixity in use, function, and users.

- Enterprise-led

Unlike the latter three models, the enterprise-led one lacks university influence and is led by a private sector firm or a network of much smaller private firms, which is the case of BDD.

Other studies by Katz and Wagner (2014) and Morisson (2015) investigate the innovation districts in terms of initiators (actors) and process of development. On the level of drivers, Katz and Wagner (2014) classify these into public actors; mayors and local governments, private actors; real estate developers and major landowners. In addition to these drivers are universities, research and medical campuses, philanthropic investors,

anchor companies, and innovative entrepreneurs (Ibid). Barcelona, Boston, Medellin and Singapore are good examples of the lead by the mayor's and the municipal departments in deciding to create an innovation district (Morisson, 2015). While such cases of public initiation build on strong visions to maximize the benefits to the community, real Estate actors and investors are driven by profit and feasible business. Hence, to get these private actors to actively participate and commit to proposing 'unconventional thinking' in developing these districts, the benefits for them should exceed the costs (Morisson, 2015).

Accordingly, innovation districts in terms of initiators (actors), process of development and economic model can be categorized into:

- Top-down urban strategy | government planning
- Private sector-led | (corporate) bottom-up leadership (case of BDD)
- Organic growth | market forces-responsive

3. Innovation Districts and their "Dilemma with Place"

a. Spatial and Socio-economic patterns produced by innovation districts: A new form of Gentrification?

In many cases, the creative developments are generating an accelerated process of gentrification (Mirabal, 2009), viewed by many scholars as an expression of 'commodification of space' (Clark, 2015) and 'space wars' (Hansen, 2003, 2006). Hansen (2003, 2006) explains that "rhythms of capitalism and urban governance formed by competition between cities translate into uneven development—segregation, exclusion and 'space wars'" (Swyngedouw, 1997, p. 119). The focus on 'space wars' carries a critical perspective across to the study of urban transformation processes and uneven development

and is related to the processes of gentrification (Lewis, 2001) at multiple scales (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Smith, 1996, 2002). This notion of 'space wars' is further explored by Peck (2005) who explains that "forces of global capital accumulation, shifts towards neoliberal urban governance and increased interurban competition during past decades have led to a 'nouveau-bourgeois war for talent' causing increased struggles over urban space and sweeping displacement of people." (Peck, 2005, p. 766, quoted in Larsen & Hansen, 2008). Clark (2005), in turn, sums up the root causes of gentrification by: "the commodification of space, polarized power relations and a set of fictions that strategically naturalizes the drive to conquer space." (Larsen & Hansen, 2008).

Despite the negative view of gentrification by most of the urban scholars, some literature argues that gentrification has a positive impact. According to Lees (2000), the tension in the debate on gentrification lies in the 'emancipatory city' versus the 'revanchist city' thesis (Larsen & Hansen, 2008). The former perspective argues that 'social mixing' is a positive outcome. An example of that is Byrne's (2003) argument that gentrification can improve the economic opportunities for the urban poor. This positive view is expressed by Florida (2002, 2005) as well in his argument around the creative notion. He considers that business and people move to the places where the creative urban environments are; accordingly, people's climate is important for the branding of cities and gentrified neighborhoods are seen as magnets attracting the 'creative class'. From this perspective, it makes economic sense for the city to facilitate gentrification. "'Good' governance targets deprived neighborhoods for (state-led) gentrification in order to emancipate the creative potential of the city" (Cameron, 2003; Slater, 2004). The gentrifiers are seen as the

embodiment of global cultural and economic flows -- an emerging global élite community (Rofe, 2003) equivalent to the creative class. (Larsen & Hansen, 2008).

However, after praising the creative class Florida (2002), Richard Florida lately acknowledged that innovation is in many places a nexus to inequality (Florida, 2017).

i. The different dilemmas with place defined by (Wagner, 2019)

Throughout a study he performed on multiple innovation districts in the United States, Wagner (2019) defines two place-based dilemmas that are hindering the innovation-districts success from a physical point of view. Classified along two categories outlined below, the place-based dilemmas question the issues of placelessness, connectivity, and accessibility/permeability.

- ‘The disconnect dilemma’

According to Wagner (2019), while most of the districts have their physical realms designed in a way that enhances connectivity on the district scale, through the proximity of spaces and functions, creating a walkable and vibrant experience, they lack a well-studied city-scale connectivity (the reason for their location on a city scale)

- 'The dead zone dilemma'

Wagner (2019) describes this as the loss of a sense of place resulting from a rapid and massive change to the physical environment which includes the demolition of heritage and the construction of high-rises. The dead zone dilemma is also referred to as the 'placelessness' in the literature on the urban places' identity (Relph, 1976). According to Ziyae (2018) understanding the urban space needs to consider that social and cultural public territories between the mass of buildings be more understood, perceived and

recognized. This loss of place is justified by developers and city planners as a way to tap into the potential profits of real estate in the absence of preservation policies that generate financial incentives to keep the historic buildings in place (Wagner, 2019).

With the negative impacts of innovation districts on their urban context being reviewed here, I propose in the second section Spatial ethics and Corporate Social responsibility as theoretical frameworks that form a base for spatial planning responses to this problem. This conceptual pillar is supported by a case study analysis of three cases where local governments succeeded in re-channeling the negative externalities of innovation districts within tracks of inclusive growth.

B. Towards a Methodology of Analysis and Intervention

The thesis uses multiple frameworks from literature in order to analyze the case study and answer to the thesis problematic. The aim is to develop the study from analyzing contextual forces towards proposing urban design concepts and paradigms as a basis to formulate the framework of intervention.

1. Lefebvre's Spatial Triad

To understand the form of relation between the BDD and Bachoura on the socio-spatial level and its link to political and regulatory forces, I use Lefebvre (1974)'s Spatial Triad. In order to analyze the production of space, Lefebvre proposed a Spatial Triad that consists of three types of intertwined processes of production that he labelled Conceived Space, Perceived Space, and Lived Space.

- **Conceived Space:**

This is the space of planners and governors, it materializes in:

- Plans and elements, as conceived by professionals of the built environment; the various maps that were historically made to analyze their effects
- The elements of design that are typically used by these architects: design language, landmarks, ...

- **Lived Space:** Is the way space is experienced and remembered by users. It reflects how people perceive/imagine elements such as boundaries, the meanings they associate to specific locations, the memories they have, etc.

- **Practiced Space:** Is the actual physical manifestation of space, it includes the landscapes and elements in relation to the practices of individuals who use them,.

2. Punter (1991) and Montgomery (1998) Components of Place as an Urban Design tool for Analysis

To translate Lefebvre's reading into elements of urban design (Physical settings, Activities, Image), I use the 'Descriptive Components of Place' method suggested by Punter (1991) and Montgomery (1998) (fig. 3).

- **Physical Settings/ Form:** The Built form, landscape, Permeability, Scale, Intensity, Landmarks, Space to Building Ratios, Public realm (Space systems)
- **Activity:** Land use, Pedestrian Flow, Behavior, Patterns, Diversity, Fine Grain Economy, Street Life, Local Traditions
- **Image/Meaning:** (cognition, perception, information): Symbolism & Memory, Psychological access, Associations, Knowledgeability, Cultural associations, Perceived Functions, Attractions.

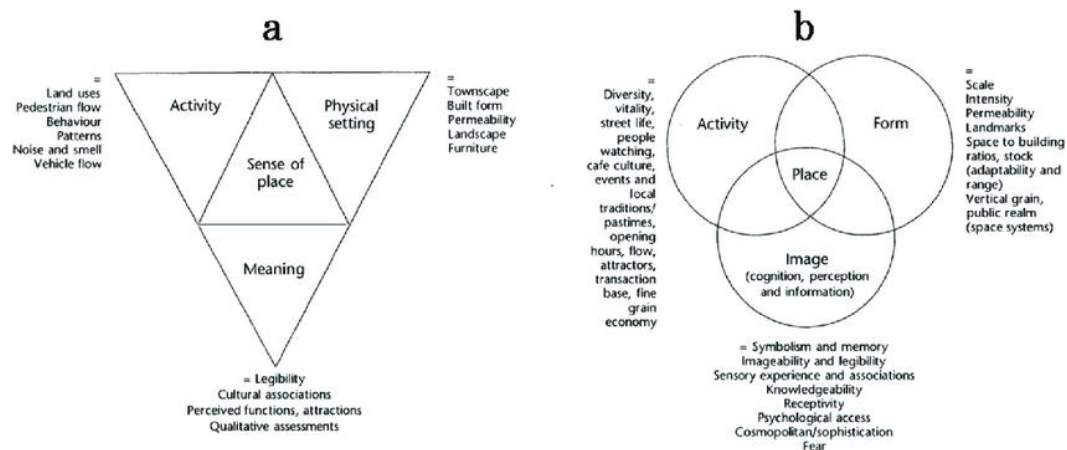


Figure 3 The Descriptive components of place identity suggested by (a) Punter (1991), and (b) Montgomery (1998).

3. Spatial Ethics as an approach in designing and assessing space

This section provides the theoretical framework through which I approach the role of the BDD.

‘Spatial Ethics’ is an integrated approach towards addressing the Socio-spatial impacts of large urban projects on their context. It introduces the concept of spatial equity and tackles the need to evaluate such urban projects’ multi-scalar and multi-dimensional impacts on society and on the space that they produce. In a case study of an urban infrastructural project, Lee (2018) uses spatial ethics as an evaluation tool to assess the projects socio-spatial impacts. This case study highlights, by involving diverse stakeholders in the framework of analysis, the plurality of actors and their interests, and the priorities that the projects aim for. (Lee,2018). The main findings of the case study commend the ability of spatial ethics as an evaluation tool to identify positive and negative returns of an urban project to society space overtime despite the different perceptions that different actors hold to these social and spatial impacts (Ibid).

Fisher (2019) identifies four dimensions of SE, which can be referred to as a basis for decision-making of spatial planning and urban development (Fig.4):

- Virtuous space, based on Aristotle: ethical characteristics of space including connectivity, integration, & inclusiveness in urban space.
- Contractual space, based on Hobbes and Rousseau: space for keeping peace and avoiding conflicts in society
- Dutiful space, based on Kantian approach: examining the impacts of creating/using space for the needs/ends of a larger population.

- Consequential space: maximizing the long-term return on investment in space, benefiting the needs of the greatest number.

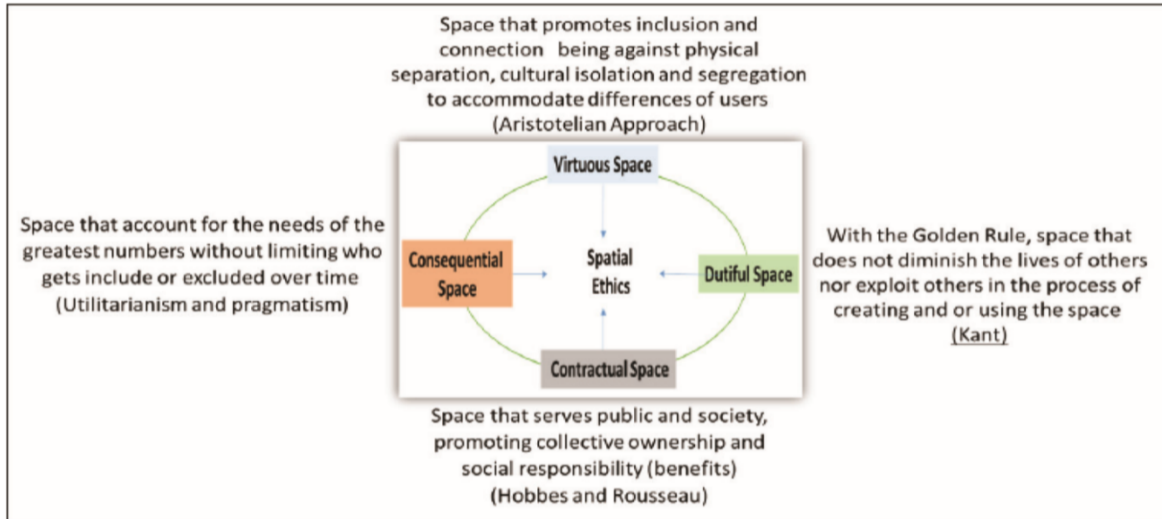


Figure 4 Fisher (2009)'s Four dimensions of Spatial Ethics used as basis for spatial planning and urban development. Source: Lee, 2018 adopted from Fisher, 2009

Spatial Ethics (SE) Four Dimensions based on Fisher(2009), for spatial planning & urban development

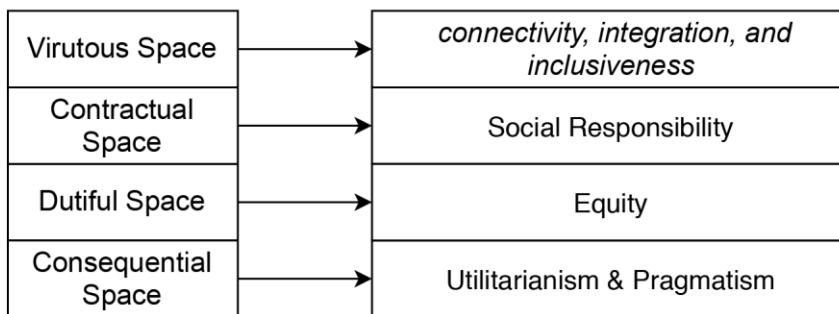


Figure 5 concluded scheme from fisher's concept

4. An Integrated Framework

In this thesis, I want to focus on the ‘urban design’ component of the analysis, looking specifically at the elements of the conceived, lived and practiced as they pertain to the physical elements of the city. I use Punter’s framework to translate LEfevbre’s framework of analysis into a design one, and I use the spatial ethics concept with them to assess BDD’s design.

CHAPTER III

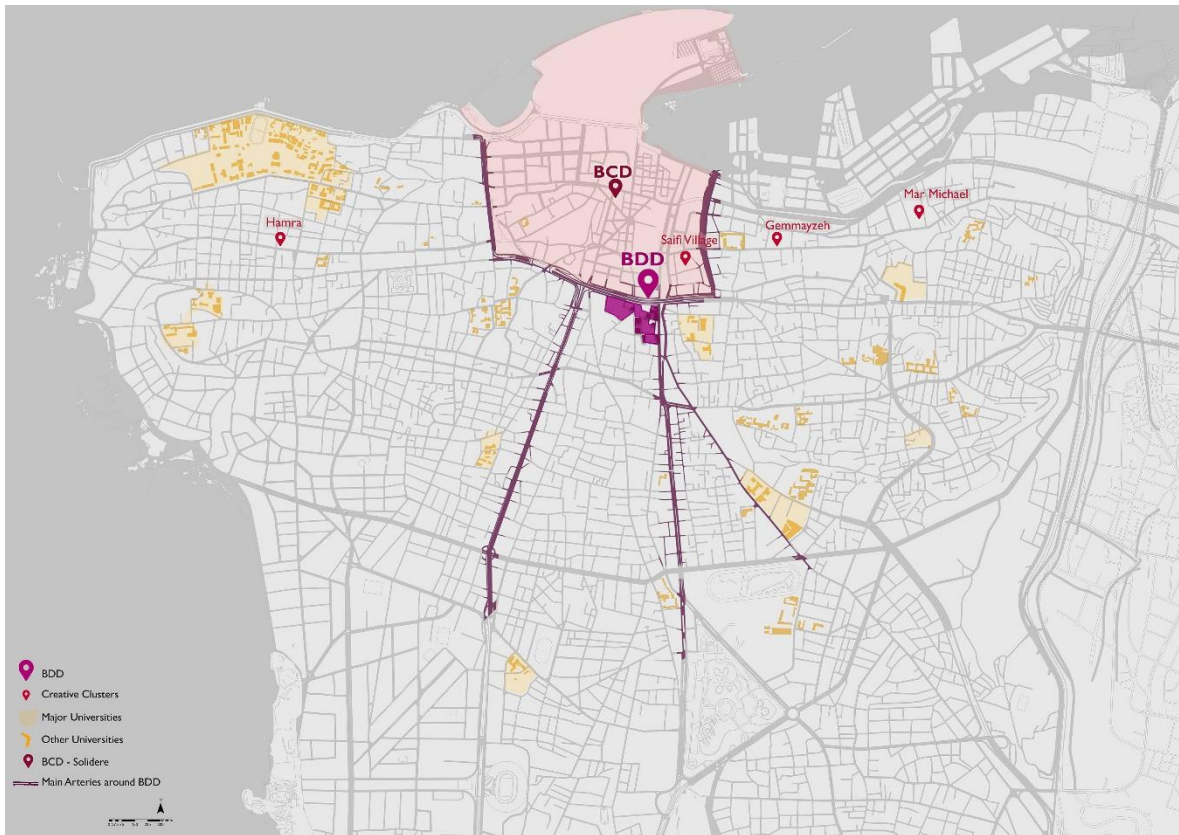
THE BDD

In this chapter, I profile the BDD and position it in relation to the government's national vision and city-scale strategies and BDL's goals in their financial support to such 'projects'. How was the BDD initiated? What is the scope of its work? What are the perceptions around its development in Bachoura? What kind of incentives and/or public subsidies or facilities did it benefit from? What were the stated goals and claims that justified government support to the project? Are there similar projects in Beirut/Lebanon? Does it serve the stated objectives of the government support?

A. The BDD Profile: Location in the city, size, scope, plan

Beirut Digital District (BDD) is an emerging 'innovation hub' developed on the north-eastern edge of the neighborhood of Bachoura. Although it is in immediate geographic proximity to the Beirut's Central District, Lebanon's business hub, Bachoura is different in its social composition and physical conditions from the city's core, as we illustrated in the previous chapter. With this location, BDD acquires a strategic place in relation to the city of Beirut. It lies in the heart of the city, in proximity to most of its primary functions, especially universities and other corporations, and easily accessible to major infrastructure equipment such as the port and the airport (map 3).

The first Beirut Digital District building stands 9 stories high in Bachoura on the intersection between Fouad Chehab Boulevard (known as the *Ring road*), directly on the



Map 3 BDD's location in the heart of the city, proximate to BCD, major universities and 'creative clusters.'
Source: Israa Darwish, 2020.

southern edge of Beirut Central District, and Bechara el-Khoury, an active commercial and institutional street linking the peripheral and peri-central areas to the city center and to Damascus street.

The BDD project was launched in 2012 as the outcome of a joint effort between public and private institutions, spearheaded by the Ministry of Telecommunications and in collaboration with Berytech, a university-based technology incubator, and the real estate development firm ZRE⁴ (Nabbout, 2012). The project was also financially supported by the

⁴ Zein Real Estate Company is owned by the Syrian businessmen Talal al-Zain, owner of one of the largest companies of gas import and supply in the middle east and a supplier of domestic gas in Lebanon, and an investor in the Banking sector. His son-in-law Mouhamad Y. Rabah is the general manager of ZRE.

Central Bank, under the program of support to the ecosystem of startups developing digital and technological sector. According to the speech of then minister of telecommunication, MP Nicolas Sehnaoui, BDD was conceived to attract foreign digital endeavors, boost local entrepreneurs' opportunities and 'bring expatriates back home'. The project carries hence a strong economic developmental agenda for the area, and more generally the city and the country.

According to the website advertisement of the company, BDD is a “cluster of innovation designed for the digital & creative community”. Its stated objective is to “create a hub for the digital and creative industries in Lebanon” (BDD, 2016). “BDD’s objective is to become an all-inclusive zone dedicated to empowering the digital and creative industry in Lebanon by providing state-of-the-art infrastructure and superior support services for growing businesses.” Their vision hits the aim of developing ‘self-sustaining innovative neighborhoods’ and fuel the growth of over 10,000 dynamic and creative individuals, through smart offices spaces, infrastructure and other services (BDD, 2016).

The project extends over more than 120,000sqm of built-up area being built in 5 phases over 10 years (fig.6). According to BDD, this phasing follows “a pragmatic approach to ensure the organic growth of a vibrant urban district”.

In the first phase, and after the launch of BDD in 2012, the Berytech Park was inaugurated in 2013 to host around 100 SMEs. It launched a 30-million-dollar fund in 2014 to support startups by Lebanese youth (Nabbout, 2012).

He is a telecommunication engineer whose experience is in strategic consultancy and real estate development. After completing The Platinum Tower, the ‘largest’ residential development in Lebanon, he launched Beirut Digital District (BDD) in 2012. Source: 2010. <https://www.syria-oil.com/english/?p=935> and 2014. 2014 BDL Accelerate. <http://2014.bdlaccelerate.com/speakers/mouhamad-rabah/>

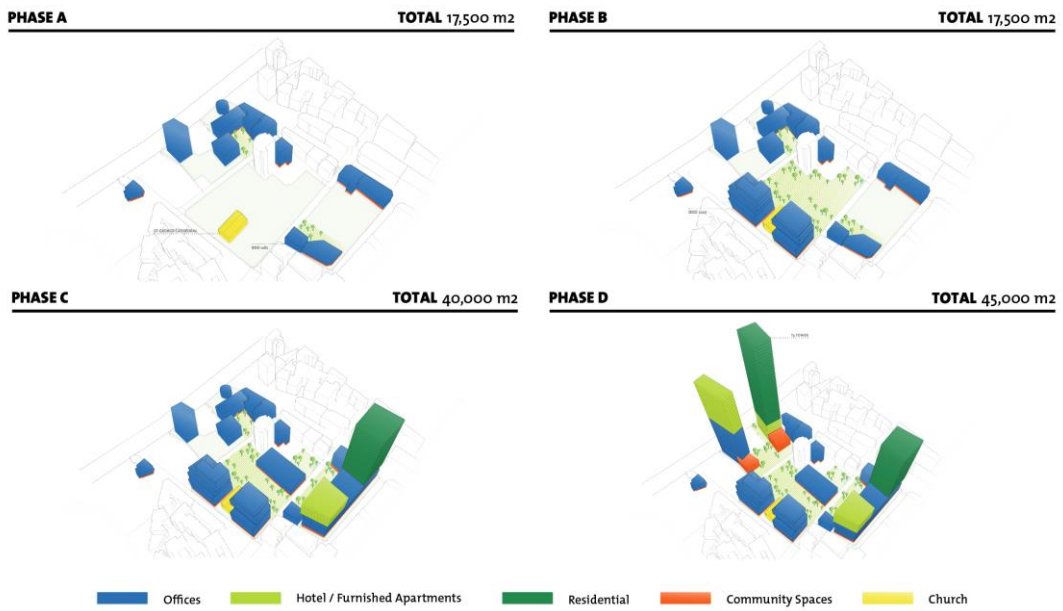


Figure 6 Phasing of BDD plan with the land use specified by ZRE. Source: BDD Website, 2020. Factor in the Future. Retrieved from: <https://beirutdigitaldistrict.com/our-story>



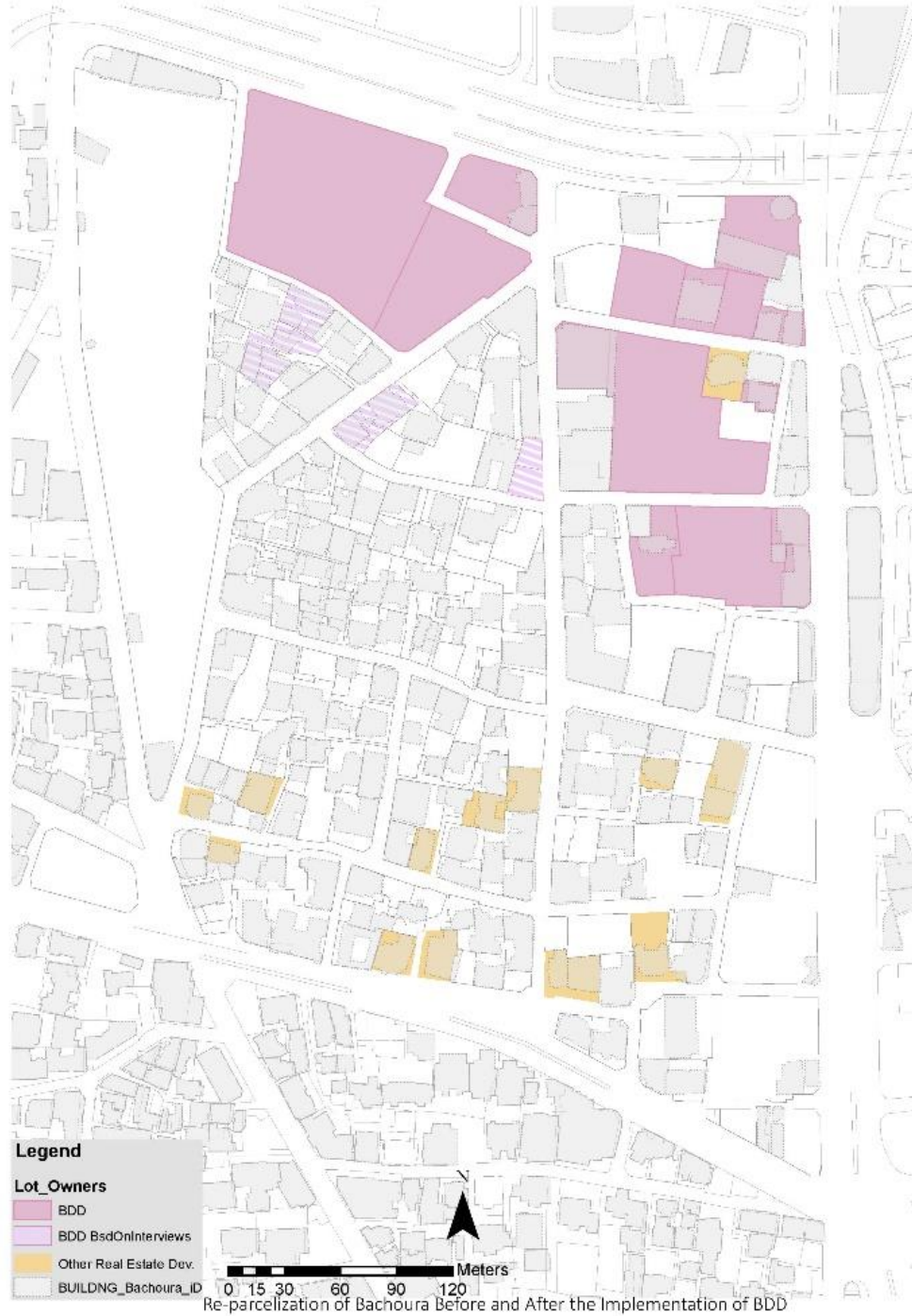
Figure 7 BDD's originally proposed Master plan showing its regeneration guidelines. Source: BDD, 2016.

According to its masterplan (fig. 7), BDD's property is spread over five blocks; two of them entirely owned by ZRE, while the others are majority owned by BDD and the rest are rented out. The other real estate projects present in the area are concentrated on the southern part of Bachoura. They are mainly residential within the inner neighborhood with only the ones on the Bechara Khoury and Independence edges are mixed use projects.

The new urban morphology introduced by the BDD is exclusive of the smaller scale, narrow alleys of affordable housing. It also contrasts with the morphology of the middle class, affordable housing that has proliferated in nearby neighborhoods (map 4). Instead, large blocks imaging expensive and large buildings where apartment prices are well above the means of the urban majorities. While BDD may not be a residential development in its current state, the morphology of its blocks strongly recalls those of the high-end residential developments in nearby downtown⁵.

⁵ Bachoura, as other peri-central districts of Beirut, encounters two types of gentrification:

- Ad-hoc Infills, with small to medium scale and residential character (appearing mainly in Zahrawi neighborhood, and only few in Khreis and Khandak el Ghamik)
- Linear, highway developments (transport-edge developments) with medium scale and mixed use (with commercial ground floor) developments (gentrification) (appearing on Independence and Basta streets)
- However, an additional third type of gentrification takes place in Bachoura, led by BDD:
- sub-sector multi-blocks cluster development



Map 4 BDD's property (in purple) versus other Real estate developers' properties (in yellow) Source: Israa Darwish (2019). Information on BDD property based on their master plan and interviews with residents, while information on other real-estate developments are based on AUB Neighborhood Initiative, 2016. Mapping New Construction in Beirut (2000-2013).

B. BDD and Bachoura: The initials of growth

To the side of the neighborhood, the first cluster of BDD buildings lies on Nassif Yazigi Street, in the area often described as the ‘old Christian neighborhood’ (Boekelo M. , Of citizens and ordinary men: Political subjectivity and contestations of sectarianism in reconstruction-era Beirut, 2016). However, BDD’s property expands over almost the entire neighborhood (fig. 8).

This area of the neighborhood still strongly presented its post-war face until 2010 when it has been re-conceptualized by the developers to match more the neighboring Solidere in its ‘modern’ form and function as a business ‘district’. According to BDD developers’ claims, the project aims to regenerate and transform ‘Khandak el-Ghamik’ into a neighborhood attractive for the ‘creative class’ and creative companies.

1. The Physical Transformation

The physical transformation of Bachoura started well before the launch of the BDD project in 2012. It began with the spillover of the real estate speculation occurring in Beirut

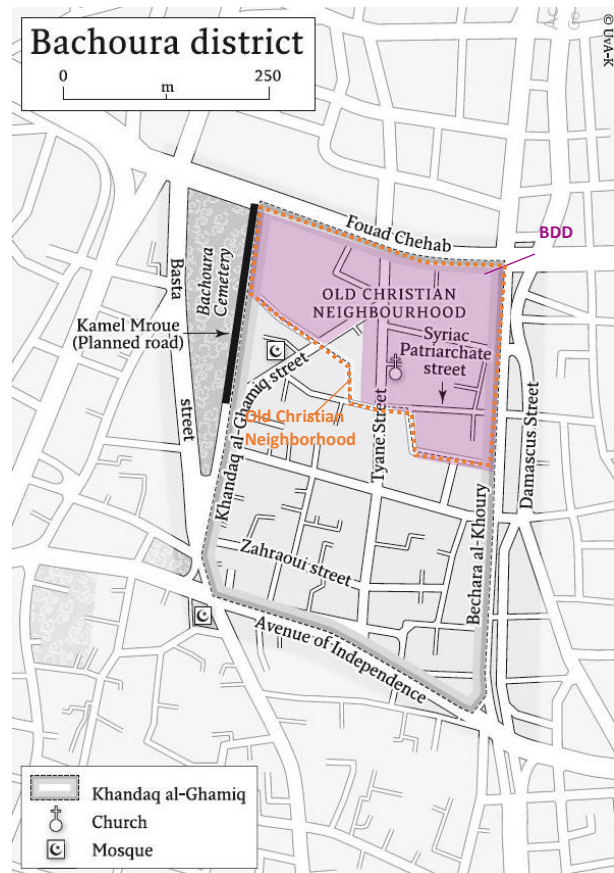


Figure 8 The location of BDD in relation to the ‘Old Christian Neighborhood’ defined by (Boekelo, 2016), and it shows how BDD has taken over the largest part of the neighborhood

Downtown to the peri-central districts during the post-war reconstruction period. The process peaked between 2004 and 2007 in the north-eastern area of Bachoura, known as the Old Christian neighborhood (fig. 8) (Boekelo, 2016).

2. The Developer

Most properties were bought by ZRE, the real estate development firm that eventually developed BDD, directly after the eviction of the war-displaced families in the neighborhood by the Ministry of Displaced. Many of the buildings in this neighborhood had been squatted for the duration of the civil war and a post-war displacement policy compensated squatter while forcibly evacuating them from these buildings. Buildings in this district were however severely impacted by the civil war: many people had left the country; others had settled in other districts of the city. In addition, buildings in the district were often owned in shares and inherited by extended families, a constraint to development that encouraged many of the property owners to sell their lands (Brones, 2010). As of 2004, the late Talal el-Zein, a retired Oil and Gas investor who had moved back to Lebanon during this year, began to purchase the properties in the neighborhood (Boekelo, 2016, p.57) with the ambition of initiating a large-scale real estate development project⁶. Between 2007 and 2009, doors, windows and balconies of the buildings that lied in the north-eastern

⁶ According to Boekelo (2016), “records [...] from the land registry show that indeed properties were sold, and mostly to one buyer who is identified, in some newspaper, as a ‘Syrian businessman’ with connections to Hariri circles. The businessman used a number of daughter companies – registered to members of his extended family – to buy up different plots, mostly likely to make it seem different buyers were active in the area (in other ways as well, dissimulation seemed part of the business model). A business partner and son-in-law [...] contacted over the phone declined any other comment than that for the moment the market wasn’t ready for their plans” (p.57).

area of the Bachoura were evacuated and walled out to prevent a reoccupation. By 2010, most old ruined buildings and the last habitable houses were demolished by ZRE, allowing for the reconstruction of the lots to serve the BDD project (see map 5). Based on an interview with the lawyer of ZRE (Karim Koubaissi), these demolitions were supposed to prevent the return of the squatters to these buildings (Koubaissi, 2009 as quoted in Brones, 2010).

a. The ‘dissimulation’ of the developers

Acquisitions in the Christian neighborhood started since 2004 (according to information from land registry of Beirut). The owner that was buying the property is the owner of ZRE, (the developer company of BDD), the Syrian businessman Talal el Zain. He had connections to the Prime Minister Hariri’s circles, according to a number of newspaper reports (details on this are found in Chapter V). In the period of purchase, the businessman made sure not to make himself visible by using several daughter companies to purchase the different plots (Boekelo, 2016)⁷. Interviews with inhabitants of the neighborhood reflect this vagueness and manipulation, what Boekelo describes as ‘dissimulation’. They mention multiple company names they heard about or have connection with as Zain, Al-‘Aliya, and other assumptions and rumors mentioning once Al-Walid bin Talal (who they thought had

⁷ This explains what some residents in the block next the archeological site explained to me and what I found contradicting. They insisted that the company that bought the buildings they reside in was called “Al-‘Aliya- العالوية” (showing me the contract holding its name, and had no idea what type of company it was, they assumed it would be a law firm), while other neighbors said that it was Zain real estate company (that is ZRE, the development company of BDD). In my online search and questions to some inhabitants, I found no information on this company.

bought the archeological site in the beginning in a plan for extending Solidere, what they refer to as Solidere II), Abdullah Berri (son of PM and leaders of Amal party Nabih Birri), etc. In their speech, the BDD developers, refused to comment on these claims, considering that “for the moment the market wasn’t ready for their plans” (Boekelo, 2016, p.57).

In narrating the history of the area in its advertisements, BDD described Bachoura as an area that “has always buzzed with life and business ventures”. The website states that “After being negatively influenced by the 1975 civil war, the area is conceived by BDD to be transformed and taken a step forward, [...] changing into an integrated digital

neighborhood, while preserving the heritage⁸ and diversity.”⁹ (see fig. 9)

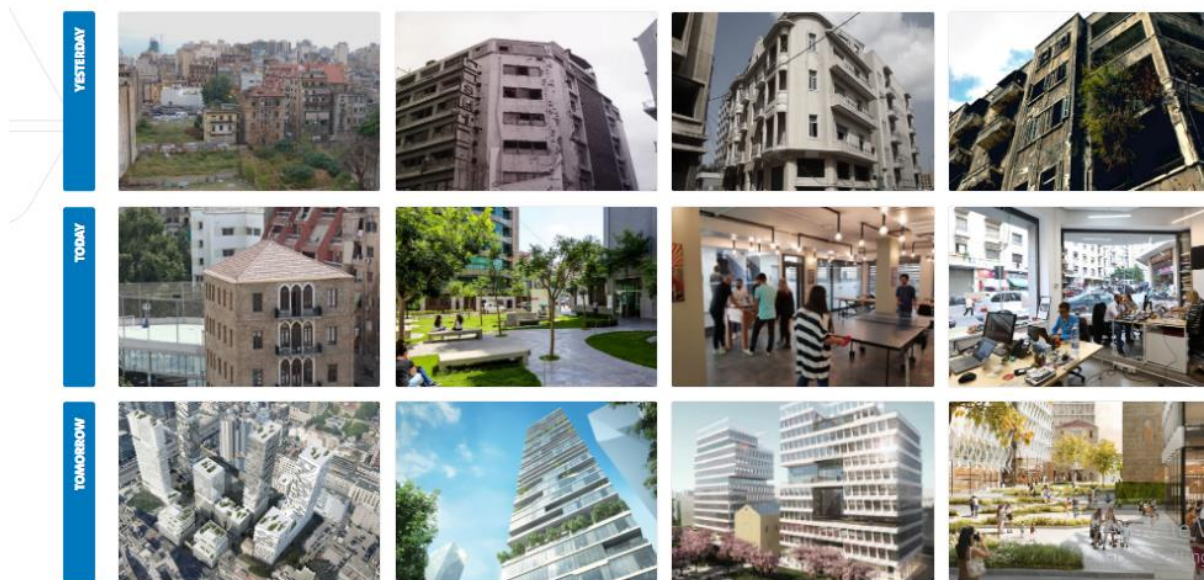


Figure 9 A comparison between the old ‘war-torn’ buildings as described by Mohamad Rabah, their current renovated version, and the future vision of the whole area. Source: BDD Wesbite. 2020.

Mohamad Rabah, the general manager of BDD, in an interview with CNN in 2015

said:

“When we started investing in the Bachoura area [...], [it] was a left-out torn area since the 1975, no one had stepped foot in it. We used to find three-meter snakes walking around. We thought [that] the only way to be able to revive an area and to transform an area from a war-torn district is by bringing motivated people, young, dynamic, creative, that they will re-shape the district.”

⁸ While heritage is claimed to be a value by BDD, only three of the classified heritage buildings were reserved and renovated by BDD in the properties undergoing developments while another four classified buildings were demolished. As a further notice, another four heritage buildings, added to the seven mentioned here, have recently become properties of BDD; however, they are still left in their previous condition; vacant or occupied by old tenants, while waiting for their future plan for development by BDD. These new properties don’t appear in the BDD’s master plan.

3. A Market-led Planned Regeneration

In contrast to the claims of the BDD developer, the BDD project can be described as a form of gentrification, a more recent form of ‘Market-led Planned Regeneration’ with a top-down corporate approach¹¹ (fig. 10). While gentrification sometimes takes the form of externalities for a ‘new’ type of urban development, this ‘creative’ project comes in the form of massive destruction processes. Whole blocks of the neighborhood were erased and reshaped, and many buildings were demolished and replaced by new developments or parking lots (Figure 11 & Maps 5 ,6). Hundreds of families were also displaced (Gebhardt & Sack, 2004).

¹⁰ Andrew Stevens, 2015. “Lebanon's Silicon Valley: A new neighborhood is emerging in Beirut that may one day be a powerhouse for startups in the Middle East”. CNN. Retrieved from: [link](#)

¹¹ It might be also compared to Solidere project with the difference that Solidere applied its project on a multiple-districts level while BDD, so far, is working on a sub-sectoral district level. Their development though also follows according to a master plan.

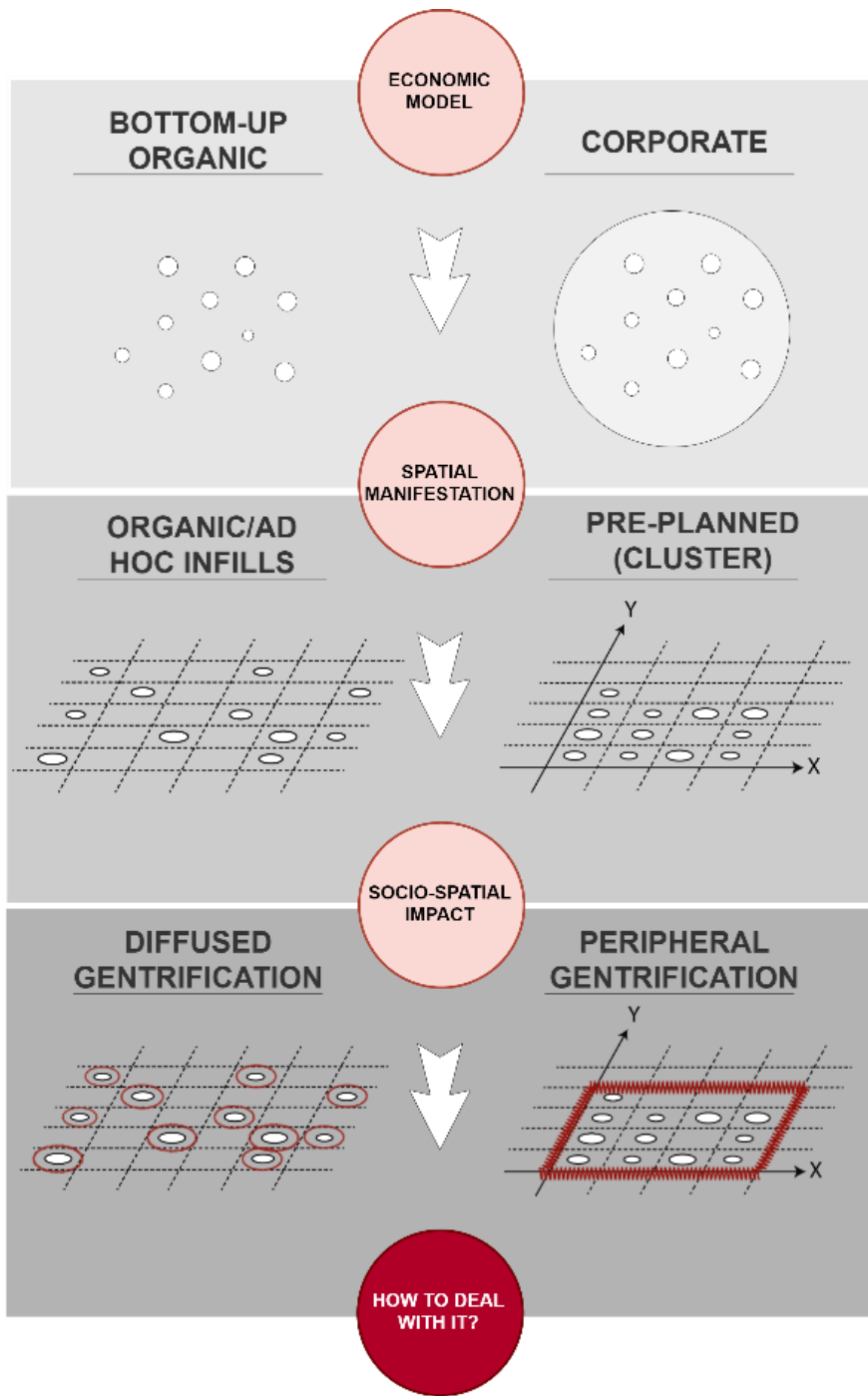
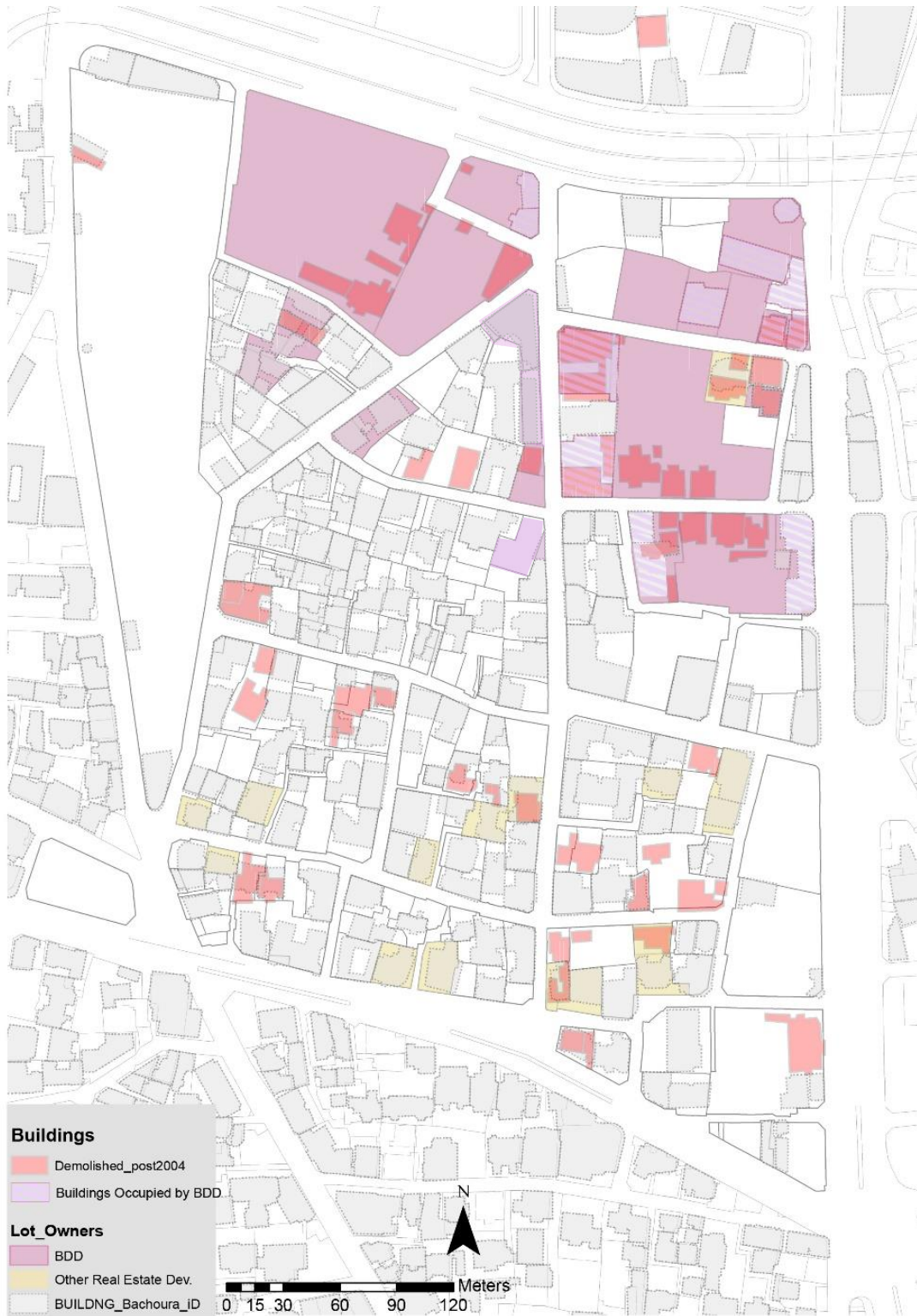


Figure 10 Different forms of Creative Clusters and the gentrification they produce.
Source: Israa Darwish, 2020

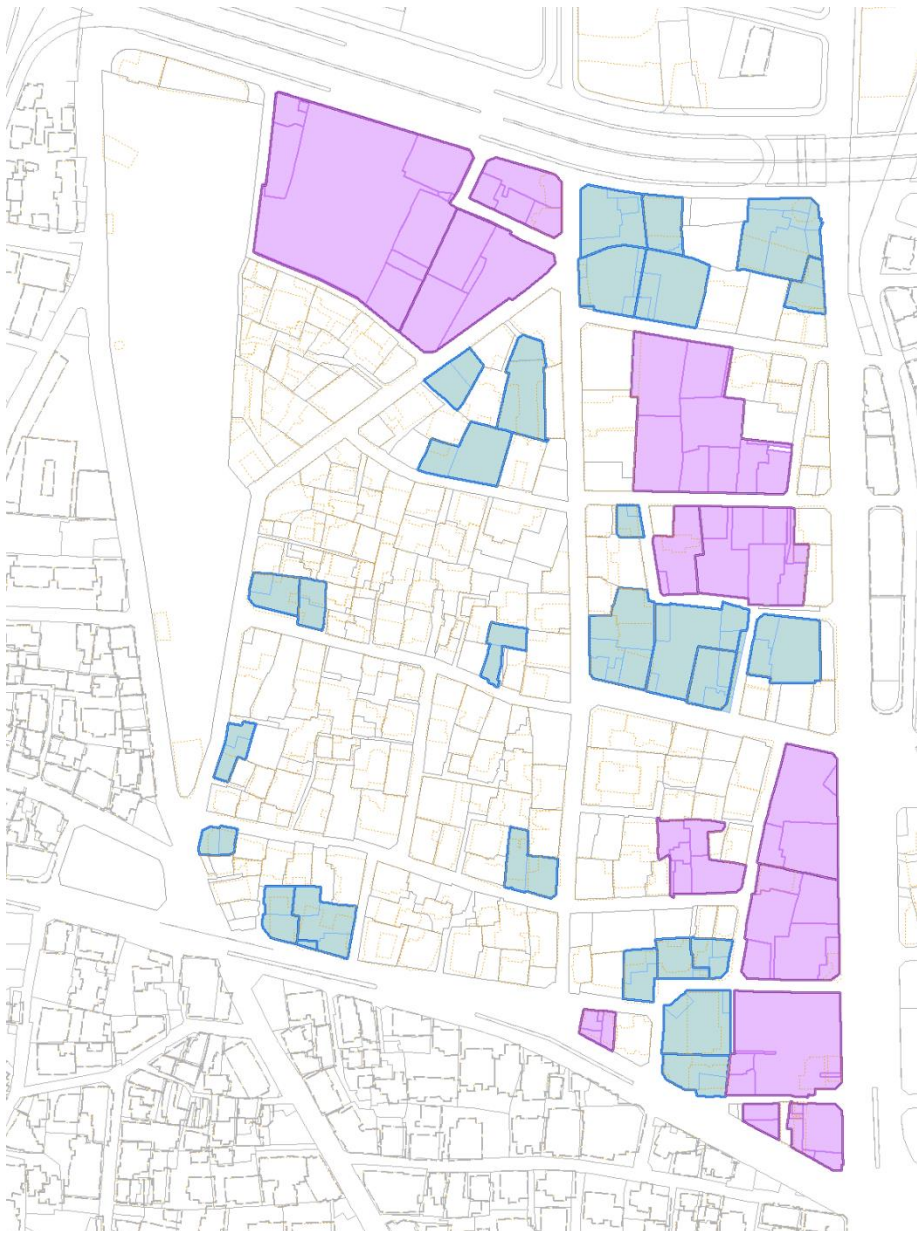
The first level of gentrification in this project is creating is a developmental one, justified by the goal of ‘economic growth’ under the ‘city competitiveness and attraction through commodification of the ‘creative and innovation’ notion of the city. The neighborhood is now in the last stages of this wave of gentrification. Before the financial crisis in 2019, the neighborhood was expecting a second wave of gentrification of another form through its attraction to the ‘creative class’. This will be fostered by the commodification of the space, the major aspect that creates gentrification on the longer run. (Larsen & Hansen, 2008).



Figure 11 Aerial photos dating back to 2014-2015 showing BDD buildings and the large empty lands it created (used as parking in the wait for the future coming phases) in the ‘Old Christian Neighborhood’



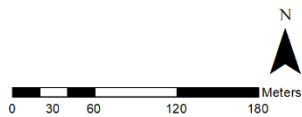
Map 5 A map of the study area showing demolished buildings (in red) by BDD appearing in the BDD property (in purple). Source: Israa Darwish. 2020.



Re-Parcelization in Bachoura Before and After the Implementation of BDD

- Current parcel boundary- after last reparcelization
(based on 2019 Satellite Imagery)
- Parcels- before last reparcelization
(based on 2004 Cadastral Map of Beirut)
- Parcel boundaries in 2004- after reparcelization
(based on 2004 Cadastral Map of Beirut)
- Parcels- before reparcelization
(based on 1964 Cadastral Map of Beirut)

Credits: Darwish, I. (2019) "Re-parcelization in Bachoura: Pre-BDD (2004) and Post-BDD (2019)"



Map 6 A map showing the re-parcelization of properties before 2004 versus before 2019, the thick purple line represents BDD property. Source: Israa Darwish. 2020., based on cadastral maps of 1964 and 2004 and Google Satellite Imagery of 2019.

4. The BDD Project: Conflicting Perceptions

A quick review of the positions and perceptions of public sector actors, residents, and researchers indicates that they are not aligned about the future impact of the project on the neighborhood. While public actors describe the project as a development engine, others see it as leading to displacement and impoverishment.

During the launch of the BDD project, Me Karim Kobeissi, the individual credited as behind the conception of the BDD project, and a senior advisor to the then Minister of Telecommunication MP Nicolas Sehnaoui, stated that:

“Up to 4,000 jobs within the BDD could be created over the next three to four years, and I am adamant that some of these jobs will go to members of the local community.”

Me Karim Kobeissi. Interview with *Al-Akhbar*, 2012¹²

In response to this, Hisham Ashkar, a researcher in urban planning, explained that the effects of the project could be destructive to the local community. Ashkar argued in a newspaper interview with the daily *Al-Akhbar*:

“A good number of the residents in the neighborhood do not have legal status. After all some of them have been squatters since the civil war. Urban rejuvenation will lead to the implementation of rules and regulations, and since Lebanese laws do not protect the rights of people in housing, but rather put emphasis on the sanctity of private property, the local residents will be eventually forced to relocate.”

Hisham Ashkar. Interview with *Al-Akhbar*. 2012

¹² <https://www.albawaba.com/business/beirut-digital-gentrification-460170>

In contrast to what Kobeissi argued would benefit the Bachoura community, Ashkar cites the example of the new campus of the Lebanese University in Hadath, adjacent to the impoverished area of Hay al-Sellom. He explains:

“Previous redevelopment projects in Beirut have not necessarily bolstered the livelihoods of the residents in the immediate area. The campus did not serve to rejuvenate the run-down area and brought no employment to the existing local community. Save for the patronage of two cafes and taxi and bus fares, there has been no economic injection or any other interaction.

Historically, the development of affluent districts inherently pushes those of lower incomes away from the area, as with the arrival of affluence, prices of rent and commodities increase.”

Ibid

Ashkar explained that the law in Lebanon gives little or no protection to tenants. There are two laws pertaining to rent: the new rent law, which is based on a contract renewed every three years that allows landlords to increase rent every three years; and the old rent law, which froze rental prices and makes evicting tenants more complicated, meaning landlords sometimes resort to having the building condemned in order to force them out. Ashkar said that “with the flow of investments and ‘development,’ it is natural that landowners will resort to one of these solutions in order to generate more profit, especially given that there are no regulations to prevent them from doing so, or to protect low income residents.” In Ashkar’s words,

“Beirut, throughout its urban history, has been a mixture of impoverished and affluent areas, and in most of cases, different social conditions existed in the same neighborhood...In the absence of just social rights or a social welfare state, and with the exasperation of inequalities, tensions will always exist, but are not always visible.”

Ibid

According to Kobeissi, the site where the BDD is being developed has not been residential for a long time, having been bought by private landowners after being completely destroyed during the war. “Up to this time, no one had done anything for the area,” he said. Concerning the people who live in the surrounding area, he foresees no conflict of interest arising between the local community and the expected arrival of a digital business district peddling luxury technological goods.

“This area was already next to very high-end, expensive areas; the Central Beirut District, Achrafieh, Clemenceau,” he said. “We are assisting in making a project that will help this area integrate with its surroundings.”

Me Karim Kobeissi. Interview with *Al-Akhbar*. 2012

In contrast to Ashkar, Kobeissi believed the project will not affect the nearby communities adversely, “the area did not have a future; this project is giving this area a future” (Ibid). What is clear in Kobeissi’s view is that the current residents of the neighborhood are not worthy of consideration in the future of the neighborhood since their poverty stands in the way of Bachoura becoming like Clemenceau. This dismissal is well perceived by the neighborhood inhabitants who generally expressed fear about the project. Two streets away in Khandak al-Ghamik, brothers Hassan and Ahmad Khalife run a butchery that their grandfather had a license for since 1936. They know very little about the ambitious project a stone’s throw away. “Everyone in the neighborhood keeps hearing rumors that land in the area is being bought up quietly, but we don’t know what they want to use it for. Whatever it is, it is intended for another class of people, not for us”, said

Hassan in an interview with CNN in 2012¹³. His brother Ahmad added to this same idea saying that “people are worried it’s going to be like another Solidere, they fear that the people who live here will be pushed out by whatever is coming.” (Ibid)

Work opportunities however open to some of the inhabitants have balanced their initial perceptions. Thus, two young men who preferred not to be named are now working as security guards in one of the project’s buildings. Interviewed about their perception of the project, one of them said:

“The area used to just be burnt out (gesturing to the charred skeleton of a building at the end of the street). We are from ‘inside’ the neighborhood, a few streets away, and we feel that the project was a good thing for the local community. We have jobs now. Before, there was nothing.”

Anonymous, Interview with CNN, 2012¹⁴.

Conclusion

There is an important distinction between a real estate residential development and the BDD. The latter indeed created work opportunities, which is different from the real estate speculative approach.

¹³ Andrew Stevens, 2015. “Lebanon's Silicon Valley: A new neighborhood is emerging in Beirut that may one day be a powerhouse for startups in the Middle East”. CNN. Retrieved from: [link](#)

¹⁴ Andrew Stevens, 2015. “Lebanon's Silicon Valley: A new neighborhood is emerging in Beirut that may one day be a powerhouse for startups in the Middle East”. CNN. Retrieved from: [link](#)

C. BDD's position in relation to the government's city-scale strategy/agenda for Beirut and BDL's goals in their financial support to such 'projects'

This section explores the of incentives and/or public subsidies or facilities that BDD benefited from. It goes through the stated goals and claims that justified government support to the project (based on their interpretation of BDD's role; the system of values considered by the State; and what is expected from BDD)

1. BDL's Incentive

The initiation of BDD as a digital and creative hub was powered by Circular 331 of Lebanon's Central Bank in 2013 aiming to support startup businesses and knowledge economy.

BDL's policies to support the private sector go back to the year of 1996, where then it was specific to financial sector. A basic decision numbered #6116 was issued on March 7, 1996 regarding "Facilities that may be granted by Banque du Liban to Banks and Financial Institutions" ") (Intermediate Circular No 331 addressed to Banks and Financial Institutions, 2013). Following this decision, consecutive packages of subsidized loans for the private sector were issued in the last decade and which were put in place amending of decision no 6116. (Caluor, 2017)

Regarding the tech industry, BDL issued Circular 331 with the dual aim of "retaining local talent and attracting the expatriates to setup business in the country". A fund of \$400 million USD was provided to develop the technological and digital sector and encourage the incorporation of Lebanese companies. According to the Circular, BDL guarantees 75% of the equity investments carried by Lebanese bank in startups, incubators,

accelerators, and Venture Capital firms (“VCs”) (Intermediate Circular No 331 addressed to Banks and Financial Institutions, 2013)¹⁵. In line with the first measure, in 2016, BDL increased the margin of funds that banks could dedicate to the financing of this sector, by authorizing them to invest, with BDL’s guarantee, up to 4% of their own funds, compared to 3% previously (Caluor, 2017). By these actions, BDL by 2018 had invested 800 million dollars in the knowledge economy and startups (Babin, 2018).

a. BDL objective in line with the recent ‘city-scale’ vision of Beirut: What does BDL aim for in funding ‘knowledge economy’ and ‘start-up ecosystem’ and mainly ‘technological and digital sector’?

The fact that BDD receives facilities and incentives from the Central Bank and the Ministry of Telecommunication is justified by the fact that BDD fulfills the vision of Beirut City as a potential anchor on the global map and brands itself as a ‘creative/smart city’.

¹⁵ Intermediate Circular no 331- Intermediate Decision No 11512

Article 1: “Article 8 bis” shall be added to Basic Decision No 6116 of March 7, 1996, and shall read as follows:

-“For the purposes of the implementation of this Article, the Company or Companies shall mean:

1- The Startup companies.

2- The Incubators and Accelerators whose objects are restricted to supporting the development, success and growth of Startup companies in Lebanon by offering such companies administrative support, networking, mentoring, training, and know-how, in addition to a range of support resources and services (offices, logistics...) and/or by participating in such companies.3- Companies whose objects are restricted to investing venture capital in Startup companies in Lebanon where they foresee in them and through them a possibility of growth and profit-making, especially upon the transfer of their participation in such companies.

- Banks may benefit from interest-free facilities granted for a maximum period of seven years for their participation, at their full responsibility, in the capital of Companies, according to the following: [...]

2- The approval of the BDL Central Council on the facilities granted under this Article is contingent on the impact of the Company’s project on economic and social growth, and job creation in the Lebanese market thereby enriching the Lebanese national wealth. This approval is also contingent on the project’s reliance on knowledge economy and support of creative intellectual skills (Intellectual Capital).

BDD is the first district of its kind in Lebanon, a neighborhood labelled as an ‘innovation district’ with a stated vision that compares the district to the most successful innovation districts of the globe such as Silicon Valley.

This financial support to the knowledge economy and startup businesses is part of a national strategy envisioned for the development of the knowledge economy in the country.

In October 20th, 2017, the Council of Ministers commissioned the private consulting company McKinsey to articulate a vision for Lebanon’s economy. Under the title ‘Lebanon’s Economic Vision, and ways to achieve’, the vision aimed to help develop Lebanon’s GDP and create jobs through selecting productive sectors that could become competitive. It locates the role of the government as incentivizing this growth.¹⁶ On January 20, 2018, the cabinet received the global consulting firm McKinsey & Company’s NEP full report (McKinsey, 2018).

In the report, five sectoral engines for Lebanon’s economic growth are defined constituting the knowledge economy is one of these engines¹⁷. Titled “Knowledge and Creative Economy: The Silicon Valley of the Middle East” with the aspiration “To become a knowledge-driven digital nation, at the forefront of innovation, acting as a talent hub for technology, outsourcing, creative industries and education” (Ibid, 2018). The objectives of the vision according to McKinsey are to leverage technology to grow productivity in the priority sectors, becoming an innovation-driven economy, position Lebanon as a leading

¹⁶ The Council of Ministers decree 2017 /13669

¹⁷ Economic growth engines: Agriculture, industry, knowledge economy, financial services and diaspora.

regional rural cities destination for “high-value add” outsourcing services and a global hub for research & analytics, become a regional creative hub, including multimedia, productive content development and attract regional students across the board of education majors.

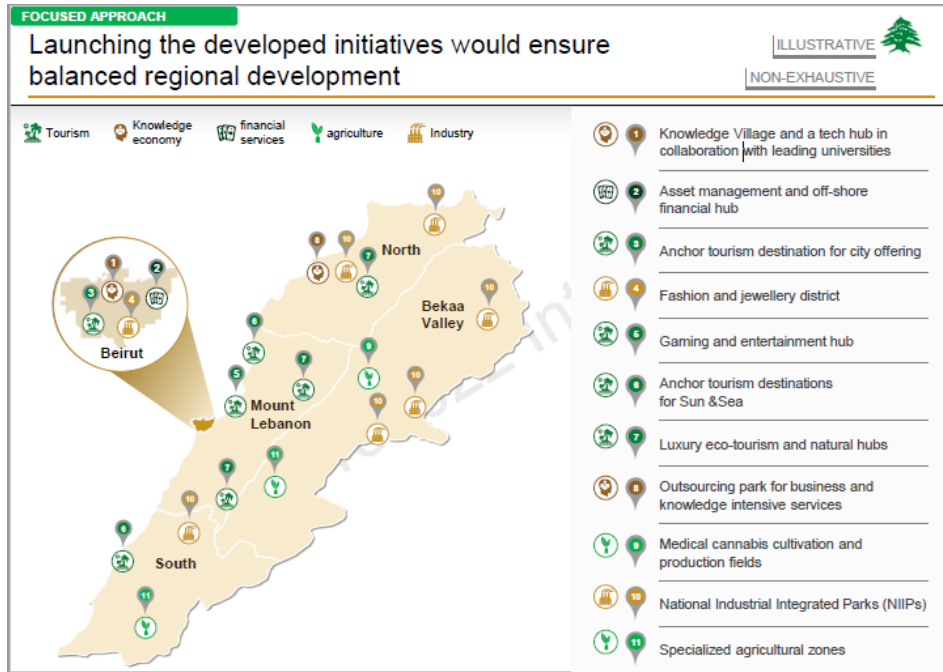


Figure 12 Knowledge economy potential hubs in Lebanon mapped along with the other four sectors. Source: McKinsey Report 2018. p.113

Based on a preliminary assessment, the report advises developing physical clusters in Greater Beirut and Tripoli. The hub would be anchored around these two physical clusters and scattered virtual corridors. The Tripoli Outsourcing Park would host business and knowledge intensive outsourcing services, while the so-called ‘Beirut Knowledge Village’ would include digital, creative, education, and financial districts in partnership with leading institutions. (McKinsey, 2018)

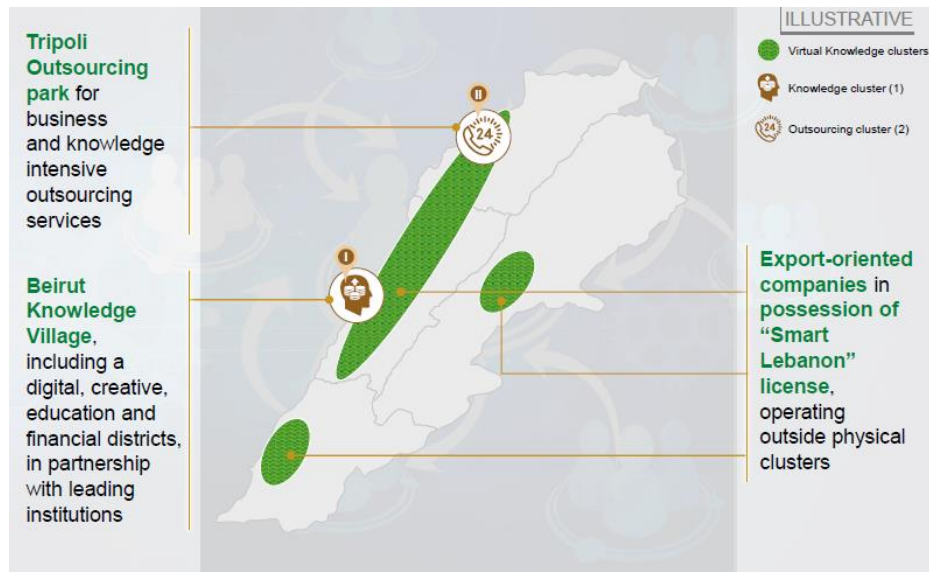


Figure 13 Lebanon Innovation. Source: McKinsey Report p.1250

The report advises the building of a flagship project that symbolizes the vision:

‘Smart Lebanon Knowledge Hub’ (McKinsey, 2018, p. 131)

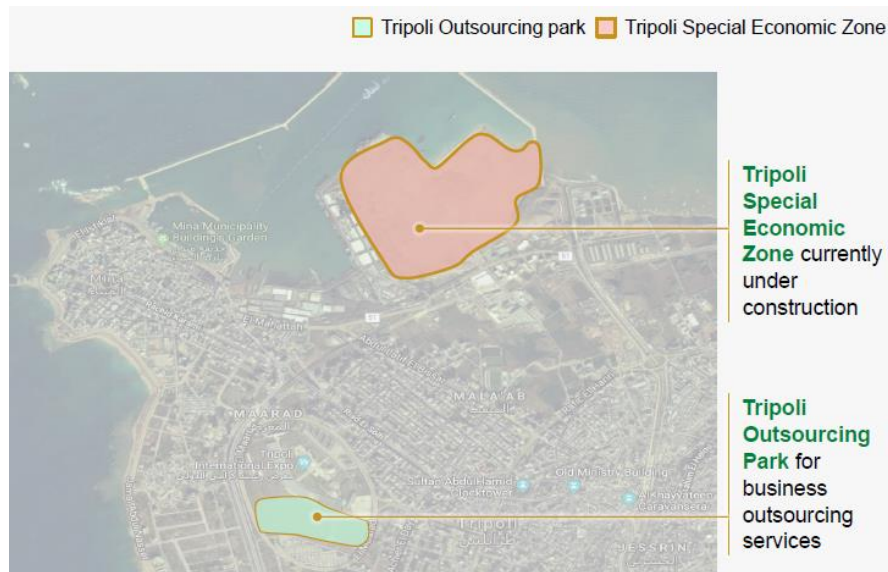


Figure 14 “The Tripoli Outsourcing Park could be established as a remote extension of the SEZ currently under development” Source: McKinsey report 2018, p.1252

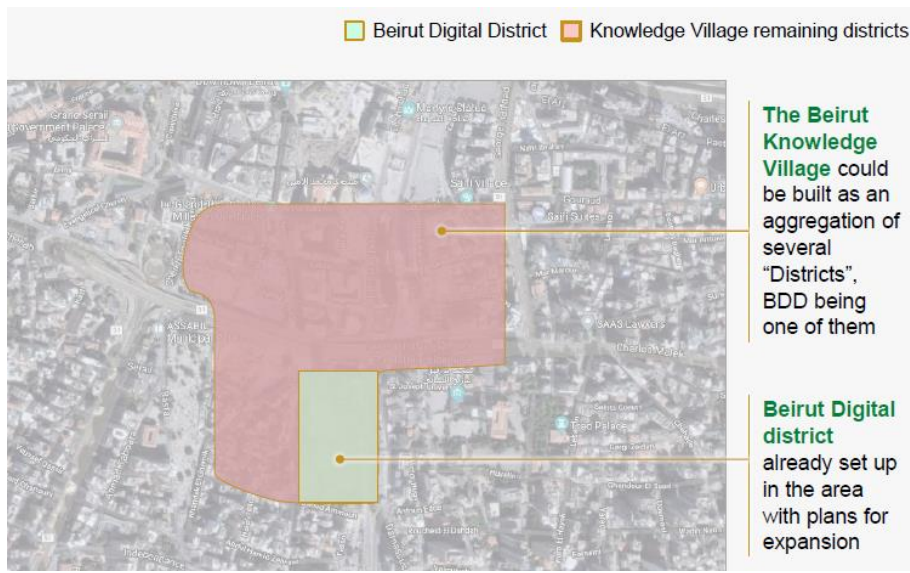


Figure 15 “The Beirut Knowledge Village could be designed as a collection of districts, with Beirut Digital District being one of them” Source: McKinsey report 2018, p.1251

A cluster concept is also provided (fig. 16).

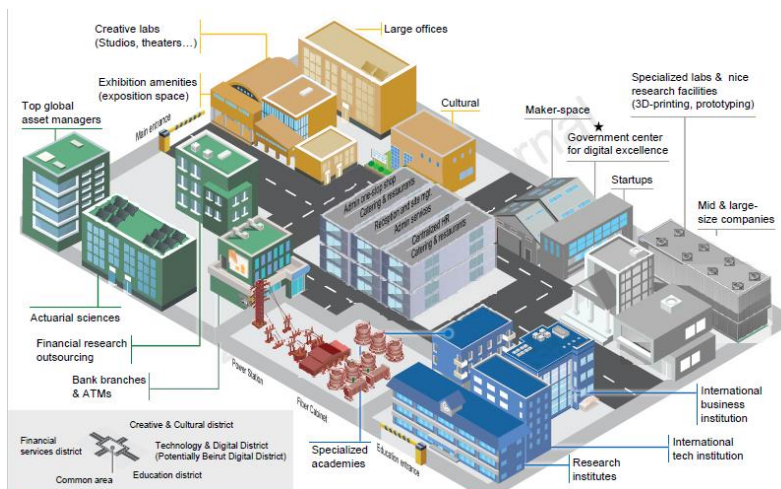


Figure 16 cluster concept of knowledge village provided in McKinset report

The vision of public agencies for Beirut represents what Molotch (1999) describes as “The creative district can be seen as an expression of the political and economic élites trying to attract global capital to their city’s commodified resources in an effort to fuel the

urban ‘growth machine’ (Molotch, 1999).¹⁸ The resource in this case is what Richard Florida (2002, 2005) has called the ‘creative class’, whose contribution will help the city in its “race for global competitiveness.” (Larsen & Hansen,2008).

One can almost read that same jingle in the BDL’s statement in Circular 331:

“In August 2013, Lebanon’s Central Bank, Banque du Liban (BDL), issued Intermediate Circular 331 which aims to inject US 400\$ million into the development of Lebanon’s knowledge economy and providing critical funding to the country’s promising startup ecosystem. Initiatives like Intermediate Circular 331 reflect the belief that Lebanon has the potential to produce ideas and transform them into successful businesses, scaling up the whole economy and decreasing unemployment. Intermediate Circular 331 is an opportunity to boost Lebanon’s knowledge economy sector and support human capital and has the potential to save the country from economic stagnation. Lebanon is an ideal candidate for a knowledge economy, which is an economy typically directed at the production, distribution and use of knowledge and information. By making funding accessible, BDL C331 aims to both retain local tenant and to attract expatriate talent to setup shop in Lebanon. The funds will be primarily deployed to develop a technological and digital sector in the country.’”

Marianne Houayek, Introduction of Banque Du Liban Accelerate Conference, 2015.¹⁹

¹⁸ W At the global level, within the neoliberal urban scenario, local governments have had to find their way in order to insert themselves in the systemic logics. In this sense, local authorities ensure that cities take the “road to success”. The adoption of urban policies within this logic corresponds to what Harvey and Smith [17] have termed as the entrepreneurial turn. This consists in the realignment of the governance practices by which local governments adopt regulations that facilitate surplus extraction. Most of European and North American cities have adopted the entrepreneurial turn (Miro, Producing a “Successful City”: Neoliberal Urbanism and Gentrification in the Tourist City—The Case of Palma (Majorca), 2011).

¹⁹ Marianne Houayek, 2015. “Lebanon's Startup Ecosystem Roadmap: Challenges, Opportunities and International Best Practices”. Introduction. p.8. Banque Du Liban Accelerate. 2015. Retrieved from: xxx

2. Ministry of Economy and Trade (SMES)

Since the early 2000's, multiple public and private initiatives were made for supporting the launch and growth of entrepreneurs and SMEs. Incubators that offer training to entrepreneurs and SMEs as Berytech, SouthBIC, BIAT, etc., Mentoring, coaching and networking organizations (e.g., BADER, Endeavor, LFE, etc.), universities with dedicated family business and entrepreneurship centers that help foster capabilities and promote culture and provide courses (e.g., AUB, BAU, LAU), and Online Support Platforms (e.g., Entrepreneurs Lebanon, BLC's Lebanon SME Toolkit, Alice) (Zeina El-Khoury ; MoET, 2014). This was followed by capital support for SME funding, including the 2013 BDL 331 circular for equity financing and other initiatives²⁰. This was coupled with initiatives that improve the legal and regulatory frameworks for these businesses²¹.

According to the vision of the ministry of economy and trade, a key support was also needed at the level of infrastructure and enablers for SMEs. Accordingly, in an effort to concentrate the improvement efforts of SMEs, the government and private sector established several economic zones in the aim of supporting infrastructure and enablers of startups. Beirut Digital District with state-of-the-art telecommunication and internet

²⁰ Subsidized Loans by the government, Reserves Exemptions by BDL, Credit Guarantees (Kafalat, ESFD), Crowdfunding, ISME World Bank project, Private sector funds and Microfinance Institutions

²¹ A number of initiatives have been launched to improve the legal and regulatory frameworks for businesses. (some laws are waiting for parliament approval): Improving Business Environment in Lebanon IBEL was launched in 2010 by PCM to address investment climate needs and evaluate Lebanon's performance against international indicators, Updates to several laws critical to SMEs (e.g., code of commerce, competition law, intellectual property rights), Private sector mediation initiatives have been launched (e.g., USJ, Bank BEMO), some tax incentives are available to SMEs pending certain conditions (e.g., geographical base, listing on BSE, draft law on 50% tax reduction on profits of industrial exports of Lebanese origin)

connectivity was one of these efforts. Similar projects were planned by ALI (Association of the Lebanese Industrialists) and waiting for launching; four Private Industrial Parks in Shakadif, Tebna, Dmoul and Terbol.

Moreover, MoET launched the Internationalization Support initiative to subsidize participation of Lebanese firms in relevant international and regional fairs. It also launched Qualeb project with EU to improve quality standards by supporting enterprises, public and private through provision of trainings and workshops on quality standards and certification and introducing legislative changes.

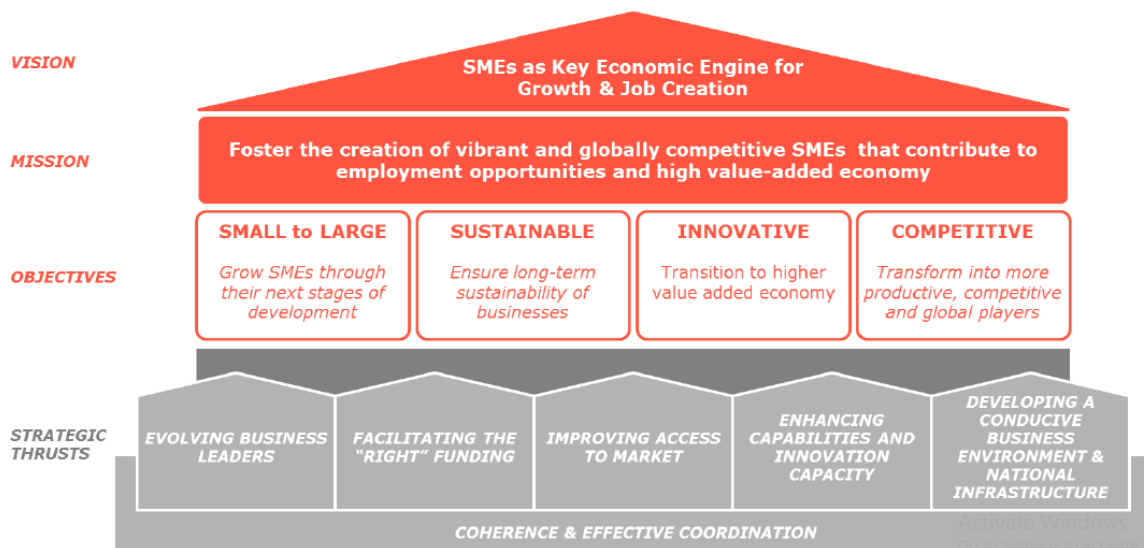


Figure 17 SME National Strategy Framework. Source: MoET 2014, p.23

3. Ministry of Telecommunication

The importance of the BDD project from the perspective of the ministry of telecommunication comes within this ‘economic growth’ vision for the country. From the speech of the Minister of Telecommunication then MP Nicolas Sehnaoui in the launch of BDD one can understand the great value public actors perceive of the ‘knowledge and

digital economy. Believing that BDD provides the infrastructure for this sector, Sehnoui argued:

“This project will bring a lot to the area and to the country. This is Lebanon’s last chance to sell something to the world, to have a story. With heavy industry and agriculture near impossible, what we can offer is uniquely creative people, designers. We want the local talent to stay based here. Our digital economy is strong. We have only lacked infrastructure, and we are getting there now.”

MoT Nicolas Sehnaoui, 2012

With this being said, MoT took the initiative to facilitate the success of BDD by providing it with broadband internet and telephone infrastructure at preferential rates. By that, it also encouraged real estate developers, business incubators, and educational institutions to collaborate on developing cohesive areas where ICT and media companies and digital businesses can cluster together.

Senior advisor to the minister, Karim Kobeissi, the lawyer of BDD, explained that:

“The government licensed the district as a digital zone and provides incentives and infrastructure at discounted rates. The goal is to curb the loss through emigration of innovative and entrepreneurial minds by providing the infrastructure needed to make a Lebanon a base for digital industry, creating business opportunities. This in turn is expected to encourage large international companies to set up shop here and to tempt expatriates’ home. The plot in Bachoura is being developed as the pilot project, involving an agreement between ZRE real estate developers and Berytech.”

Me Kobeissi, Interview with *Al-Akhbar*, 2012

Conclusion

BDD have a vision that targets an educated, upward mobile class and encourages a creative economy. While it may indeed be useful for this class, in the case of the BDD, the development is physically overlapping with nearby local communities and there is very little done to recognize the harm/ mitigate/ support, or integrate these communities.

CHAPTER IV

DYNAMICS OF CHANGE: HISTORICAL & RECENT TRANSFORMATIONS OF BACHOURA

A CHRONOLOGICAL STUDY OF PHYSICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS

This chapter narrates the urban transformations of Bachoura since its early development outside the city proper in 1860. Bachoura occupies a unique position within Beirut's urban fabric. It is one of the city's first sites of urban expansion, and as such, it has a direct relation to the city center. Bachoura's prime location, straddling Downtown and Damascus Road, has directed its fate since the Ottoman era: from being one of the first areas to emanate from the medieval walled city to transforming into a hub of intellectualism and publishing, to becoming a fault line during the Civil War, to its current status embodying steep real estate potential (Kullab, 2013). This is a history of steady decline and isolation, which shifts it from a bourgeois, mixed neighborhood²² where richer Beirutis aspired to move, irrespective of their religious belonging, to its current form as a working-class, impoverished area housing many war-displaced families and largely dominated by the two Shia political parties.

The chapter is divided into six sections reflecting the identified six phases of its historical development. For each phase, I look at the physical, social, economic, and cultural forces that affected the urban transformation. The chapter concludes with the key

²² Mainly dominated by Christians in the 19th century

characteristics that should be accounted for as we shift from reading history to the current moment.

A. Phase One (Pre-Independence; Ottoman and Mandate period; 1840s to 1920s): The Initial Formation of Bachoura

Since the Ottoman era, Bachoura's fate was formed around two major realities of its prime location: as the southern suburb of the *intra-mural* city, later described as peri-central district of the Beirut Central District (BCD), and as the western edge of Damascus road, which formed the demarcation line in the 1975 civil war. Together, these edges conditioned the processes of transformation of the district producing its current state dominated by transience, constant temporality of inhabitants and functions, urban decay, and the (recent) homogenous character of its neighborhood(s).

1. The initial growth: 1840-1920s: The formation of Bachoura as a suburb²³ in the Ottoman Period

a. Overview of Events influencing Ottoman Beirut

Being on the southern edge of the old town (see map 7), the Bachoura district's formation started with the first expansions of the city outside its walls, accompanied by the relocation of its bourgeois population to its neighboring areas and the rural exodus from the

²³ The first planning practices in Beirut were identified by the colonial planning. This colonial planning model consisted of two periods. The first is the 1830s – 1910s, which was the period of late-Ottoman rule in Lebanon (Saliba, 2000). Saliba states that the Ottomans were responsible for much of Beirut's early modernization which he describes as an effort of "secondhand modernization." During Ottoman rule, planning models were mostly Western ones that were first applied to İstanbul and then to the different provincial capitals of the Ottoman state (Ibid).

Mountain. By the beginnings of the 1840s, the city of Beirut was still surrounded by its fortifications. The land use outside the old city walls was agricultural. Bachoura was largely a mixture of mulberry plantation trees and agricultural land use (see 1841 map). In 1840, Ibrahim pasha stormed Beirut demolishing its walls and permitted the construction of housing outside of them (Yasmine & Hammoud, 2014). This happened following the declaration of Beirut as an administrative center, where it replaced Acre as the official seat of the Vilayet of Sidon in 1842 (Kassir, 2003, p. 111). Hence, the population started to increase, mainly Christian merchants and peasants coming from the Mountain²⁴ (Fawaz, 1983).

The major transformation of the city began in the mid-nineteenth century. After its subjection to the Ottoman Tanzimat in the second half of the 19th century, and as the city's population rose rapidly, Beirut expanded outside its surrounding walls essentially due to the permeation of several influences, mainly European, that significantly changed its urban fabric (Kassir, 2003)²⁵.

²⁴ The establishment of Beirut as the capital of vilayet Sidon in 1832 during the Egyptian occupation of Syria attracted consular representatives and foreign traders to the city. It was between 1840 and 1860 that Beirut underwent the most important changes that constituted the major changes in its history. This occurred in Be. Then a center, the population of the city increased mainly by the migrations from the interior regions Maronites migrated from the mixed Druze districts in Mount Lebanon and the Greek Orthodox from Damascus and Aleppo after the upheavals in 1860. By the migrations, Beirut's population rose from 10,000 to 100,000 in a very short period, between 1840 and 1880.

²⁵ The populated city expanded 15 times in less than a quarter a century - between 1841 and 1876 - the expansion rate then increased after this date (Kassir, 2003).



Map 7 Bachoura in 1841 Beirut (overlapped on 1876 map surroundings). Source: Israa Darwish, 2020, based on map from: Research Gate. Santiyah Garden (After Plan of the Town and Defences of Beyrut and its vicinity (1841). Syria/Fortified Towns & Forts, The National Archives of the UK, ref. WO 78/1000/31)

The increase of the city’s population was the result of the rural exodus driven by inner region insecurity and economic transformations. The political power and stability of Beirut made it an asylum after the 1860 massacres in Mount Lebanon (Fawaz, 1983). Many of the refugees settled in the city permanently. Throughout the nineteenth century, immigration to the city was a continuous phenomenon, but the demographics of these

people changed according to the political situation. The religion was a common issue in the case of migrants. Christians were the majority since they needed more protection than Muslims did. So there were more Christians than Muslims who sought refuge in Beirut, and this changed the balance of the religious communities in the city in the nineteenth century (Öztürk, 2006). Beirut's role as a refuge survived until the twentieth century²⁶ (Fawaz, 1983).

In addition to security, the city's economy produced opportunities for newcomers who also and the city benefited from their presence. The expansion of Beirut's commerce, the establishment of foreign consulates and trading firms, and the new local merchant and money lending houses diversified the class of wealthy people by the end of the nineteenth century. A certain category of traders, most of them Christians, became European trade agents, and benefited from the concentration of Western interests. An important local commercial bourgeoisie mainly composed of Syrian Christians (native Christians) rose and identified more and more to western cultural values (Öztürk, 2006). These Christians were both from Beirut and also the migrants of the interior regions of the country (who migrated to Beirut due to the collapse of the silk industry that was the major source of income for the mountain villages (interior region)). The local merchants played an important role in the economic development of Beirut. Fawaz (1983) mentions these local entrepreneurs²⁷ as

²⁶ Syrian residents in Egypt and Armenians in 1882 and 1900 respectively fled into the city (Fawaz 1983, 42-43).

²⁷ "These migrants were generally prosperous traders and skilled artisans that they took the advantages given before to become the commercial bourgeoisie of the city" (Fawaz 1983, 52-60).

agents of change in the city. The rich refugees who fled from Mount Lebanon or the interior regions of Syria brought their money and experience with them to Beirut. They constituted a new merchant class, and in the following decades of the nineteenth century, that class accumulated more money and political power and “began to display its wealth with their clothing, housing, customs, and education” (Fawaz, 1983, p. 123).

b. Implications on the formation of Bachoura’s Urban Fabric

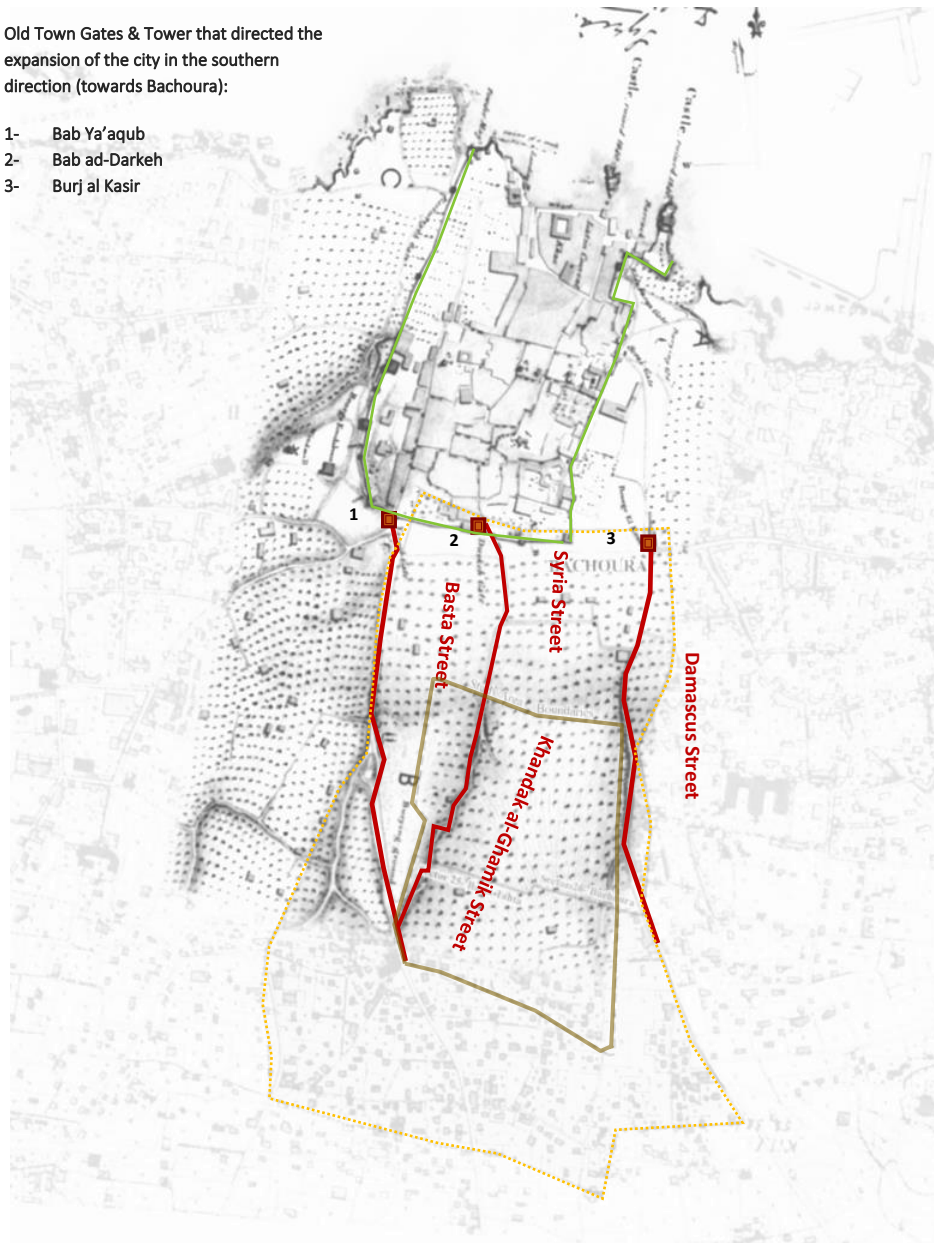
The expansion of Beirut outside of its walls began in 1860. The 1841 routes from the city center’s gates to its environs became “the major axis of urban growth in the second half of the nineteenth century (Öztürk, 2006, p. 91) (see map 8).

This coincided with the new construction laws in the wake of Tanzimat Reforms²⁸ (1839-1876) that expanded to the whole Ottoman lands including Beirut. These laws included the 1858 Land Code which introduced the “concept of ‘ownership’” (Selman, 1982, p. 32). According to (Tekeli, 1985), this new law allowed the city to expand to what was once land solely used for agricultural purposes. Moreover, this was complemented by the İstimlak Law of 1878 which “stimulated the private ownership that accepted the existence of private ownership and stated the rules accordingly” (Selman, 1982, p. 32). The Tanzimat laws gave rise to a new class of property owners which affected the Urban Form (Ibid).

²⁸ ‘Tanzimat Reforms’ are a collective of laws prepared and declared between the years 1839 and 1876. While the first laws were specific to Istanbul city, the series of statutes stated from 1858 onward were for all the Ottoman Empire land including Beirut. The reforms aimed to “strengthen the Ottoman imperial administration in the whole country.” (Öztürk, 2006)

Old Town Gates & Tower that directed the expansion of the city in the southern direction (towards Bachoura):

- 1- Bab Ya'aqub
- 2- Bab ad-Darkeh
- 3- Burj al Kasir



Map 8 The 1841 map of Beirut (overlapped on 1876 map surroundings) showing the main roads passing through Bachoura, extending from the southern gates of the Old Town. Source: Israa Darwish, 2020, based on a base map of Beirut 1841 from: Research Gate. Santiyah Garden (After Plan of the Town and Defences of Beyrut and its vicinity (1841). Syria/Fortified Towns & Fords, The National Archives of the UK, ref. WO 78/1000/31)

The physical expansion beyond the walls allowed new wide street typologies rather than “narrow cul-de-sacs” (Tekeli, 1985, p. 882) which characterized the old core.

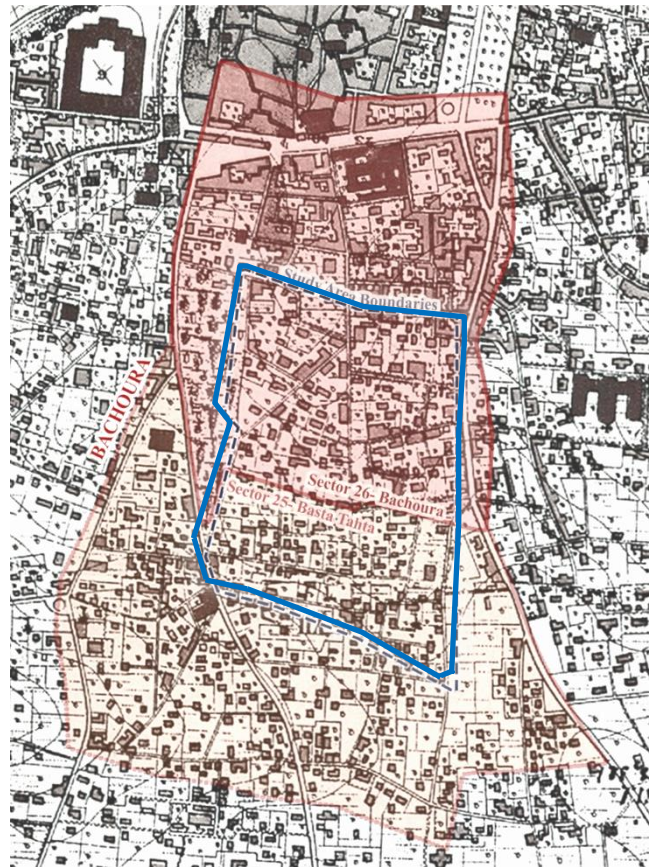
Complementing these laws Another factor influencing the *extra muro* was the development of new modes of transport, namely the horse-drawn cars. According to (Aktüre, 1985), the narrow streets of the old core prevented the use of these cars, so moving to “new settlement areas with wider streets” (p. 899) became more favorable. Soon, the suburbs became populated with houses that included fine furnishing and gardens (see map 9). (Khalaf & Kongstad, 1973) contend that the orientation of these wider streets was set “alongside the walled gardens, agricultural plots, and alleys lined with cactus hedges” (p. 133-135).

i. The role of the city’s bourgeoisie in the formation of Bachoura

The city’s bourgeoisie played a significant role in the urban development and management of the city mainly by relocating its residences to peri-central areas like Bachoura, Zokak El-Blat, Minet El-Hosn, and Rmeil (Chedid, Krijnen, Marot, Moussawi, & Adjizian, 2012). The urban elite, essentially composed of Sunni and Christian populations²⁹ took possession of the available urban land on the exterior of the old city wall, in the surrounding hills, and built large residences reflecting the newly acquired wealth. In the new residential zones, communal spaces were not well defined, but the mosques, churches, or schools showed an increase in either one of the groups (Öztürk, 2006, p. 73)

²⁹ The number of dwellings outside the city walls was not large by the 1840s but the number increased so much by the 1860s that about two-thirds of the population started to live in the newly built suburbs (Fawaz, 1983, pp. 32-34)

Between 1841 and 1876 (maps 7 & 9), the Bachoura quarter, which lay on the southern tip of Beirut's core, began to rapidly develop from an agricultural area to a residential suburb. (Yasmine & Hammoud, 2014) describe the growth in that period as vertical and horizontal. They point to the fact that additional floors were added vertically to single story buildings as well as horizontally by adding rooms to ground floors during this period and early 1900s. In the 1841 map of Beirut (see map 8), the area that is now known as Bachoura only had three main roads, ten sparsely



Map 9 Bachoura and the study area in 1876 Beirut.
Source: Beirut's Loytved map of 1876 with boundaries of Bachoura and Study area added by author

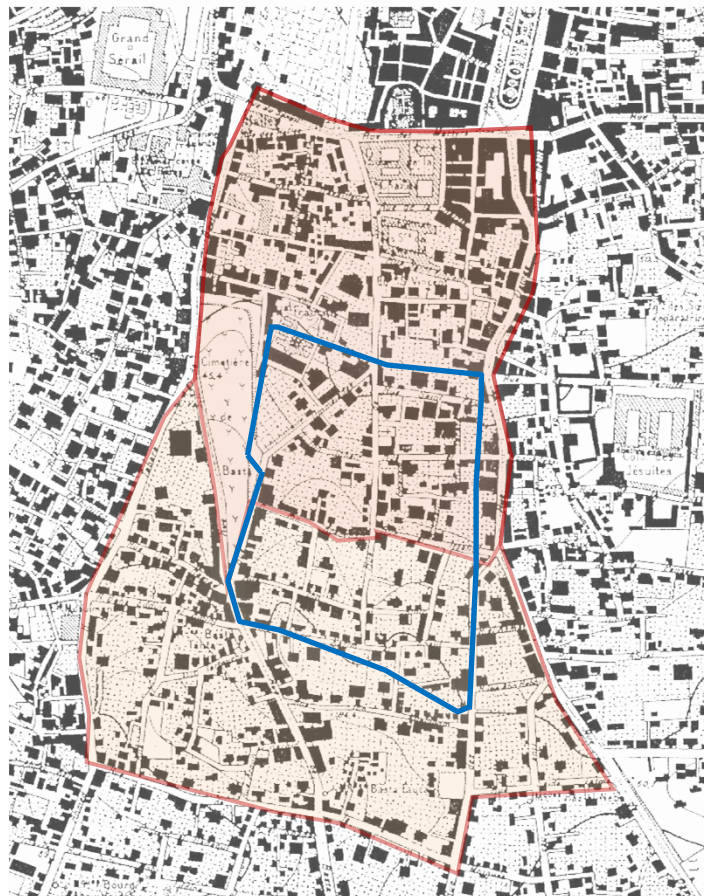
placed houses and Mulberry plantations. In contrast, the 1876 map shows block divisions as well as lots with medium and small sizes with the predominant building typology being house with garden with widened versions of Syria street, Damascus road, and Basta street. The map also indicates that the Northern edge of Bachoura had higher density with larger building footprints indicating they were institutional buildings (e.g., administrative and religious) being close to the center. In the same map, Bachoura appears to be denser compared to other suburbs and most integrated with the core despite the presence of the wall.

ii. The formation of the Old Christian neighborhood

“The Syriac Catholics had built this part of the neighborhood. They had migrated, fled sometimes, to Beirut since 1810 and had come to constitute a critical mass roughly by the second half of that century. To consecrate and sustain their presence they built the St. George church in one of the main streets of Khandak, which was finished in 1883. In 1900, the bifurcating street (‘Syriān street’) became the seat of the Patriarchate.” (Boekelo, 2016)

2. From a Suburb to an Important Peri-central District(1920s-1940s): The French Mandate and Independence Period

Under the successive Ottoman and French Mandate regimes, the expansion of the city center to the neighboring districts was accentuated (Chedid, Krijnen, Marot, Moussawi, & Adjizian, 2012). By that time, Bachoura developed from a suburb between the end of the 19th century and 1920 (compare maps 9 & 10) to an important peri-central district in the 1940s. The growth of the district is manifested through changes in its urban fabric and



Map 10 Bachoura and Study area in 1920. Source: IFPO, with overlapped graphics by author

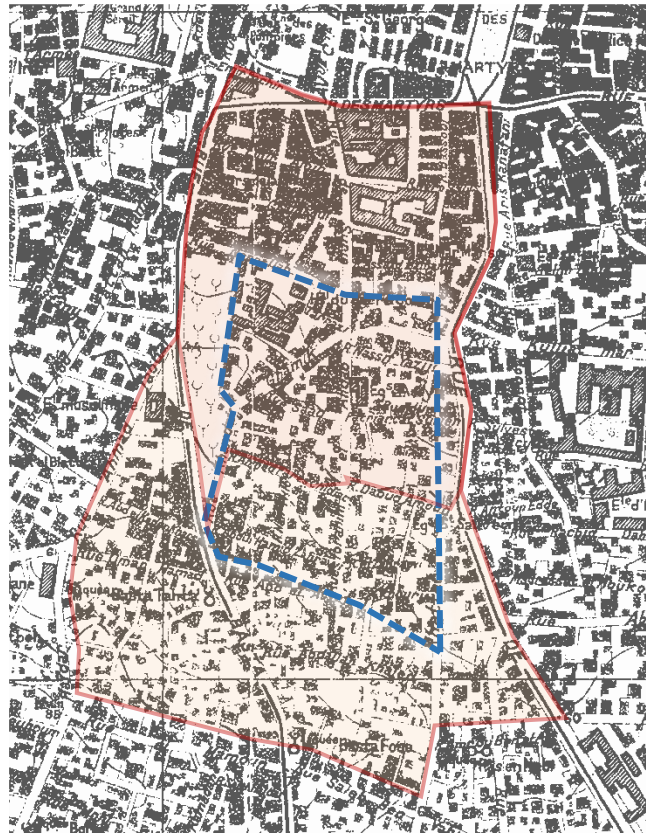
population driven by multiple physical, social, economic, and political factors that governed Beirut city and the world.

Beirut city witnessed a major transformation with the turn of the century. Many of the old functions, especially economic, that influenced the city's patterns of development in the third quarter of the 19th century, were damaged due to the changes in the world economy. In response to these changes, Beirut tried to find new functions to replace the destroyed ones, mainly focusing on the construction sector and different port-activities. This functional change required a change in the city's infrastructure. Building new infrastructure and upgrading the old one became an area of profitable investment for both foreign and local actors in the city (Öztürk, 2006, p. 62). This new infrastructure was informed by the Beaux-Arts and Haussmanian models consisting of wide boulevards, models that were imposed by the French planners³⁰ (Saliba, 2000).

³⁰ This was the case in the 1920s-1930s period, which is the French Mandate period (Saliba, 2000). Saliba refers to this period as the second colonial planning period in Lebanon.

a. Physical formations: Urban Form and Connectivity

In the period between 1920 and 1940 Bachoura's position as a peri-central district emerged and became an integral part of the city center. In the maps of this period (maps 10 & 11), we can see the large administrative buildings of the center in the northern part of the district, spread around Syria Street, the extension of the now-known Tayan Street of Bachoura that extended to the heart of the old town.



Map 11 Bachoura and the study area in 1941. Source

i. Changes in Block and Building Typologies

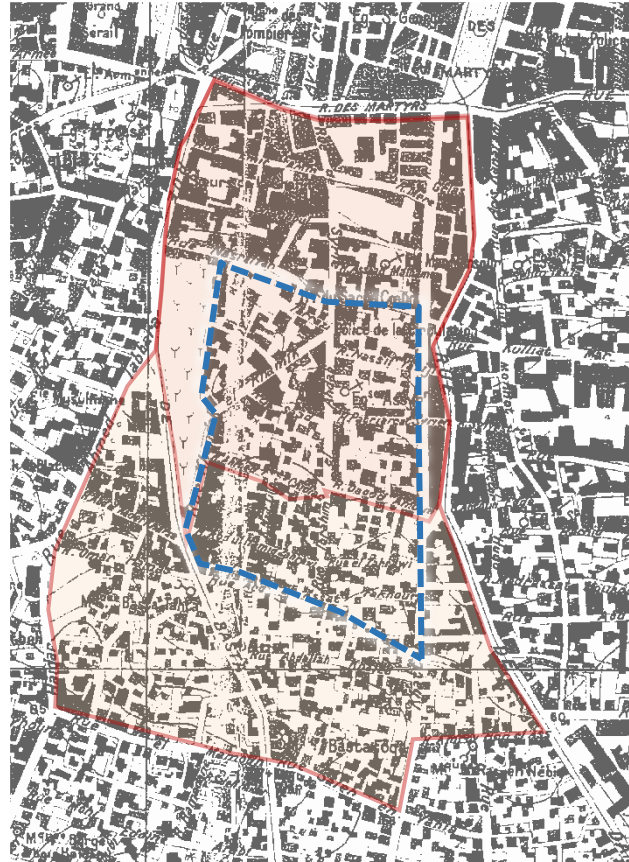
Looking at the maps (1876 to 1940s), we can see that the block typology of Bachoura evolved from a group of stand-alone houses within a land (1876 map), to residences of street alignments and empty core (1920 map), to dense urban blocks (1936 map and following maps). A main engine of this transformation was the individualization of the parcels in 1928, a factor that “encouraged land transactions and speculation in real estate” (Khalaf & Kongstad, 1973, p. 124).

The form and scale of the blocks remain almost unchanged since the initial formation of Bachoura in the 1860s to the 1940s period (and extending to the current time) despite the changes in the blocks' inner composition resulting from densification and parcelization processes. The persistence of the block is a result of the unchanged road network and the presence of the cemetery that anchored Bachoura neighborhoods. A comparison of 1876, 1920, and 1940 shows the persistence of the blocks in the core of Bachoura quarter, the area that represents the historical core of the district (mainly the triangular block bounded by Khandak al Ghamik and Syria/Tayan streets.)

The residential buildings that characterized the 'new settlement areas', like Bachoura, in this period can be divided into three types; "the upper-class mansions, the flat-roofed farmhouses surrounded by gardens, and the cubic stone structures with red-tiled roofs" (Saliba, *The Genesis of Modern Architecture in Beirut*, 2004, pp. 23-30) While these farmhouses and villas continued to be the 'dominant structures' (Khalaf & Kongstad, 1973, pp. 133-135) "middle class apartment houses with a ground floor of shops and rental apartments above the shops" emerged as a new residential type of in Bachoura, one of the highly dense central districts of the city (Saliba, *The Genesis of Modern Architecture in Beirut*, 2004, pp. 23-30)

ii. Road Network transformations: New roads with primary roles

The road network emphasized Bachoura's connectivity with its surroundings. It drew the path for a continuous urban fabric and socio-economic relations with its surrounding neighborhoods and the city center. Three roads were formed in this period and played a major role in the socio-economic and physical formation of the district, two of whose impact was accentuated by the tramway passing through them. These roads are Beirut- Damascus road on the eastern boundary of the quarter, Basta street on its western edge, and most importantly Syria street (now known as Tayan street) extending from the city center to the heart of Bachoura.



Map 12 Bachoura and the study area in 1957

- Beirut-Damascus road: The eastern edge of Bachoura

In January 1859, under the Ottoman rule, Beirut-Damascus Road's construction began at the aim of linking Beirut's coast to Damascus. This came with the huge boom in trade and Beirut becoming a port for Damascus (Kassir, 2003, p. 116) and (Fawaz, 1983, p. 122). The idea of building this road goes back to the period of the Egyptian rule where it was intended to be a military transport route between the two cities (Kassir, 2003, p. 116).

- Syria street (now known as Tayan street): the heart of Bachoura

Syria street used to connect Bachoura to the city's commercial center buzzing with souks. In this period, Bachoura was a natural extension of the city center, with residents from the neighborhood driving their carts to and from the city marketplaces along this busy main road. (Saksouk & Bekdache, 2014)

- Basta Street: the western edge of Bachoura

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Basta Street was constructed.

- The tramway system passing Bachoura

In 1906, the construction of an electric tramway system for Beirut was commenced by the Ottoman Authorities³¹. This street tram became the “backbone of Beirut’s transport system in the early 1900s” (Gavin & Maluf, 1996, p. 121). Bachoura highly benefited from this system with two of the main lines that the tramway serviced covering it. The first route, beginning from the Government House, went through Damascus road that edges Bachoura from its east, and the second one came from the city wall directly to al-Bachoura quarter’s western edge through Basta Street (Kassab & Tadmori, 2002).

b. Social composition: Population growth and the Confessional Mix

Between the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the neighborhood had a heterogeneous confessional constitution. During this period, the religious makeup of Bachoura consisted of Maronites, Sunnis, Syriacs, Catholics, and Armenians. Most of the upper echelons of the area belonged to these sects, who were shop owners, officials, and

³¹ In 1906 an Imperial decree was issued for the creation of an Ottoman Joint Stock Company for establishing a tramway system in Beirut.” (Gavin & Maluf, 1996, p. 121)

commercial figures. Before the arrival of the migrants, there was a small population of the Shia living in the area. The Christian components of the area lived on the eastern side of Bachoura³², where BDD is located today, while the Sunnis and a minority of Shia (implanted there in years of 1940) co-existed in the south-western side of the area (around Khandak al Ghamik street and Basta³³) and were later joined by the rural Shia (Brones, 2010)³⁴. Through my interviews with the locals, I learned that the Beirut Shia helped facilitate this migration by renting apartments and leasing land to build on it such as the case of the Matar family, whose backyard, known as Hawsh Matar, became the site of a residential building (see image).

B. Phase Two (1940s-1960s): Socio-spatial transformations, Rural migrants' influx introducing new urban typologies and changing in the socio-political/sectarian and economic structure within the neighborhood

³² The area that became known later on as the Old Christian Neighborhood (2018, personal interviews). This area is illustrated in a map by Boekelo (2016) found in the previous chapter (The BDD)

³³ To the south and west of the cemetery and south of Saad and Daoud Amoun streets. The higher stability of the neighborhoods of Basta can be explained by this historical presence of permanent inhabitants of Muslims (Shia and Sunna), and who continued to live there and increased in their numbers now. This comes in an opposite scenario to the area historically inhabited by Christians, and that now is of high level of transience due to the disappearance of the original population, allowing for real estate transactions that BDD came as a result of (Brones, 2010).

³⁴ Today, some Sunni families remain owners of buildings rented to Shiites, the majority in Bachoura and in particular in the south of the district, from Saad Street to Independence Avenue, this one marking the border with the area of Basta Tahta which remains mainly inhabited by Sunnis. The Denomination of Bachoura is thus complexly organized into a series of historical pockets and strata where both communities manage a cramped territory, each claiming its autochthony (indigenous) and its demographic superiority (Brones, 2010)

1. Changes in the Social & Sectarian landscape of Bachoura:

Bachoura's demographics began to change after 1920 with the formation of Greater Lebanon, and rural migrants from the Bekaa and Jabal Amil began to move to Beirut for work opportunities (Chedid, Krijnen, Marot, Moussai, & Adjizian, 2012). Many choose Bachoura due to its proximity to the center of Beirut where most of the commercial jobs were located³⁵. Compared to other peri-central districts Bachoura had the most population growth (Yasmine & Hammoud, 2014). The social profile of the rural migrants, mainly Shias, was mainly unskilled working class, differed from the older mainly Christian inhabitants being more educated, and possessing more social clout (Boekelo, 2016).

a. The spatial manifestation: The formation of a new typology in Bachoura: the neo-Hawsh

The changing demographics were also manifested spatially by the 1950s with the typologies the migrants brought with them. Unlike the orchard villas found at the turn of

³⁵Robert J. Chaskin. 1997. Neighborhood Defined in "Perspectives on Neighborhood and Community: A Review of the Literature" pp. 525-526. The University of Chicago. "A prototypical example of the urban neighborhood as a natural area is the ethnic enclave, formed by the clustering of immigrants into local communities around particular kinds of available work. Immigrant workers congregated within walking distance of the industry in which they tended to specialize and were further propelled to establish their neighborhoods as communities based on ethnic solidarity and identification through the "social imperatives of their cultural systems." Existing networks of early immigrants embraced new arrivals from home and offered a sense of identity, security, and belonging. The arrival of different ethnic groups and the development of coexisting sets of networks along these lines within the same geographic area often created some initial conflict until a new balance was worked out. The urban landscape that emerged from this growth was composed of sets of homogeneous neighborhoods within a heterogeneous field, a "mosaic of little social worlds which touch but do not interpenetrate," in Robert Ezra Park's famous phrase. 19"

the century, the migrants' houses were built in-between the villa's backyards and the streets creating 'neo-Hawsh' typology (Zeidan, 2014).

In Khandak El-Ghamik, the Hawsh (fig. 18) is an inherited urban planning component; it is a semi-public space that collects a dense group of households who share the same low economic state and who recourse to this historical typology for its being. It is a good way to share a relatively small area and a way to keep the privacy of each household and at the same time offer a semi-public outdoor space. By the 1950s, a network of Hawsh was formed because there was a Hawsh in every block of Bachoura, connected together and to the main street by the alleys (map 13). The layout of the Hawsh was composed of single-room apartments arranged around shared spaces which were the main form of housing for the migrants

who worked in the city center. Each individual Hawsh was named after the Family of the original landowner or migrants depending on the case (H. Tarhini, personal communication, February 15,2015). Today not all Hawsh remain, as they were replaced by huge real estate developments, like the case of Baghdadi, Mabsout, and Kurdish Hawsh-s. The Hawsh-s

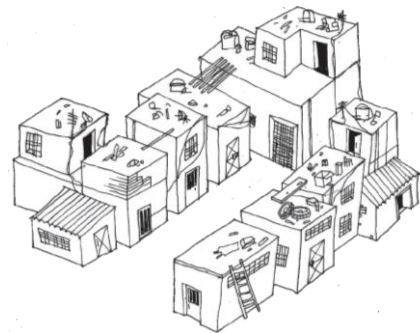
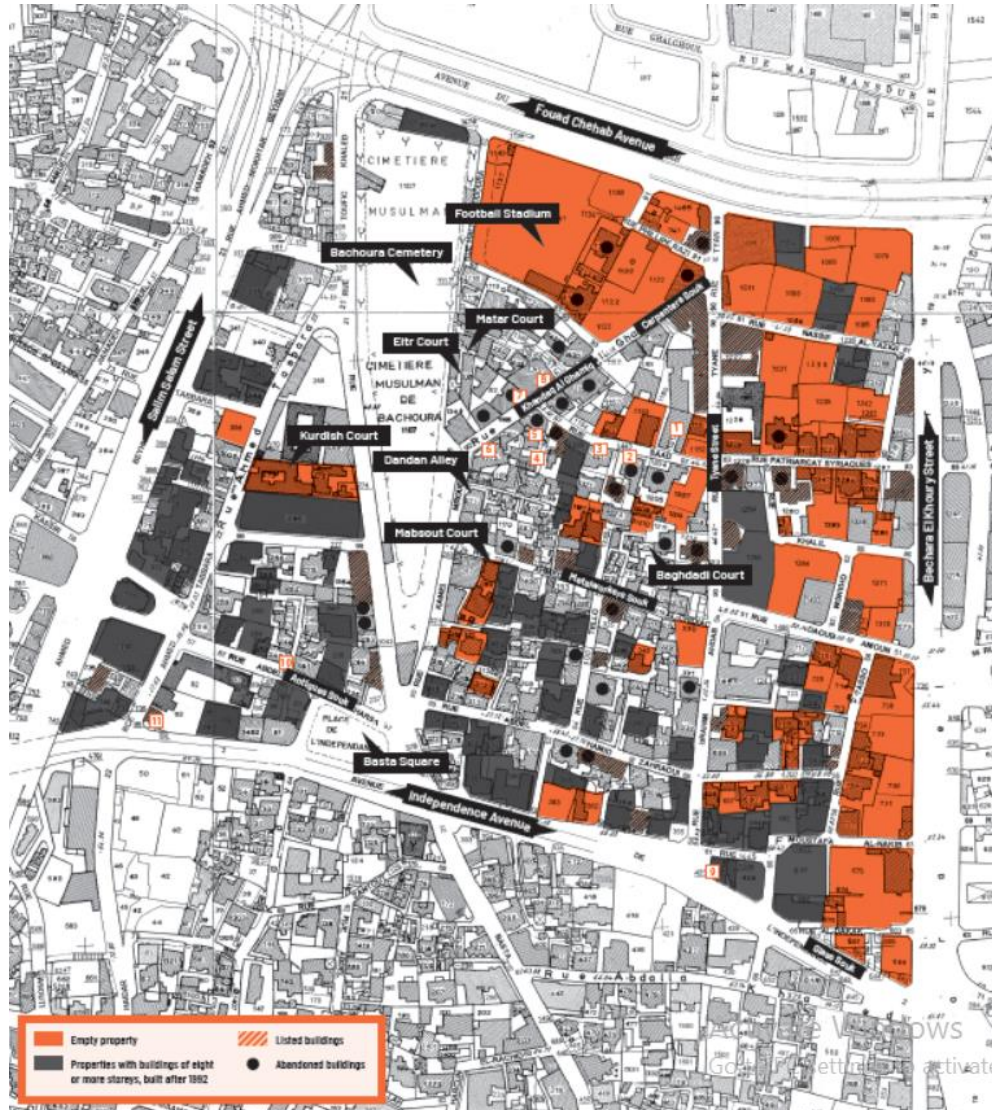


Figure 18 The Hawsh/ “Neo-Hawsh” Typology formed by the rural migrants in Bachoura. Source: (Saksouk & Bekdache, 2014)



Map 13 the Hawsh spaces spread in between buildings (in green) in the study area and the pathways leading to them from the streets (in yellow). Source: Author. 2019

that remain today include the Matar, Hanbali, and Eitr Hawsh-s(Saksouk & Bekdache, 2014).



Map 14 Hawsh names and locatons- public works 2014-2019

The composition of Bachoura would soon change again in favor of the Shia during the 1958 civil war. The war was sparked by the killing of Journalist Nassib Matni (pro-Nasser). Bachoura was ground zero as the first protests against the assassination took place there. These protests irked the many pro-Chamoun Christian residents of Bachoura which

caused some street battles resulting in the first demarcation of Bachoura with Syria street forming the border between Muslims and Christians of the Neighborhood (Brones, 2010). As a result of this many Christian residents temporarily moved to East Beirut for safety. However, after the end of the 1958 war, many began to feel that the character of the area had changed because of the increasing number of migrants and lower income residents (i.e., higher density) as well as the new typologies popping up (Brones, 2010).³⁶

C. A Transitional Phase (1950s): Municipal Master Plan and Zoning Law initiating the change in the urban form and politics of space

The Independence era that began in 1943 brought some key elements to understanding the different city-centered historical and political layers. This included growing emphasis of sectarian-based segregation, and the large-scale and state-led infrastructure projects which continued to the early 1960s under Fouad Chehab's tenure (Nasr & Verdeil, 2008 & Chedid et al., 2012). While the aim of these policies were focused

³⁶ More information on this can be found in the PHD thesis document: Boekelo, M. 2016. Of citizens and ordinary men: Political subjectivity and contestations of sectarianism in reconstruction-era Beirut.

on transforming Beirut into a business hub, the solutions they proposed were limited to adapting “the legal framework to real estate pressures and building some axes that surround the city.”³⁷ As a result, the Beirut Municipality developed a municipal master plan (1954) which included zoning regulations³⁸(Chedid et al., 2012) that increased the surface exploitation of buildings. Therefore, buildings evolved from free-standing structures in the middle of lots, to those that aligned with the streets, representing a more urban character. Additionally, a homogeneous urban tissue of streets, blocks, and parcellation patterns formed, directly connected to the city center.



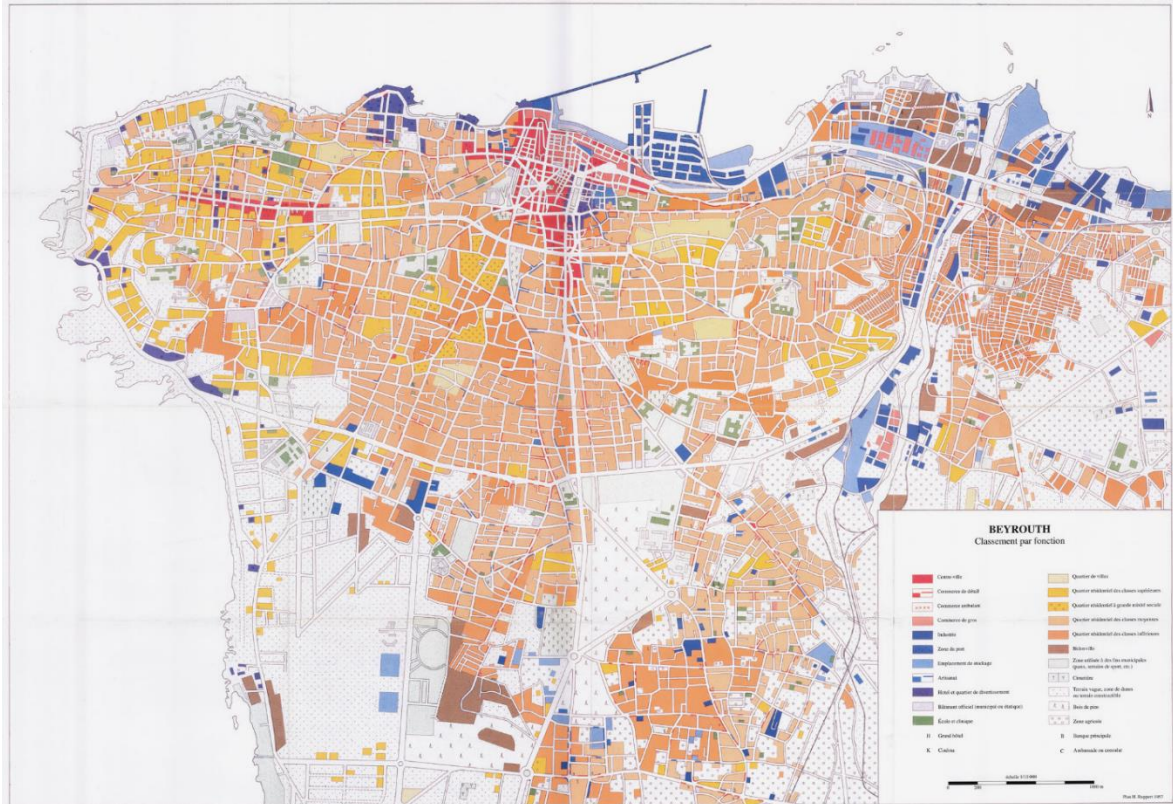
Map 15 a 1964 Cadastral map showing Bachoura and the study area

These changes in the urban form also created changes in the population of the neighborhood. For instance, during the 1960s, the bourgeois residents began moving from

³⁷ According to the plans adopted after the drafts by Ecochard and the Swiss planner Ernst Egli (Nasr & Verdeil, 2008)

³⁸ “This outdated zoning scheme is still ruling the current urban development in Beirut with the tragic consequences on the quality of the existing urban fabric, especially when the private sector kept progressively taking over the downtown development dynamics through the massive financial influx stemming from neighboring Gulf countries.” Nasr & Verdeil, 2008)

Bachoura to more up-and-coming neighborhoods such as Verdun and Raouche (Kullab, 2015). Furthermore, the overflow of commercial and administrative activity from Downtown began to overwhelm Bachoura making it more mixed-us



Map 16 Land use of Beirut in 1967. Source:

D. Phase Three (1960s): A Radical Irreversible Change due to Infrastructural Development

1. Implementation of Large Arteries

During this time, transport infrastructure began shaping the urban fabric of Beirut. This had a direct effect on Bachoura as the area was fragmented from its surroundings.

During the 1960s, Bechara El Khoury Avenue³⁹ was constructed (IAURIF, 1993) in the location decided by Ecochard's plan of 1963 for the city, where it replaced the role of its parallel streets: Omar Bin Khattab and Mohammad El-Hout, both of which were used to connect the suburbs to the city center⁴⁰. More significantly, 'General Fouad Chehab Avenue', completed by 1966, was designed to bisect the districts of Zokak Al Blat, Bachoura, and Saifi. It also connected Basta Street Bechara el-Khoury through replacing Nasrallah Tarrazi Street, with its expansion and completion. In the same period, Omar Hamad and Abd el-Asset Fakhoury Streets that separated Bachoura and Basta Tahta from Basta Fawqa transformed to become Independence Avenue.⁴¹ Following these three avenues constructed in the 1960s, Salim Slem avenue was constructed in the 1970s replacing Abd El-Fattah Hamade located between Bachoura and Zokak el Blat.

2. From an integrated fabric into an island with transport edges

The new infrastructure projects separated the Bachoura from its environs turning it into an Island. For example, before the infrastructure works, Bachoura was only a five minutes' walk to Downtown, but after the construction of the Fouad Chehab highway, the walk became less seamless and more dangerous. To the east, Bachoura was cut off from Monot Street due to the construction of the Bechara Khoury highway. To the south, Basta

³⁹Bechara El Khoury Avenue has been and is still predominantly commercial, but now with more presence of BDD buildings. It houses banking facilities and insurance companies and local educational and religious facilities. The significant presence of used-car parks is essential to mention, for they become subject to land speculations due to the constant increase in land value. (El-Oraiby 2014).

⁴⁰ These two streets were called during the 1920s, Rue des Pins and Rue des Cèdres respectively

⁴¹ This information is based on the comparison of 1957 Beirut Map to 1964 Cadastral map of Beirut.

which was an extension of Bachoura, was cut from the neighborhood with the paving of Independence Avenue. Finally, to the east, Zokak el Blatt was cut off from Bachoura with the Salim Salam highway.

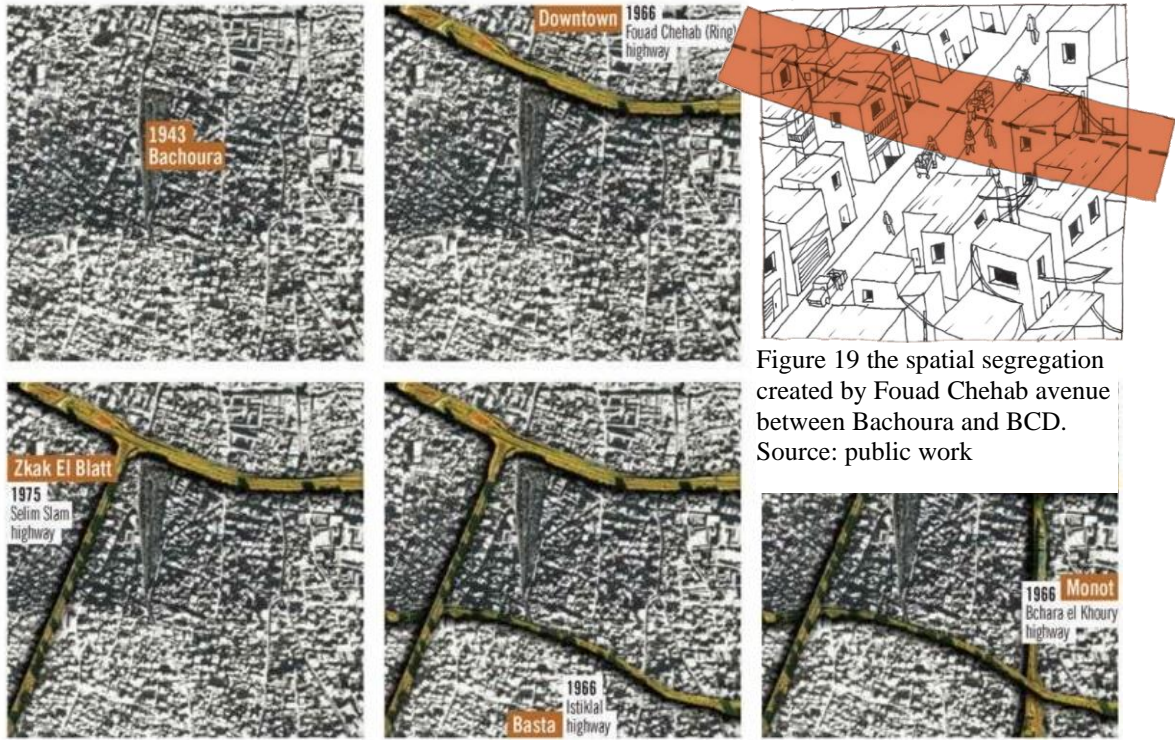


Figure 19 the spatial segregation created by Fouad Chehab avenue between Bachoura and BCD. Source: public work

Figure 20 Construction of Highways on the edges of Bachoura, transforming it from integrated urban fabric with city center and the surrounding neighborhoods to an island. Source: Dibo M. 2016. “*The Myth of Demographic Purity*” from “Middle East & North Africa: Borders: Lines in the Sand or in the Mind”. Perspectives. Issue 10. September 2016. p.28-29. Retrieved from: https://www.lb.boell.org/sites/default/files/20160930_-_perspectives_10_-_final_draft.pdf

E. Phase Four (1975-1990): The Civil War Production of Space

1. In & Out-migrations

The changes in the population that started in the mid-20th century, described in phase two, continued in the period directly before the civil war of 1975. More families, especially christian, moved out of the neighborhood towards the eastern suburbs o the city,

seeking calmer setting⁴² and a sectarian homogeneity (Brones, 2010). At the beginning of the civil war in 1975, a small number of the heirs of the former families still resided. Several apartments had already been converted into offices and were attended only by day by bosses and their employees (Kassir, 1994). However, the start of the war represented a dramatic transformation in the socio-political and socio-spatial geography of Bachoura. From the beginning of hostilities, the fronts that instituted the events of 1958 were re-established and within a few months, Bechara el-Khoury Avenue became a dividing line between the residential neighborhoods whose islets were occupied by the fighters of the different militias (Brones, 2010). Khandak al-Ghamik became a "zone verte"⁴³ (Kassir, 2004). The location of the neighborhood directly west the demarcation line escalated in and out-migration influxes to and from it⁴⁴. The migration of Christian families, whose past location was concentrated on the eastern edge of the district, an area known as the 'Old Christian Neighborhood', had allowed (poor) Shia families⁴⁵ to squat their vacant residential units (Brones, 2010).

⁴² In addition to the sectarian-based migrations, the urbanization of the area highly factored the out-migrations from the neighborhood. Bachoura in this period between 1960 and 1975, became an extension of the city center's activity overflow, turning the area from dominantly-residential to mixed-use. This higher urbanization, added to the already increasing density due to in-migration by rural migrants, was overwhelming to the bourgeoisie residents that preferred suburban settings for their residence.

⁴³ It was then amalgamated at the end of the green line by which the foreigner observers designated the line of demarcation invaded during the war years by vegetation. (Brones, 2010)

⁴⁴ The families' displacement movements from one region to another did not happen arbitrarily. Still, according to the will of political actors, they aimed at channeling the flow of migration to specific areas where they had the intention to develop or to extend their political influence.

⁴⁵ Shia refugees who fled the Nabaa neighborhood in Eastern suburbs of Beirut following the blockade inflicted in this area by the Phalanges (Brones, 2010)

2. Abandonment and Destruction continuing post-war

Families escaping the Israeli war from South Lebanon occupied the vacant homes of the Christian neighborhood throughout the civil war period and stayed even post war until 2004. Then, they left the neighborhood after obtaining from the Ministry of Displaced compensations that were slated to, in the words of the Ministry of Displaced then, “allow them to return to their region of origin” –when in practice many were born here. In reality, few went back to a village of origin, all the more so because some of these villages were still under occupation. Instead, they settled in the southern suburbs of Beirut, especially Chiyah⁴⁶ (Brones, 2010).

3. The sectarian identity formation manifested through urban appropriation: Militias as the war stakeholders; their ‘services ‘and their relation to the State

Several sectarian militias including Amal Party, took partial or total control of the district, reinforcing the confessional fragmentation of the area where military control incrementally translated into urban appropriation. The militias during this period took the role of the state in municipal and service provision, yet to their own communities " in order to ensure their loyalty and encourage enrollment in armed struggle"(Chedid et Al., 2012). These services reflected their spatial and political strategies for Bachoura, what Fawaz (2017) describes as 'body politics'. In fact, this approach by militias explains their annihilation, as the case of the other militias in the city, of proposed planning scenarios to

⁴⁶ Most of them Originally from South Lebanon, they did not want to return to a village lifestyle (Brones,2010).

implement urban affairs in the city (like the 1977 and 1986 initiated by the Municipality of Beirut and the State Council for Development and Reconstruction (CDR) and planned by French agencies (Chedid et al., 2012). The geography produced in Bachoura, Khandak El-Ghamik, by this local rule of sectarian and political groups was 'ideological territory' (Davie, 1992).

4. The influence on the development dynamics and produced space

During the civil war, Bachoura was divided into two sectors based on the divisions caused by the Fouad Chehab highway. The northern part, which was adjacent to the city center, became a no-man's-land, while the southern part continued in the pre-war dynamics (Brones, 2010). For example, in Khandak el Ghamik, the massive displacement of Shia families to the neighborhood induced an increase in demand for housing. This demand was satisfied by an additional real estate supply and the availability of empty houses and apartments for squatting (Gebhardt & Sack, 2004).

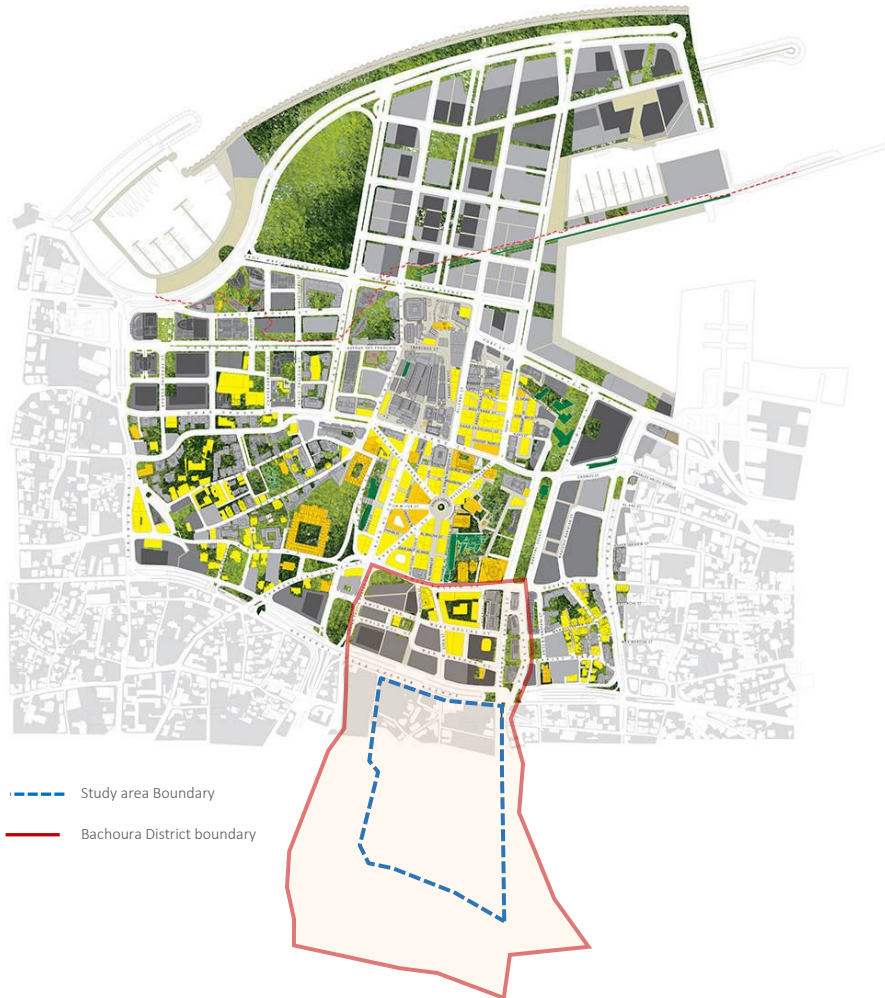
F. Phase Five (Late 1990's-2012): The Influence of the Post-war Reconstruction Plan and other post-war dynamics on Bachoura

The post-war era spanning between 1991 and 2004 started with a private boom and the implementation of public projects and ended with an economic recession (Nasr & Verdeil, 2008). The reconstruction process, according to Nasr & Verdeil (2008), created spatial and sectoral fragmentation in the city. This is due to two physical schemes that characterized the reconstruction projects, 'major infrastructure and large-scale redevelopment of defined areas' (Nasr & Verdeil, 2008).

1. CBD-SOLIDERE: Large-scale redevelopment defined area

SOLIDERE was contracted by the Lebanese government in the early 1990s as a private, public traded corporation. According to Samara (1996), the private company was created on the principle that 'private investment is the motor of urban regeneration'. Solidere was given "full control over a clearly defined zone" covering Beirut's historic center and the immediately adjacent area (Nasr & Verdeil, 2008). However, the reconstruction plan of the CBD by the company, according to Saliba (2000), reflected an 'island planning approach', where it lacked a strategy for its immediate surrounding districts, including Bachoura (Ibid).

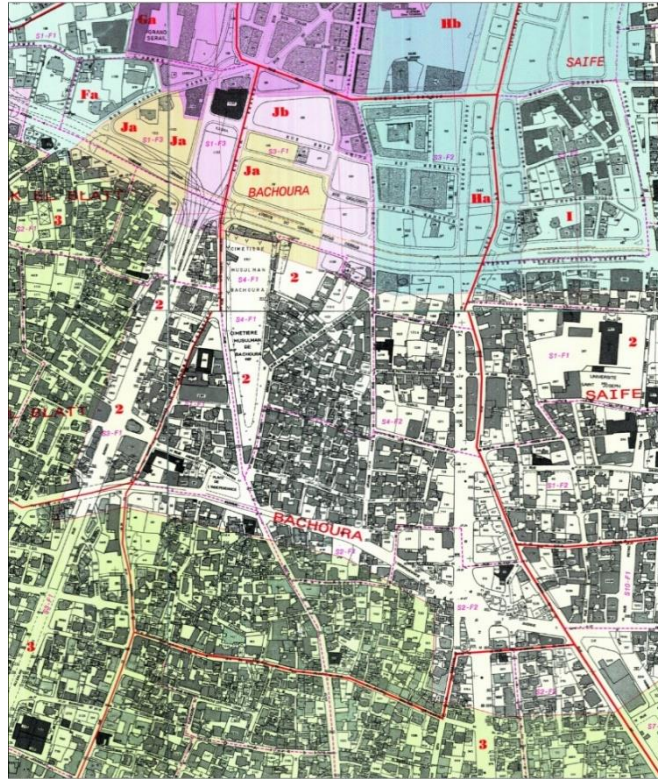
Under Solidere's master plan to rebuild downtown Beirut, the northern sector of Bachoura which was empty of human activity for the duration of the civil war was annexed into the company's control. This created a "multi-factorial division between both parts of the district" (REF). The southern part remained under the control of the 1954 zoning code while the northern part followed Solidere's revised master plan. Given that the company controlled real estate in its districts and encouraged speculative high property prices, land surrounding the district became attractive to potential buyers who speculated on its long term value. Although it did not control the district directly, Solidere's strategy led to a market-driven gentrification that started from the northern edges of the district and penetrated into its inner territories (Ibid).



Map 17 Solidere Master plan that encroached the northern sector of Bachoura. its edge became the study area.

2. Infrastructural development: Northern Edge Expanded

After a few years, SOLIDERE began to implement some of the major components of the transformation of Beirut's center including the completion and widening of the ring road. By that, the bridge that constituted the northern edge of Bachoura became wider (Nasr & Verdeil, 2008). This period witnessed the widening and elevation of the southern edge of Fouad Chehab Avenue (double the width) with



Map 18

the addition of two overpasses elevated at Bachoura and Zokak el Blat districts (see 2004 map). Therefore, the peripheral neighborhoods were radically amputated from the city center to form two separate entities; the city center and its peri-center.

3. Real-estate transactions produced on the northern edge

While SOLIDERE was essentially draining some 'happy few' foreign investors and developers, local developers seem to have appropriated these practices by developing most of the real estate projects at SOLIDERE's southern edge of Bachoura: Khandak El-Ghamik. Even if this trend already existed - to a limited extent- during the few golden

years preceding the civil war, one of the most representative indicators of this current process is the incremental disappearance of cultural heritage with an exponential destruction of traditional mansions to be replaced by high-rise apartment buildings, exploiting the excessive floor area ratios, and the prime location next to the CBD (Saliba, 2000).

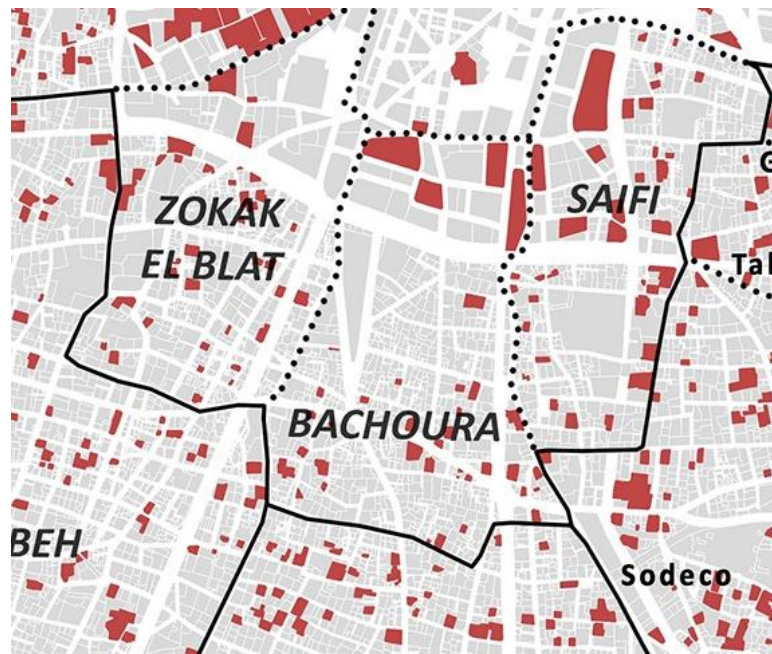


Figure 21 New projects developed in Bachoura and other pericentral districts of Beirut between 2000 and 2003. Source : AUB Neighborhood Initiative, 2016. Mapping New Construction in Beirut (2000-2013)

Urban Change Trajectories from Downtown to Mar Mikhael

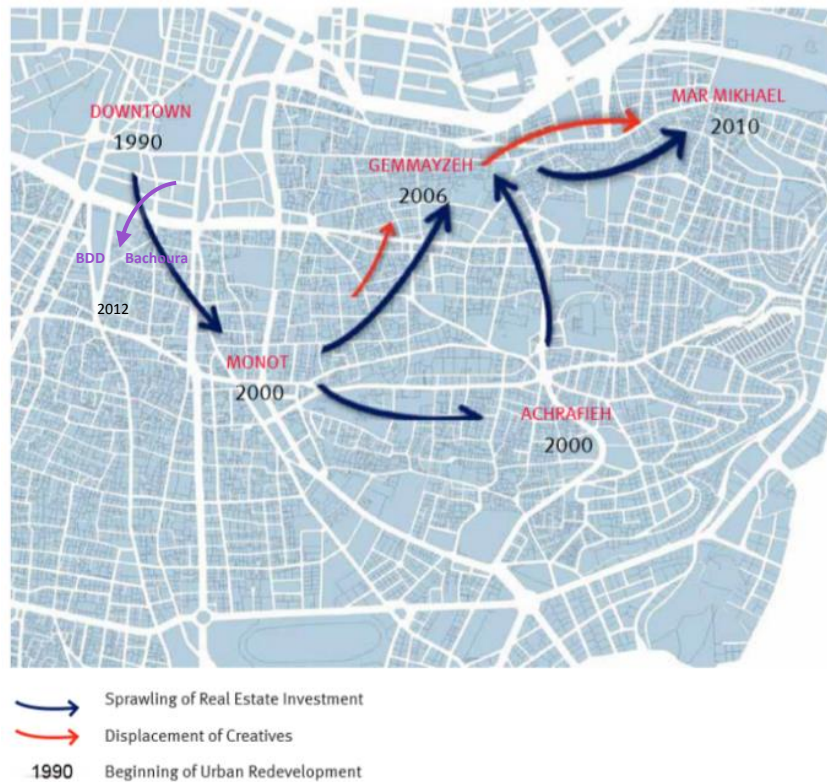


Figure 22 Cycle of Real Estate Sprawl accompanied by creative clusters that started as an effect of Solidere. Source: modified from Gerbal et al. 2016. "Linking Economic Change with Social Justice in Mar Mikhael". GAIA Heritage, Sciences Po, & IFI

4. Temporality and Abandonment as the prevailing character of the eastern edge:

West of Damascus Street, the old demarcation line which had separated the city in two parts for more than fifteen years, Khandak al-Ghamik neighborhood is relatively homogeneous in terms of faith of this situation: the ruins of this old mixed neighborhood of Beirut constitute the visual synthesis of temporalities of the history of the city whose war is one of its highlights (Brones, 2010).

G. Phase Six (2012-2019): The BDD as the major transformer of the district edge

Until 2010, Khandak al-Ghamik still presented its post-war face. Most buildings were still empty since 2004, and the northern islets of the neighborhood bore traces of slowly. This state of latency was mainly due to the maintenance of the property and the occupation of the buildings by displaced Lebanese families.

Between 2004 and 2007, the policies of the Ministry of Displaced led to the evacuation of the squatters who occupied property in the neighborhood. Meanwhile, property owners who recovered their apartments and/or buildings were not keen on returning to the neighborhood. While they may have mourned the district of their childhood where the permanence of some of the houses stood as a reminder, even ruined, few considered a return to the district. On the contrary, most rejected the idea with a series of negative considerations targeting particularly the “Shias” who inhabit the neighborhood (Brones, 2010), particularly given that these residents are associated with political parties whose very power threatens their imagination of the country and their place in it. These property owners were hence eager to sell their lands particularly because it was held in joint shares in the context of multiple successive inheritances.

Reinforced by the effects of current political alliances, this position also feeds on a confusion between the "historical" Shia population who live in Bachoura since the middle of the Twentieth century and displaced families who occupied the homes of Khandak al-Ghamik during the war⁴⁷. Within this last category, the amalgamation of the attitude of

⁴⁷ “These negative judgments were accentuated since the end of the war of the summer of 2006 by the visibility that the Hezbollah supporters had won in the neighborhood (multiplication of posters and portraits of martyrs, etc.) control of space. This was due in large part to the proximity of the nearby camp of

displaced persons (*muhajjarin*) and squatters (*muhtallin*) is, in fact, of legitimacy for the city. It has the effect of locking up Shias in an imprecise category that would characterize practices that carry disorder and whose mere presence symbolizes the latency of war (Sawalha, 2003). The former owners, therefore, adopt a shared vision built on the frustrations born of the occupation of their homes during the war. Totally emptied of its traditional social substratum, inhabited by the others with whom they feel have nothing in common, reinvesting in the neighborhood was therefore for most of them considered impossible. The ruined buildings of the district escape here totally to the myth that can take place about other buildings today isolated in a renovated urban fabric, as is the case, for example, with the Barakat building which will soon become the city museum (Brones, 2010).

Brones (2010) organizes the residential trajectories and heritage practices of the elder owners in two distinct logics. The first concerns some of the inhabitants who had left the neighborhood in the 1950s (the second or third generation of the original owners) preferring, among other reasons, a way of life more "Modern", justified by the adoption of new criteria in terms of habitat and "Lifestyles". For those who remained in the neighborhood until the beginning of the war, the decision to permanently separate from the neighborhood by selling their real estate to the rich entrepreneur Talal al-Zayn translated representations of otherness elaborated before the war and sealed with it. To sell their houses in Khandak al-Ghamik was to express the will to override the black episodes that

supporters of the opposition (mainly Hezbollah and the Free Patriotic Movement of General Aoun) on the Riad al-Solh and south of the Place des Martyrs." (Brones, 2010)

tarnished the idealized and nostalgic image of the past in this district. (Brones, 2010) and the inability to integrate into the current social landscape.

As well as the abandoned, damaged church, there are other properties that the Syriac endowment (waqf) has rented out to Beirut Digital District, which **in 2012** began buying properties even deeper into the heart of Bachoura.

H. Conclusion

The history of Bachoura is a story of steady decline and isolation. Historically, the area was an aspirational multi religious bourgeois neighborhood. Today, dominated by Hezbollah and the Amal Movement, it is a mostly homogenous working-class area cut off from Beirut's core to the north, and houses many displaced families in Beirut from the war. Before the civil war started, and despite the sectarian mixity in the overall composition of the area, the spatial distribution of the major sects was more defined and outlined territorially in the 1960s and towards 1975, with Muslims mostly living on the western side of Bachoura and Christians mainly inhabiting the eastern side. After the war ended, Shias continued to inhabit the western side and even increased due to displacement from the south. However, the Christian inhabitants seldom returned to their original residences. This mass vacancy allowed for squatters to live in these properties and this eventually made way for the rise of BDD through the sale of these properties. The arrival of Shias into the area began after the late Ottoman era and during the early French mandate eras, when Bachoura was an upper-middle class area thanks largely to the new property laws establishing the concept of property. The major socio-economic changes began with the migration of rural Shias to Bachoura in search of job opportunities in the 1920s who were mostly working class. As such new housing typologies emerged known as 'Hawsh' that surrounded the upper classes houses. Moreover, following the different successive migrations due to wars, and with other sects leaving, the Shias began to buy land from the Syriacs and the Armenians and expanded their footprint in the area. This resulted in the dominance of the

Shia lower-medium income population.

DYNAMICS OF CHANGE – Historical & Recent Transformations of Bachoura

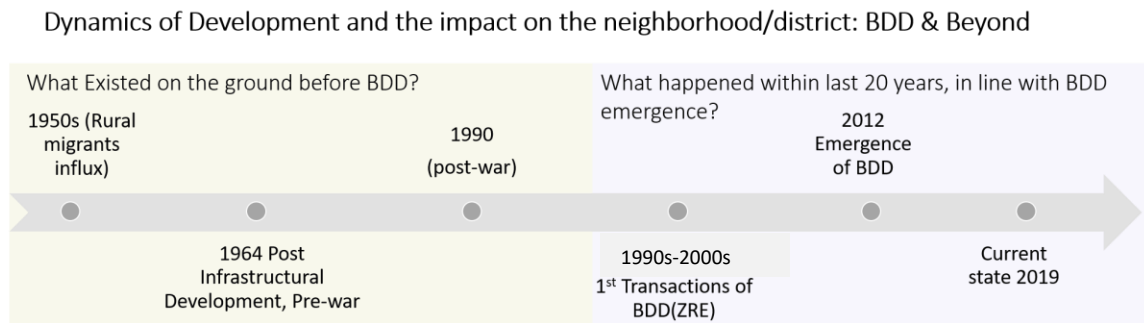


Figure 23 Basic Timeline of Changes resulting in the current dynamics of Bachoura and the emergence of BDD. Source: Israa Darwish, 2020.

Spatially, the area also transformed during this period. From villas with gardens, to densification through migration that introduced new housing typologies known as the ‘Hawsh’, to master planning that impacted the buildings, lots and plot typologies. During the start of the civil war, the built fabric was partially or totally damaged creating vacancy and inner physical change relating. The highest damage and vacancy experienced in the area were on the eastern edge. The demolition process and the emergence of empty lots started in the late 1990s and early 2000s after the formation of Solidere and accelerated more towards 2012. The highest rate of real estate speculation was on the northern and eastern edges of the study area, especially in 2012. New developments began to emerge, with a clear new landscape forming on the edge with block scale developments with whole empty blocks and high-rise buildings. Additionally, Bachoura also saw changes in relation to the city center. With the implementation of infrastructure projects in the 1960s, the area started to witness spatial fragmentation due to some of the projects, including the Fouad Chehab highway separating Bachoura from the center. In the post-civil war period, this

fragmentation transformed into an administrative division with the creation of Solidere, and its southern boundary demarcated with the highway, thus absorbing the northern part of Bachoura. This change created new dynamics of development for Bachoura, giving rise to real estate speculation as the area was now the southern edge of Solidere. This invited BDD's developer, ZRE, to buy the properties from the Christians that fled the area during the war. The intention was to benefit from the neighboring downtown that was under urban renewal as well as the zoning laws that allowed them more exploitation factor and FAR compared to the restrictive master plan of Solidere which gives developers less flexibility. Furthermore, the infrastructure projects also separated the area from its other surroundings, namely the Bechara Khoury Highway from Monot, and Independence Avenue from the southern side of Basta, and the Salim Salam highway on the west separating it from Zokak el Blat. These projects detached Bachoura's urban fabric from its surrounding neighborhoods thus turning it into an island.



Figure 24 Concluding Map of Physical change: Spatial distribution of New Developments and those under construction. Synthesis: Stable and transitional neighborhoods outlined, BDD expansion area outlined

This chapter finds that these socio-spatial transformations formed the bedrock for the current dynamics that made BDD happen. These transformations resulted in the creation of an edge inhabited by the BDD and a core inhabited by the area's old residents with sectarian undertones. The vacancies in the old Christian side of Bachoura was what instigated BDD's sub-district scale developments. However, BDD's open approach contrasts with the area's sectarian overtones, which affects both as the residents are feeling stifled by the rapid gentrification and BDD believes that the locals threaten its image.

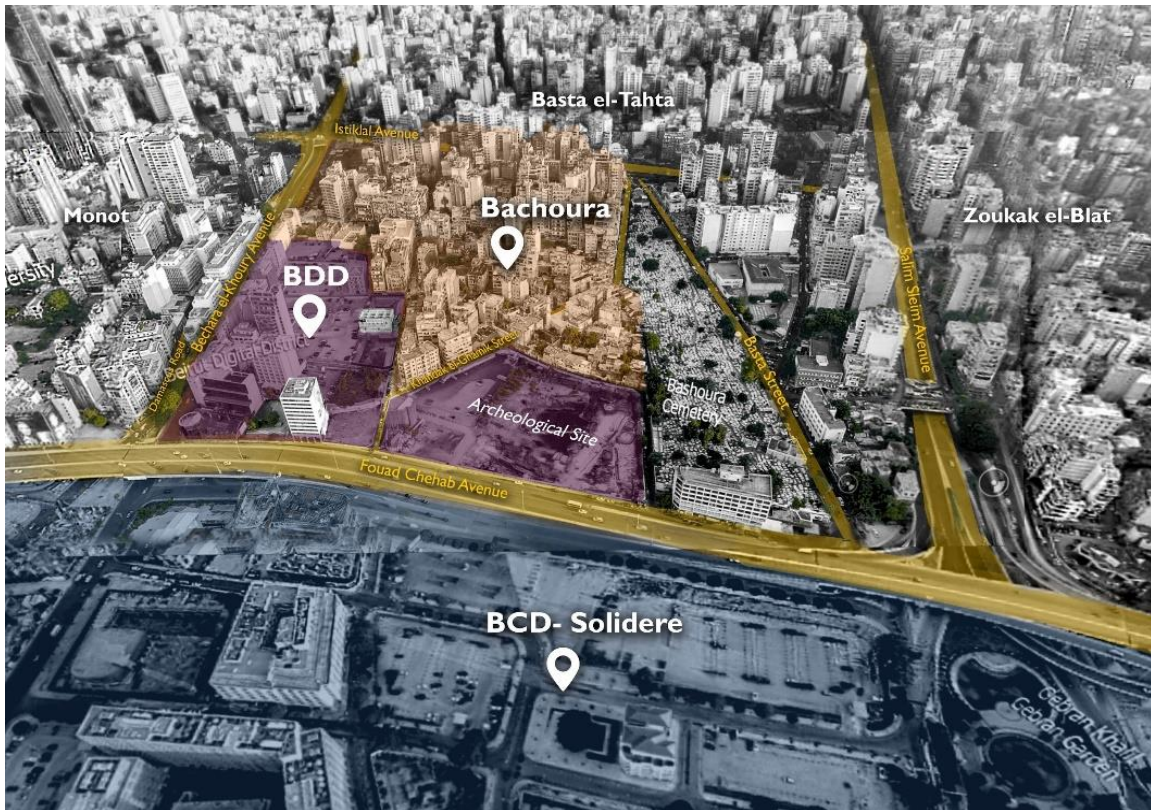


Figure 25 a photography by M. Iskanda of Bachoura overlapped by graphics by author

CHAPTER V

THE BDD AND BACHOURA INTERSECTION

This chapter analyzes the intersections of the BDD project with the neighborhood of Bachoura. It is divided into four sections: Section 1 maps the central social activities of Bachoura, showing the effects BDD has had over the years on religious, social, and commercial spaces in the neighborhood. Section 2 looks at the perception of both the residents of Bachoura and the users of BDD, drawn from the lived experiences of users and residents to note the intersection of BDD/Bachoura. Section 2 also pays close attention to the powerful influence of political parties on the formation of these perceptions. Section 3 analyzes the Bachoura/BDD intersection through the planning frameworks, showing that planning strongly empowers BDD over Bachoura. Finally, section 4 looks at the role of the political parties in determining the intersection of the two neighborhoods. This section aims to understand the position of the neighborhood as a contested political territory, starting from the history of the civil war until today. Therefore, the chapter demonstrates that despite resistance and the protection of its political identity and control, the neighborhood is slowly disappearing.

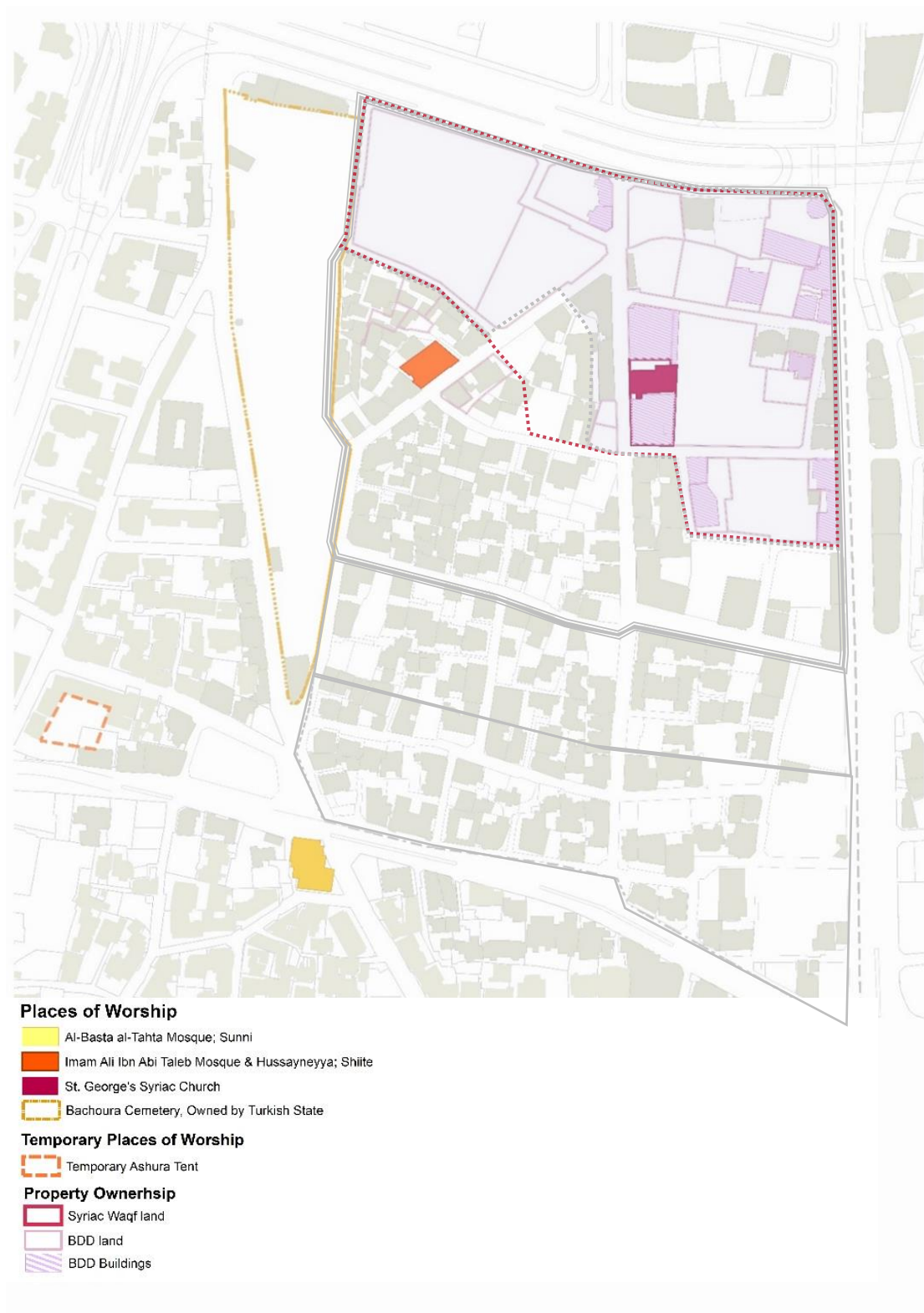
A. BDD and the Neighborhood(s): Assessing BDD's impact on the social space of Bachoura

This section explores the visible impact of BDD on Bachoura. Despite claims to the contrary, the BDD project has encroached on the social life of the neighborhood, threatening the long-term sustainability of social activities in the area. In other words, the analysis shows that the BDD is displacing the activities of the neighborhood and its population, by replacing its commercial and religious activities with new ones.

In order to analyze the impact of the BDD on the social spaces of Bachoura, I begin by mapping the places of worship and other spaces of religious significance, the places of exchange (e.g., commercial places, streets), and the places of leisure in the neighborhood. I also map the political markers in the neighborhood to analyze their intersection with the presence of the BDD.

1. Places of Worship and Spaces of Religious Significance

Places of religious significance are important social places that carry historical and contemporary importance for the neighborhood. They embody the history of the area, particularly in the case of displaced communities, and also its current social life. My mapping of the neighborhood found that there are three places of religious importance each corresponding to a different religious community.



Map 19 Places of worksop in Bachoura

a. The Shia Mosque & Husseiniya Complex: A Strong leadership translated in the relation of the Shia community with BDD

In line with the Syriac church, the Shia Mosque (Ali bin Abi Taleb) formed the nucleus around the Muslim Shia community where they gradually gathered in its vicinity on the Khandak el Ghamik street.

The main Shia place of worship is the Al-Imam Ali bin Abi Talib Mosque complex which includes a Husseiniya (an active gathering place where social and religious ceremonies are regularly held such as funerals and Ashura). The Mosque/Husseiniya complex was built in the early 1960s, replacing a Syriac orphanage.⁴⁸ It is said that the land had been offered by the Syriac Church to the Shia Waqf, in sign of religious appreciation and solidarity.

Today, the Shia place of worship plays the strongest communal and political role in the neighborhood, influencing the social behavior of the community of Bachoura and its relationship with the city. Imam Ayyad, the Imam of the Al-Imam Ali bin Abi Talib Mosque, plays a strong leadership role over the communities of the neighborhood. In fact, Imam Ayyad has become a well-known figure who gives regular speeches in city scale political events. In essence, he has taken the titular role of the Shia community leader in Khandak el Ghamik. The mosque also plays the role of social interaction and solidarity. This happens on the level of people coming to pray and meeting, and the *Shabeb*, the young men affiliated with the Amal political party, who usually gather at its entrance. On Fridays, the Mosque has a high level of activity, when people, mostly Shia from the

⁴⁸ 2007. 'بعض من شارع عريق على بعد جسر من البلد'. <https://www.yabeyrouth.com>

Bachoura and immediate surroundings of Basta el Tahta and Zokak el-Blat, gather for the Friday prayer. During times of Sunni- Shia tensions, Imam Ayyad and Ziad Saheb, the Imam of the nearby Sunni al-Basta al-Tahta Mosque, come together in a show of unity.

The strong activities of the Shia religious places fluctuate temporally. They peak during the Ashura period when tents are set up for the ten days on a school's playground. The tent is a small construction of wooden stilts and black cloth where people are served complimentary tea and biscuits during the 10-day commemoration of Ashura while

remembering collectively the history of the community. During this period, Bachoura becomes the heart of the nearby neighborhood where the Shia community comes to express its common religious belonging with neighbors from Khandak and other areas.

On the 10th Day of Ashura, the whole Bachoura area is closed down and turned into a pedestrian zone. Checkpoints are placed at all entrances and visitors are screened. Because of its strong leadership in the area, the Mosque and its Imam play a central role in conversations with the BDD. Moreover, Religious practices are respected by the BDD.



Figure 26 Imam Ali bin Abi Taleb Mosque & Houseyeyya

b. The Syriac Church museumified and taken from the neighborhood

As noted in the previous chapter, historically the Syriac Christian church is the oldest place of worship in the neighborhood. The church was built during the initial formation of the neighborhood that dates back to the late 19th century and was once the heart of the community that settled in the area. Today, the church is abandoned and the BDD has plans to turn it into a cultural center. The reason why St. George Syriac Church is inactive and abandoned is the depopulation of the area from its Christian residents. Historically, this church, built in 1878, was the seat of the Metropolitan Syriac Syrian and Lebanese Catholics. Today, aside from being vacant, its roof is in a dilapidated condition.



Figure 27 the syriac church

The BDD's plan to turn it into a cultural center is a form of museumification (Knox, 2010).

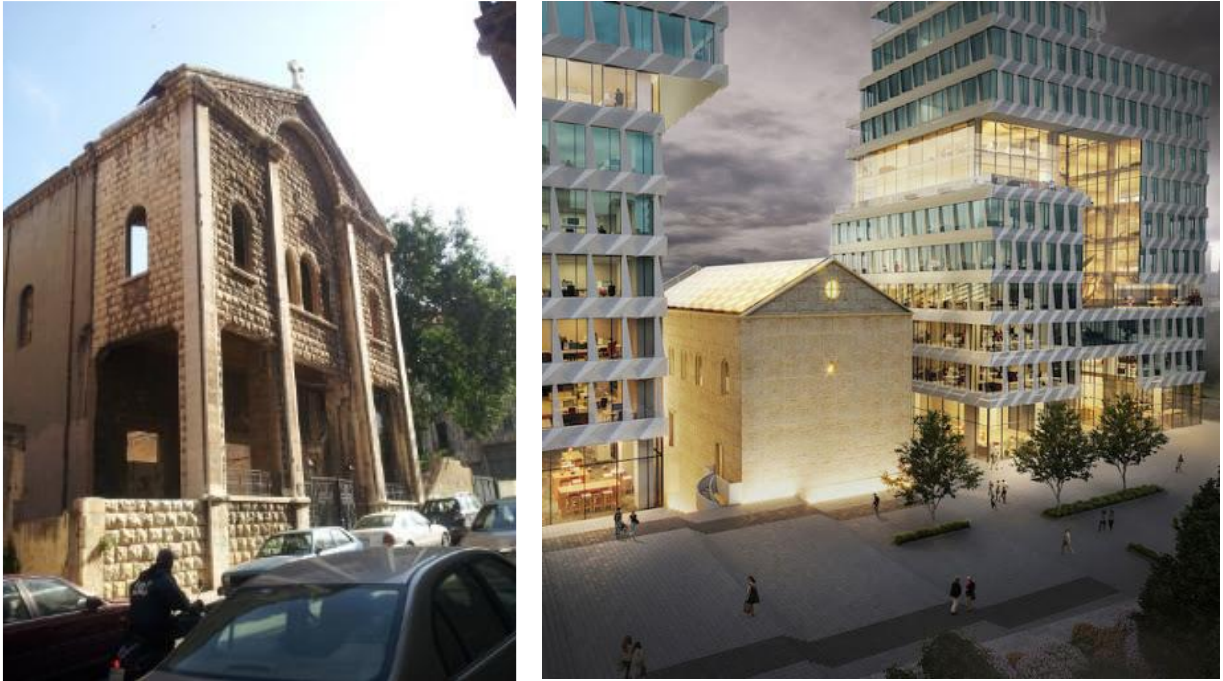


Figure 28 The Syriac church before BDD's renovation process (photo taken by Israa Darwish, 2018) and a rendering for its proposed shape after renovation by BDD (Source: Bonjour Beirut. 2020. Beirut Digital District, A green Future)

c. Bachoura Cemetery as both religious and heritage space

Another religious space in the area is the Bachoura Cemetery which belongs to Dar Al Fatwa but no longer serves as a burial ground. The cemetery can be accessed through two of its four doors on Basta Street. It is one of the oldest cemeteries in Beirut and attracted businesses in the first years of the civil war. For example, the owners of the

Mneimneh printing press, known for printing funeral invitations, transferred their business to the surrounding of the graveyard after the two-year war in Beirut (1975-1977).⁴⁹



Figure 29 The Ottoman Wali of Syria Ahmad Hamdi Basha's Tomb in its original location between 1874 & 1888, before its transfer to the inner walls of the Bachoura Cemetery. Source : https://ar.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D9%85%D9%84%D9%81:A1-Bashoura_cemetery-Beirut.jpg

Referred to as one of 'Beirut's oldest cemeteries' (Saksouk & Bekdache, 2014), the Bachoura cemetery was on the higher grounds of Bachoura hill. The burial land was a huge sand hill before it was walled off during the Ottoman period in 1892⁵⁰. It is known for a tomb of an Ottoman *Wali* of Syria Ahmad Hamdi Basha, who constructed it⁵¹. It is claimed that the presence of this tomb influenced the name of a neighborhood nearby called '*Hawd Al-Wilaya*'; referring to '*Qabr al-Wali*' and a water pond '*Haoud Maa*'

⁴⁹ Ziad Itani. 14 October 2015. "عن الباشورة التي تحرس بيروت وترافقها". <https://www.ultrasawt.com>

⁵⁰ 09 January 2015. "جبانة الباشورة". <https://www.yabeyrouth.com>

⁵¹ وكانت (البسطة التحتا—جامع الباشورة) كانت قبورها متباعدة ومنتشرة على مساحة تصل الى زاوية النبوي الجديدة " قبل شق طريق البسطة ونقل ضريح والي سورية (كلية البنات المقاصدية) بعض قبورها ملاصقة لمبنى الكلية السلطانية "حمدي باشا الى داخل المقبرة."

constructed in that place⁵². According to Mousbah Eido, one of Bachoura's the *Mokhtars*, After the demise of the Ottoman Empire, the cemetery continued to be owned by the Ottoman government in name only, until 1960 when it was placed under the supervision of the Makassed Philanthropic Islamic Society (*Jamiyat al-Makased al-Khayriya al-Islamiya*)⁵³, that was formed by the same Ottoman Wali Ahmad Hamdi Basha buried there⁵⁴.

Most of the cemeteries that used to be in the old town disappeared due to the expansion of the city. Before being formally constructed in its current shape in the Ottoman period, the cemetery is claimed to be an extension to an 'extra-muros cemetery' located between Bab Derkeh and Bab Yacoub, the two southern gates of the old city walls on the edge of the Bachoura quarter (Stuart & Curvers, 2014). Stuart and Curvers suggest that the current location of the cemetery on the higher grounds of Bachoura hill came as a result of 'competition for space' in the old town that caused a shift in the burial grounds in the southern direction. Additionally, recent excavations in a lot next to the cemetery, the site of the 'French Hospital', revealed more remains belonging to this cemetery (Ibid).

⁵² 21 February 2017. "طربوش ونقوش على قبر الوالي حمدي باشا ببيروت". <https://www.arab48.com>

بحسب الباحث اللبناني حسان حلاق ، "تأسست أيضاً في عهد الوالي حمدي أول مدرسة عسكرية تحت اسم حوض الولاية، وقد تم تسميتها بذلك نظراً لوجود مقر الوالي في تلك المنطقة، إلى جانب حوض ماء يشبه البركة الكبيرة، ولا تزال تلك المدرسة موجودة في إحدى مناطق بيروت الشعبية وقد تحوّلت منذ قرن إلى مدرسة رسمية للفتيان."

⁵³ Ghofran Moustafa. 27 January 2015. <https://al-akhbar.com/Monodose/14658>

⁵⁴ 21 February 2017. "طربوش ونقوش على قبر الوالي حمدي باشا ببيروت". <https://www.arab48.com>

بحسب الأرشيف الضخم عن تاريخ الخلافة العثمانية بلبنان، والذي يمتلك الباحث اللبناني حسان حلاق، وثائق وملفات هامة منه، فإن الوالي أحمد حمدي كان محباً جداً للعلم وشهد عهده إقامة عدد كبير من المؤسسات التربوية، منها جمعية 'المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية' التي تعتبر أول جمعية تتأسس في لبنان، كما أنها أول جمعية تهتم بالعلم وبناء المدارس في بيروت."

Moreover, the tombs of the cemetery date back to the Mamluk and Omayyad periods (Ibid).

2. Places of leisure and socialization: (informal) community places lost to BDD's expansion, and others persisting

With the absence of formal public spaces and parks in the neighborhood, the different communities that reside in the area have created their own leisure places by using the existing urban fabric of alleyways and Hawsh as places for children to play and adults to socialize. These communities took advantage of abandoned properties, transforming them into playgrounds. However, with the expansion of the BDD property towards the neighborhood, many of these places were lost by the community. They were replaced by parking areas or new developments. Some were simply closed off by walls to prevent access while remaining vacant waiting for future development. Through these actions, the BDD has stripped the neighborhood from the value of public space its residents had created. This section describes three of these spaces: the lost playground, the backyards, and the Hawsh and alleyways.

a. The lost playground

Before 2013, there was a large playground for children where there is now an archeological excavation. This area, which is also the largest vacant lot in Bachoura, was once the grounds of the French Hospital overlooking the city center. Youth from the neighborhood turned this unused land into a football field in 1972 (ref). This space attracted players from nearby neighborhoods until 2013, when ZRE, which had bought the

plots in 2006, decided to raze the ground in preparation for a real-estate development project. The discovery of archaeological remains however halted ZRE's plans. Instead, the Directorate General of Antiquities intervened to halt works and demand that excavations be conducted. So far, the excavation works have been left untouched, with the archaeological remains exposed (Saksouk & Bekdache, 2014).

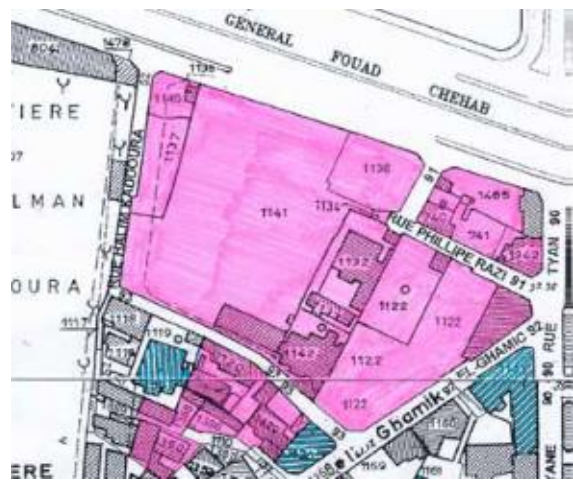
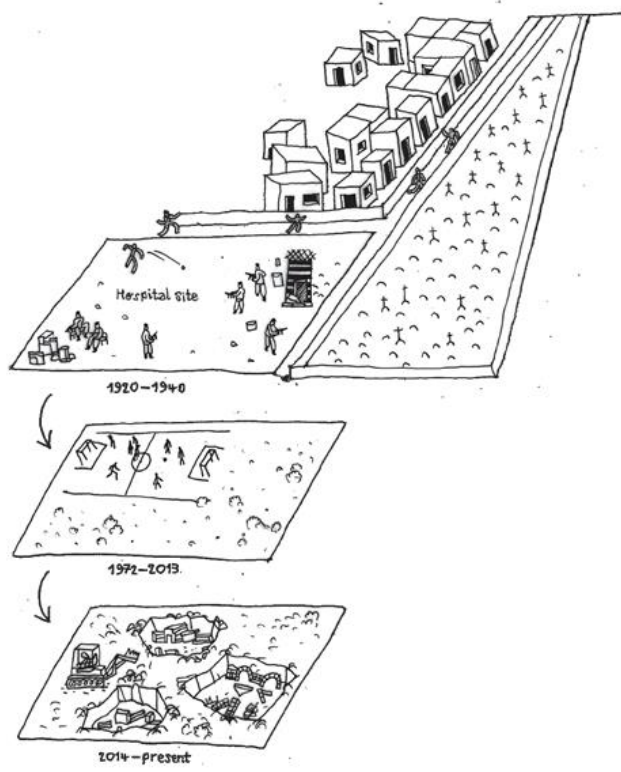


Figure 30 the transformation of the previous football playground

b. Backyards of abandoned buildings

Other abandoned land was also used by children as alternative playgrounds. These included the abandoned Syriac Church and its neighboring property. These properties were walled off after they were purchased by BDD to be then developed into high-rise buildings or be used as parking spaces. Furthermore, access to the church was closed off as of 2017, as the BDD initiated a renovation plan to transform it into a cultural museum.

i. The Hawsh and alleyway: Some lost and other persisting

As stated in chapter 3, the changing demographics of the 1950s brought about the typology of the *Hawsh*. The Hawsh as a space was historically used as a socio-spatial element that represents the center of an interdependent relationship and structuring of the urban landscape of the Mediterranean city (Zeidan, 2014). It is known for its capability to manage urban density, its hospitality and ecological value, and its cultural value (Zeidan, 2014). Morphologically, the Hawsh is a set of buildings developed around an open multipurpose space surrounded by rooms of variable heights” (Ibid). It communicates with the adjacent space, ‘*Zoukak*’; the narrow street that serves this agglomeration and follows a logic of internal connections to form smaller neighborhoods ‘*Harat*’. Thus, it constitutes a special urban fabric. Functionally, it is the center of communal activity, a safe place for children to play, and domestic chores of the house to be done (e.g., cooking, washing, laundry). Occupied by families related or derived from the same geographical area, its name goes back to the family name of the main occupants (example: Hawsh Matar, Hawsh

Baghdadi)⁵⁵. Today few Hawsh remain in existence, as most of them were replaced by huge real estate developments, like the case of Baghdadi, Mabsout, and Kurdish Hawsh-s (Saksouk & Bekdache, 2014).



Figure 31 alleyways of khandak

3. Places of Exchange: active souks and vacating others

Places of exchange can be studied as an indicator of the social status of a neighborhood and its transformations: how they translate the community ties and their influence by different developmental, economic, and political dynamics. On the social

⁵⁵ Interview held with(H. Tarhini, personal communication, February 15, 2015)

level, active places of exchange in a small-scale neighborhood indicate the strong presence of their corresponding community, and their weakening translates to its decline.

The type of markets located in the area, considered as ‘popular’ and local, relates to the needs and scale of the neighborhood and is representative of the lower income profile of the residents. The market is mainly composed of fish mongers, butchers, barbers, bakeries, carpenters, consignment stores, vegetable stores, and money wire transfer offices that serve the high percentage of migrant workers residing in the area.

a. Diminished commercial activity in Khandak al Ghamik neighborhood and only few survive, some profiting from BDD presence

Khandak al Ghamik neighborhood is the least active place of exchange in Bachoura. The area that was known for publishing houses and carpentry now sees many of its small businesses inactive.⁵⁶ At least 30% of the shops in the area are closed (see map) and the remaining have very low activity (like the case of carpenters, clothing, barber, minimarkets, etc.). The few still surviving shops are mainly money transfer shops that serve the communities of migrant workers present in the neighborhood as well as food snacks that serve clients beyond the neighborhood boundaries (i.e., employees from downtown, Monot, and BDD come to these shops to buy cheap food according to interviewees). The fading commercial activity in this area contrasts with the strong active southern edge, highlighting its substantial transitional character amplified by both post-war

⁵⁶ Bachoura is also characterized by the presence of *souk el 3etek* and *souk najjarin* market on the ground floors of some buildings. This market was established a long time ago by traders who came from southern Lebanon in addition to local merchants and contains artifacts and ancient pieces, and it used to attract shoppers from outside the area, but recently this has not been the case.

and development dynamics. Many of the buildings that are being vacated or are abandoned also have vacant ground floor shops (30-40% of shops closed). The emergence of BDD on one hand emphasized this situation by encroaching on more property, demolishing more buildings and replacing them by closed empty land or a corporate land use that does not relate to the neighborhood typology. On the other hand, some small-business owners residing in Tyane street, the edge between BDD and Bachoura, describe the presence of the BDD as beneficial. They consider that the BDD has brought more activity to a street that has been silent since the Christians left, marked by their abandoned buildings and shops, as if they are a fence and not buildings. Mohamad, the owner of a snack shop located on the intersection between Tyane and Saad-Syrian Patriarchate streets, on the same street with one of BDD buildings, considers that BDD has not influenced the area negatively. On the contrary, he argues that they brought more opportunity to the food market, as in his case where many employees buy their lunch sandwiches from him. The same opinion was expressed by Mohamad Shehade, a car mechanic shop owner on Asa'ad Khurshid Street, on the edge with the archeological site owned by BDD.



Figure 32 old abandoned shop

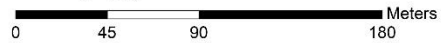
b. Active souks are on the southern edge which link more to Basta Tahta

Souk al Zahrawi and *Sehet el Basta* which are very active, are located in the southern part of Bachoura, linking more to the activity of Basta Tahta area and the main transport route, Independence Avenue, that cuts through the area. Souk al Zahrawi, one block away from Independence avenue, is known for its snack shops and its vibrant migrant community which operate these businesses.



Shops Uses

- | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| ● CLOSED | ● Thrift shop-clothes | ● coffeeshop | ● women's barber shop |
| ● GROCERY | ● clothes | ● street cafe | ● barber shop |
| ● VEGETABLE STORE | ● tailor shop | ● pharmacy | ● PRINTING SHOP Publishing Center |
| ● butcher- & snack | ● laundry | ● \$ | ● office |
| ● SNACK | ● MECHANIC | ● Carpenter | ● Restaurant |
| ■ BDD buildings currently used | ■ BDD property | | ● Other |
| ■ BDD owned-not in use buildings | | | |



Map 20 commercial activities in Khandak

4. Places of strong political presence: still on the whole territory, only its signs diminished in the BDD property

a. Neighborhoods of Bachoura as political enclaves

As noted earlier, the area is dominated by both the Amal Movement and Hezbollah, with each party concentrating on one side more than the other. For example, Khandak al Ghamik has a huge Amal presence while Hezbollah is dominant in the Khreis and Zahrawi neighborhoods. These territories are politically signified by each respective groups' paraphernalia such as posters, flags, pictures of leaders and martyrs, etc.

Despite the competition that can appear in the representation of their markers, the divided space for events, and the speeches of their affiliates on one another to show the dominance of one over another, this stays at the local level and does not show beyond the boundaries of the neighborhood. So, it is notable how these two groups demonstrate their coherence when it comes to the relation of the neighborhood with the city. For example, the parties jointly-organize religious events such as the Ashura march in which the entrances to the area are sealed off. Another example is how they act as one group when it comes to politics such as in their reaction to the movements relating to the October 17 Revolution.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ In terms of political domination, the Amal movement clearly controls the area of Khandak as noted through its markers. However, residents refuse such notions. The Butcher, who describes himself as a communist, says that there are other political groups in the area. On the other hand, when affiliated people to the party are asked about which party is dominant, they talk in a unity manner. When I asked Khodr (Int.3) about the areas where each party of Amal and Hezbollah is more concentrated, he claimed that there is no such a thing. According to him, "the two are one", "هني واحد". He believes that the whole area is mixed, although the division vividly appears through the concentration of Hezbollah markers in Khreis neighborhood and Amal markers in Khandak al Ghamik, with only few overlapping between the two types in intersections, Khodr says referring to the area of Khandak: " يعني حتى هونيك في صُور شهداء حزب "

b. Diminished Political Markers in the zone of BDD

The political markers are still strongly present in the abandoned zones of the neighborhood at the eastern edges of Khandak al Ghamik and the Khreis neighborhoods, which surround the BDD area. However, the influence of BDD in changing such a scene can be noticed in its environs where political markers disappear, signifying the BDD zone as a cosmopolitan or neutral space. Yet the disappearance of signs does not indicate the disappearance of the power of these parties over the space. Furthermore, those knowledgeable of the neighborhood dynamics know that strongmen who represent these political parties still sit on the corners of the street's intersection in Bachoura. Although the street cafes do not display political signs such as the ones present in the inner areas, their owners and managers are strong affiliates of the parties and can be clearly detected by those familiar with the dynamics of the neighborhood's residents, users of BDD, and outsiders. By that, the community expresses a strong statement, they can control the space despite not owning it. The streets are public, and there they can express their presence and fight any attempt for a transformation on the level of the street. The streets have always been their battleground.

Conclusion: is there still a neighborhood? What has persisted and what has been lost?

Despite appearing neutral from the politics of Bachoura, BDD's rise is not isolated from the civil war. On the contrary, it has benefited from the absence of the former Christian community. Moreover, it is not isolated from the religious rituals of the area, but is attuned to it such as during the ten days of Ashura. The local community in turn, despite not having the same financial capabilities as BDD, still exerts their presence in the area. Although BDD hasn't penetrated the core of the area, it has impacted the activities of the area. In terms of leisure, the makeshift playground where the children of Bachoura once played football, was brought-up by BDD and is currently being excavated for archeological purposes. Additionally, BDD has reduced commercial activity in the area by buying up buildings and evicting their commercial tenants. Conversely, some F&B shops have benefited from BDD's presence as its users and employees buy from them. However, despite benefiting in the short run from BDD, in the long run the F&B shops may disappear as BDD also owns their landlord and may not renew their leases. They may be replaced by large scale developments whose land use and users may be of a different class. Soon enough, more Hawsh-s may disappear as the buildings that surround them are being bought up by BDD, it is unclear what will happen to these buildings, as they are included in BDD's masterplan. The uncertainty over what will be done with the Hawsh and other newly owned-buildings and properties can be an opportunity, as it gives Urban Designers time to make more inclusive and sustainable recommendations. Despite the domination of BDD in these dimensions, the community is trying to protect itself through politics and religion, but with little effect. Many residents are politically

affiliated to Hezbollah and Amal, but they are still gradually losing their presence in their neighborhood.

The Communities of Bachoura

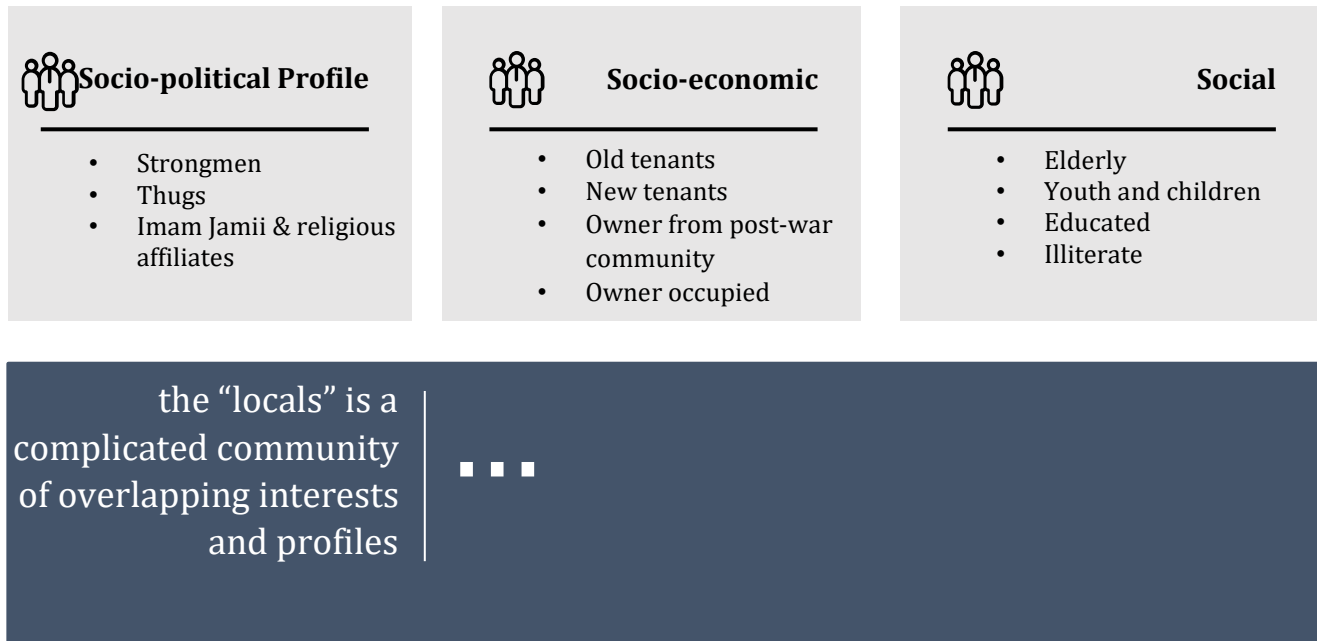


Figure 33 the communities of Bachoura

B. Contrasting Perceptions: BDD and Bachoura Communities Associated Images of their own and the other's space

This section explores the perception of residents and users of BDD/Bachoura, building its reading on the grounds of the lived experiences of both communities. It also explores how people perceive/imagine the boundaries, the significance of the place, and the influence of each entity on the other. The section pays close attention to the powerful influence of political parties on the formation of these perceptions. The structure of findings is based on Punter (1991) and Montgomery's (1998) description of the third component of place: The Image (cognition, perception, information), while factoring in a political element. I only use the elements that directly relate to the interaction of the BDD and Bachoura, they are: Cosmopolitan/sophistication, Fear, Psychological access, Sensory experience & Associations, Knowledgeability, Meaning, Perceived Functions, and Attractions. Perceptions of the BDD community and Khandak community are extracted from: (i) interviews with locals on BDD's Impact and on roles of politics, and (ii) interviews with employees and managers at BDD on their relationship with the neighborhood and the role of politics.

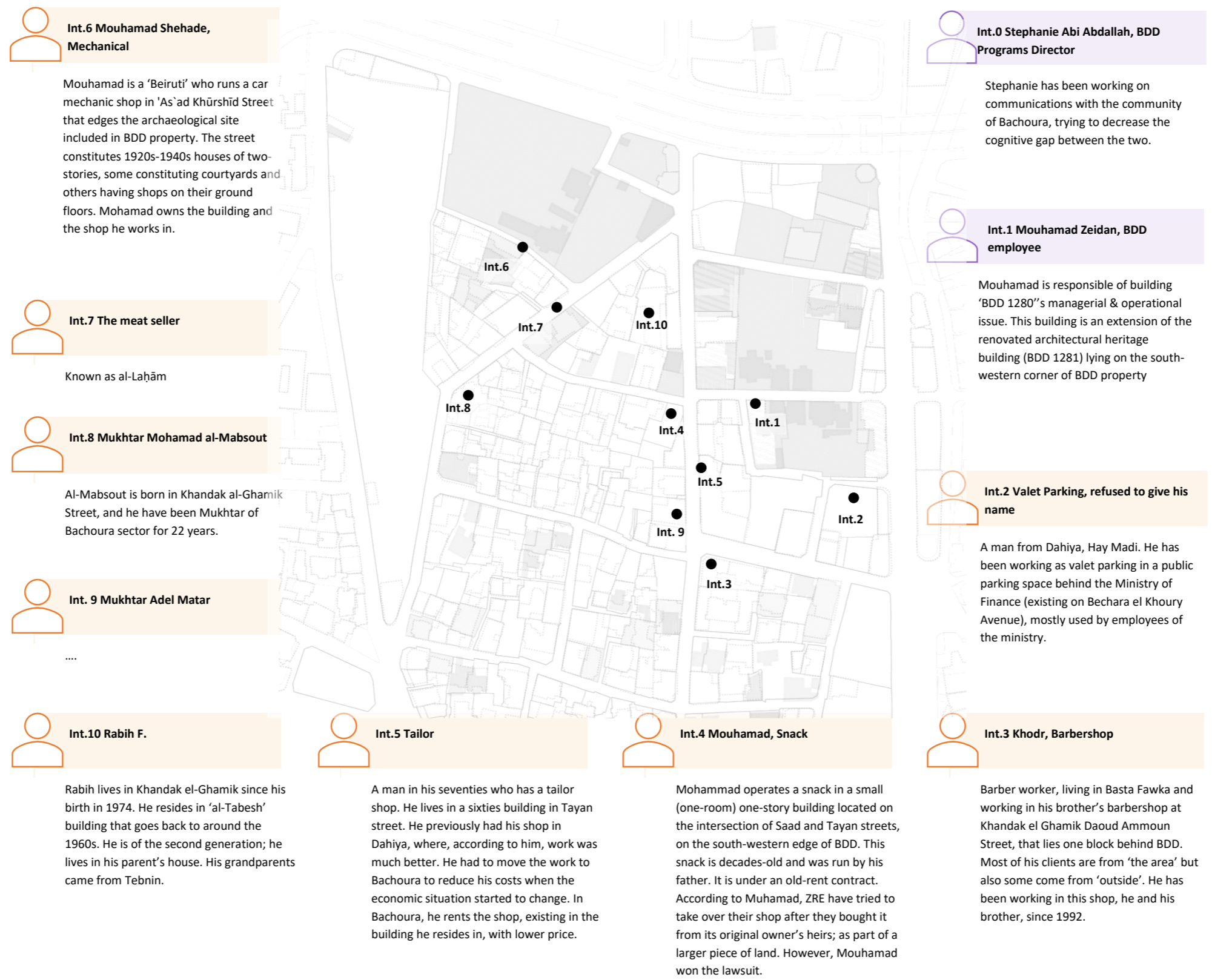


Figure 34 Interviewees

1. The BDD Community perceptions about Bachoura-Khandak

In my findings concerning BDD's community perceptions I rely on two key informants in BDD. The first is Stephanie Abi Abdallah, the programs director at BDD. She has worked on communications with the community of Bachoura, trying to decrease the cognitive gap between the two. The second key informant is Mouhamad Zeidan, an employee at BDD who is responsible for building 'BDD 1280's managerial and operational issues. This building is an extension of the renovated architectural heritage building (BDD 1281) lying on the south-western corner of the BDD property, where the southern side of Patriarchate Syrian Street connects to the center of Khandak al Ghamik neighborhood with Bechara el Khoury avenue, and consequently Monot-USJ area. The experience of the two informants expresses a negative view of the Khandak community, that they reduce to one most distinct and powerful group of the neighborhood, represented by the 'strong men' who takes control over the decision-making process and influences the reputation of the area, according to multiple interviewees from both BDD and Bachoura.

a. Knowledgeability of the neighborhood behind and perceptions on boundaries and the psychological access

My interview with Mohamad Zeidan revealed that he is familiar with the area before the arrival of BDD. Zeidan told me that he knows the area from when he was a student explaining: "I know the area near Husseiniya, in *el-Khandak el-Ghamik Street*. There was a popular sweet shop there called '*Nimr al Wadi*' and a wholesale tobacco shop that was cheap. I used to get my glasses from an Optical shop located there in the past"

(Personal Interview, Oct. 2019). However, he no longer goes to the area today despite working near by saying that: “I don’t mind passing there but I prefer not to, especially if I have company. if a guy passed by with his girlfriend, he would get into a clash with the ‘zu’ran’ (thugs) sitting on the corners” (Personal Interview, Oct. 2019). But he was careful not to pathologize the area adding that “Khandak is not the only one known for this character. This is the case of all popular areas ‘*el-manatik el-sha’beyye*’ like Aisha Bakkar and Cheyah” while noting that “If you’re an inhabitant of this area, it’s great for you. There is this solitude and other values. However, if you are an outsider, there the issue lies. You will face the questions and comments like ‘who is this guy? This is our locality ‘*manta’itna*’, etc.” (Personal Interview, Oct. 2019). He also added that it's not the fault of the residents, but rather the blame lies with the strongmen and the rulers there inside, may he be affiliated to Hezbollah or Amal:

"مشكلتك مش مع الناس جوا، مشكلتك مع الحاكم/المسؤول جوا. زعيم الحزب واللا زعيم الحركة. ما بدي قول أسماء، معروفين. أنا بعرف عنن من ايام المدرسة، كان عندي رفيق عايش بالخندق."

Mouhamad Zeidan. Personal Interview, Oct. 2019

On her side, Stephanie, after two years of attempting to build a ground of communications with the neighborhood behind BDD, explained that “Communicating with the people inside is not simple as you would imagine. It’s very hard to change their mind to accept anything new.” She partly blames the political parties for the “mentality of a closed neighborhood” that the residents show towards BDD. Abi Abdallah noted that there are

many hurdles and layers to opening dialog with them but that “any possible thing would take a long time if it would happen anyway” (Personal Interview, Sep. 2019).

One interesting piece of information was noted by Zeidan, saying that “There is a deal between BDD and the ‘zo’ama’; the strongmen/leaders of the neighborhood, to avoid any problems or clashes that would impact the ‘image’ of BDD.” This ‘deal’ encompasses religious events such as Ashura, during this time BDD will show respect to the community by not openly serving alcohol or playing loud music.

2. Bachoura community Associated Images of their own and the other’s space

It can be said that the identity of Khandak el Ghamik neighborhood, from the perspective of a major segment of its inhabitants - interviewed or extracted from Boekelo (2016) - is very much associated with socio-economic (lower-income, informal, tight-knit community) and socio-political dimensions (Shia) of it. As for their perception of BDD, it varies depending on multiple factors including how much it impacted their neighborhood experience negatively/positively and how much they are influenced by political speech pushing for one attitude or another.

The area I chose to have my interviewees from is the Khandak el Ghamik neighborhood, the area encompassing the BDD and witnessing the highest scale of transformation due to its presence as shown in chapter IV. My interviews were not chosen in advance. Instead, they were the result of informal encounters with the people standing in their shops and their visitors on the street. Some of them initiated conversations with me, asking if I needed any help (expression of control sometimes and fear in others, as will be shown below). Only two planned interviews were conducted with key informants: a

resident of Khandak I know from outside my study, and the Mukhtars. The interviewees are divided into three categories: the first is small businesses owners and employees in Khandak, some of which live in khandak and others living in its nearby neighborhoods like Basta Fawka, or in areas of social linkages to it like Dahye. Another category of interviewees is residents in Khandak, they live there but work outside it. The third is Mukhtars.

a. Inhabitants and users' divergent images and experiences with the notion of their neighborhood

i. On the question of the neighborhood image and its association with 'Zu'ran': (Fear and psychological access, attractions, and experiences)

Ali Khodr is a barber living in Basta Fawka and working in his brother's barbershop at Khandak el Ghamik, on Daoud Ammoun Street, that lies one block behind BDD. He has been working in this shop since 1992. When asked about the connotation with *Zu'ran*, he was baffled by the notion and said: "not at all, this is a false reputation of the area" (Personal Interview, Oct. 2019).

When he said that, I asked him about a coffee Kiosk *kahwi* that lies in the same street, and ironically, he declared that they are drug abusers.

On the other hand, a man (Int. 2) from *Dahye, Hay Madi*, that has been working as valet parking in the space behind the Ministry of Finance (a public parking space mainly used by employees of Ministry of Finance at Bechara el Khoury Avenue) said: "These are *Zu'ran*, I've been working here for 20 years, I never dealt with an outstanding person!" (Personal Interview, Oct. 2019). Then he pointed to a building on Daoud Ammoun Street

edging the BDD property from the south: “This building is full of drug dealers and abusers. They initiate fights and problems in the area. They park their cars in a chaotic way late at night and cause me a problem in the morning when I want to organize the space for employees’ cars. I can do nothing with them. There are good people in the area of course, but these bad guys, *zu ’ran*, have the largest impact on the area.” (int. 2). The fear this man holds toward the guys he described appeared clearly when he was communicating with me. He even refused to give me his name because he was afraid that if they knew what he said in any way they might harm him.

A man in his seventies who has a tailor shop and lives in a sixties building in Tayan street. He previously had his shop in Dahiya, where, according to him, work was much better. He had to move the work to Bachoura to reduce his costs when the economic situation started to change. In Bachoura, he rents the shop, existing in the building he resides in, with a lower price than Dahye. He said that the area is “dead” and that it is inhabited by “Zuran”.

" هون من 3 سنين . مش مصلحة. المنطقة ميتة. أنا جيت لأن الايجار رخيص، وساكن هون بالبناية. في شغل أكثر فوق [بالضاحية]. هون زعران، نحن الشيعة وين ما كنا هيك."

When I asked him how his work is going and if BDD has an impact on your work, he responded by saying: “ this area is already empty, there is no activity with or without it [BDD], and if there is a problem, the area fills up.”

"هيدا الشارع من الأساس ما في حدا. خفيفة الحركة. ومع هيدا الشيء، عملي مشكل بدقيقة بيملى."

The tailor. Personal Interview, Oct.2019

In contrast to the views representing Khandak as an enclave ruled by strongmen and highly influenced by bad guys, *Zu'ran*, Mouhamad Shehadeh (Int.6) talks about the openness of the area to all people and for clients from different areas and diverse classes. Mouhamad is a 'Beiruti', as he defines himself, who runs a car mechanic shop in 'As`ad *Khūrshīd* Street that edges the archaeological site included in BDD property. The street constitutes 1920s-1940s houses of two-stories, some with courtyards and others having shops on their ground floors. Mohamad owns a house there and the shop he works in.

" أنا عندي زباين من كل بيروت ومن برّا بيروت بيجو يقصدوني. بيجي كثير من البلد، ناس مرتبة، بيجو لعندي لأنني معروف. شو بدك بهالحكي تبع إنو ما حدا بفوت على المنطقة...الوضع الطبيعي . هيدا الزلمي زبوني جاي لعندي من جونه ليصلح سيارته. "

Mouhamad Shehade. Personal Interview, Oct.2019

ii. Cosmopolitanism/Sophistication Versus (Rural) and the popular neighborhood Connotation as 'Hay Sha'bi'

Shehadeh's last quote about the openness of the neighborhood reflects on another element of the image of the place described by Montgomery (1998): the cosmopolitanism of the place. Mouhamad tries to challenge the idea repeated by many interviewees that the area is like 'the village'⁵⁸

"هي المنطقة هون مثل الضيعة" (3.Int)

⁵⁸ It is noteworthy that the interviewees used the terminology of village in response to the question of the reputation of the neighborhood as an enclave.

"مش كانتون عادي مثل أي ضيعة، في دكاكين... (2.Int)

This concept may stem from the fact the residents came from rural areas and maybe related to connotations of the neighborhood being Hay Shaabi or a popular area. Chasken (1997) refers to such a concept as the 'close-knit village' concept as the modern equivalent of the full community⁵⁹. Boekelo translates Hay Shaabi as the popular neighborhood and has two meanings according to how it's used: the first being simple ordinary man and second is the unity of the neighborhood. In my interview with Rabih⁶⁰, he described the area in these terms referring to the residents as "Ahel al Khandak" and went on to describe the kinship between the residents and the community ties that bound them together from previous generations. These ties are physically visible because many of the residents live in the same apartments that their grandparents and parents lived in. However, such

⁵⁹ Chaskin (1997) defines the urban neighborhood as follows:

"A prototypical example of the urban neighborhood as a natural area is the ethnic enclave, formed by the clustering of immigrants into local communities around particular kinds of available work. Immigrant workers congregated within walking distance of the industry in which they tended to specialize and were further propelled to establish their neighborhoods as communities based on ethnic solidarity and identification through the "social imperatives of their cultural systems." Existing networks of early immigrants embraced new arrivals from home and offered a sense of identity, security, and belonging. The arrival of different ethnic groups and the development of coexisting sets of networks along these lines within the same geographic area often created some initial conflict until a new balance was worked out. The urban landscape that emerged from this growth was composed of sets of homogeneous neighborhoods within a heterogeneous field, a "mosaic of little social worlds which touch but do not interpenetrate," in Robert Ezra Park's famous phrase. The ethnic enclave as a natural formation—a transplant of the original close-knit village—is seen as the modern equivalent of the primordial "folk community," in which relations among individuals were based on primary ties of kinship and friendship and were rooted in a common identity with local life. It was based on this view, and the belief in the viability of maintaining and promoting community within distinct, naturally formed neighborhoods, that the earliest neighborhood organization movements, such as the settlement houses, the community center movement, and the social unit experiments, began." (Robert J. Chaskin. 1997. *Neighborhood Defined* in "Perspectives on Neighborhood and Community: A Review of the Literature" pp. 525-526. The University of Chicago)

⁶⁰ Rabih has lived in Khandak el-Ghamik since his birth in 1974. He resides in 'al-Tabesh' building that goes back to around the 1960s. He is of the second generation; he lives in his parent's house. His grandparents came from Tebnin.

neighborhoods are “associated with more normative and (city-scale) description as low-income, less-educated and cultured neighborhood.”(Boekelo, 2016, p..), which goes back to what the BDD employee Zeidan was referring to when he described the area as being hostile to outsiders and filled with Zuran.

Moreover, Rabih supports this description of the area. Additionally, in terms of economics Rabih (2019) says the commercial level relies on the neighborhood users and almost lacks external connections and networking with other neighborhoods or areas of the city, therefore adding to the argument that the area is closed off to outsiders (*Ma byehmol*). Rabih describes four types of communities in the area. First there is “Ahel al Khandak” those who live in Khandak street and around it and are mostly Shia and whose grandparents were rural migrants who came here in the years preceding and during the civil war⁶¹. Some of these individuals and families own shops and apartments, but most of them are tenants who benefit from the Old Rent Control and are afraid of being evicted since its revision in 2014. He added that this group of people also includes Sunnis and older Armenians, but both were forced out by the Zuran (read the thugs affiliated to Amal) after the war. The second community he describes is the Zahrawi community on Zahrawi street which resembles the Khandak community but is affiliated with Hezbollah. The third community is composed of Beirutis in Dandan Alley, off Khandak street. While few of these Beirutis still live in the area, the majority of them rent out their homes to migrant workers, some of whom work in BDD. The fourth community are the foreign migrant workers who live in the Khreis and Zahrawi neighborhoods, concentrating on Tello and

61

Chediak streets. They live with their families and operate shops that serve their communities, such as hairdressing salons.

b. Perceptions of Khandak community (Inhabitants and users) towards BDD

i. Knowledgeability of BDD by Khandak inhabitants/users

Interviews with residents and information from research by Boekelo (2016) showed that residents were unaware of the fact that BDD was buying up property. The reason why is because the “businessman”, representing BDD developer company, made sure to keep his identity concealed, relying instead on shell companies for the purchase of different plots⁶² (Boekelo, 2016). Interviews with inhabitants of the neighborhood illustrate this undercover operation, what Boekelo describes as ‘dissimulation’. Residents mentioned multiple company names they had heard of or had communicated with, such as Zain, Al-‘Aliya, and others⁶³. In addition, assumptions and rumors mentioned multiple well-known names such as Al-Walid bin Tala (who they thought had bought the archeological site as part of extending Solidere, what they refer to as Solidere II), Abdullah Berri (son of Amal

⁶² In their speech, the BDD developers refused to comment on these processes considering that “for the moment, the market wasn’t ready for their plans” (Boekelo, 2016, p.57).

⁶³ Residents in the block next to the archeological site explained to me, and what I found contradicting. They insisted that the company that bought the buildings they reside in was called “Al-‘Aliya-العالية” (showing me the contract holding its name, and had no idea what type of company it was, they assumed it would be a law firm), while other neighbors said that it was Zain real estate company (that is ZRE, the development company of BDD). In my online search and questions to some inhabitants, I found no information on this company.

head Nabih Birri), and others were speculated as the investors as often happens when little information is supplied.

When asked about his knowledge of BDD and how he perceives its impact on the neighborhood's socio-economic life, Khodr (Int.3) demonstrated a lack of knowledge towards this entity:

" شو BDD؟ ما بعرف.. قصدك سوليدير ؟ "

Ali Khodr. Personal Interview, Oct.2019

Khodr could be presented as one example of a group of people who are not informed about what is happening in Bachoura on issues of development and socio-economic dynamics happening next door. His lack of knowledge may be due to the fact that he lives in Basta and he doesn't own the shop he works in, unlike those who were threatened by displacement by BDD because it directly affected them. When I explained to him which part is BDD, he defined it through its different identity and use from the neighborhood where he expresses that "it contains only offices" (Ibid)

Mohammad (Int.4), in turn, operates a snack in a small (one-room) one-story building located on the intersection of Saad and Tayan streets, on the south-western edge of BDD. This snack is decades-old and was run by his father. It is under an old-rent contract. According to Muhamad, ZRE have tried to take over their shop after they bought it from its original owner's heirs, as part of a larger piece of land (that they turned into a parking space for their employees). However, Mouhamad won the lawsuit, and there were negotiations ongoing between him and the BDD developers until few years ago where the

developers suddenly stopped contacting him (Personal Interview, Oct 2019). When I asked him what he knows about BDD and its new buildings rising on the opposite side to his snack he related his knowledge about it to the function:

" كلاً شركات computer و online . هودي المبنيان كلن مكاتب. ما في شي سكن. "

Ali Khodr. Personal Interview, Oct.2019

ii. Psychological access and Associations Khandak's community relates BDD to: Between fear and acceptance, and negative and positive views of impact

On the other hand, some interviewees express their knowledgeableability of BDD through its developmental approach, like the case of the tailor on Tyane Street. It shows an attitude towards a developing new higher class taking over the areas once owned by the poor.

" هول شركات معن أموال عم يشتروا. المنطقة كلها مستقبلها Solidere ، مش للناس الفقراء. "

The Tailor. Personal Interview, Oct. 2019

The tailor is not the only one who expressed such a view. "Another Solidere" is a term used by multiple interviewees. Such a term expresses a fear these people hold towards a large-scale development displacing lower class resident and prioritizing the development of high-rises over old buildings. In the local imagination, the practice is usually associated with Solidere. The butcher, known as al-Laḥām, had a negative experience with BDD's shell company, Aliyah. He told me that they bought the shop that he rented under the pre1992 law, and he is afraid of being displaced.

In contrast with the tailor and the butcher, two business owners, who have their shops on the direct periphery of BDD, show an acceptance of the BDD. Mouhamad Shehadeh, the 'Beiruti' who runs a car mechanic shop in *'As`ad Khūrshīd* Street that edges the archaeological site, is an example of the acceptance of some business owners of BDD. Mouhamad seemed to strongly confront the conversations accusing BDD developers of pressuring people displacement from the neighborhood. According to him, no one has pressured anyone to sell their property. To the contrary, owners of buildings pursued the company to sell. He gives an example of a nearby house, Bayt al-Hanbali, that was recently sold to BDD. By that, these owners giving up their properties, are the ones responsible for the processes of displacement and loss of old fabric happening in the neighborhood. On another level, Mohamad also had a strong reaction when I asked questions about BDD 'buying the Christian lands.' While he had his Christian clients, coming from Jounieh to fix their car standing next to him, he affirmed that nothing of the type had been going on. According to him, all the Christian old-owners who lived in Bachoura had already sold their properties to Beirutis- "Ahel Bayrout"- in 1978. Accordingly, the owners of the old Christian neighborhood properties have been Beirutis since that date, and those are the ones who have been selling these properties to BDD.

Moreover, when asked about the expansion of BDD towards the area constituting the Mosque and the Hawsh-s, according to Mohamad the owners of the Hawsh-s, the Matar Family, wanted to sell his lands to BDD who, in turn, refused due to the location of the property next to the cemetery.

In reflecting on the impact of BDD on the area, and of any possible negative externalities their presence produced, Mohamad says:

" ال BDD ما أثروا سلباً، بالعكس عام يجيبو شغل للسمانة ومحلات الأكل "

Mohamad, the Car Mechanical.
Personal interview, Oct. 2019.

He also affirms this with a general attitude towards different corporations and high-end developments surrounding the area (Ibid)

Mouhamad, the snack owner (Int.4), expresses this same idea of benefit from BDD on the level of the food market. He says that he has clients from the nearby companies and administrative buildings in the Downtown and the nearby area including BDD and the Ministry of Finance. He explains that by the fact that this area, especially Zahrawi souk, attracts employees of lower-middle class working there to have their lunches from this market that is the only low-priced food in the area.

Moreover, the snack owner appears to be calm towards what's happening in the area. He believes that the spread of BDD will not go beyond the limits it has already reached for different reasons:

Freezing operations due to issues with cash/the whole economic situation

" كنا أساس في مفاوضات وآخر كم سنة معش حكووا. شكلن هالأ على الأوضاع ما قادرين يكفوا. حتى المبنيان أساس بسنة يخلصوهن. بعدن لهالأ ما خلصوا. الظاهر مافي كاش. "

They do not want to expand towards the zone of the mosque:

When asked if BDD would be expanding towards the area surrounding the Mosque and Husseiniya complex, he said:

" بهيدي المنطقة لأ ما بقربو، في كثير شقق سكنية وفي الحسينية. مطرح الحسينية ما بقربوا "

About possible expansion in the southern direction, beyond his shop, towards Khreis and Zahrawi neighborhoods he said: “I don't think they would expand more because here no one sells. They tried to negotiate over the heritage building with ornaments located on the corner. The owner, Walid Salha from Mount Lebanon, refused to buy. He wanted to renovate it by himself.” (Personal Interview, Oct. 2019) I also asked if it is possible that they buy and build residential buildings?

" لأ، ما سياستن سكنية "

iii. The role of political parties in forming perceptions towards BDD

The strong political power in the neighborhood is translated to the perceptions of the residents towards different dynamics happening there, especially towards BDD. The residents' perceptions of real estate developments differ between those small-middle scale developments in the core and the edge development by BDD. Boekelo (2016) expresses the influence of the political climate on the view of specific developments in the neighborhood as threat or not. He emphasizes the role of political climate in the fear of BDD and acceptance of other residential real estate developments that are typically expected to attract residents of the same political profile. He interprets the deliberately produced fear as a precaution to avoid the expansion of the project.

C. The Regulatory Framework Influencing the Interaction of Bachoura and BDD

This section explores the ways in which the regulatory planning framework influences the Bachoura/BDD interaction. It can be thought as part of Lefebvre's space of representation, showing the role of the professional planners/planning in influencing the process. The findings show that planning strongly empowers BDD over Bachoura.

1. Potential Development based on Zoning, rent gap and Other factors

According to the zoning code of Lebanon, Beirut is divided into 10 construction zones and 18 sub zones within each zone. Each zone has a set of guidelines relating to FAR and BUA (El-Achkar E., 1998). Building on the level of exploitation that the properties in Bachoura can meet according to the Lebanese zoning of 1954, maximum vertical and horizontal exploitation. My study area lies within zone #2 (see figure 3), and according to the zoning code, the maximum surface exploitation that each parcel can reach is 100% for the ground floor and 70% for the remaining floors (typical floors). The total exploitation ratio (TER) is 5. In addition to these regulations, it is important to mention the possibility for the developer to exceed the potential height if the parcel size is larger than 1300m². In this case, an exception is given by the DGU allowing for an open height potential.

Table 2: Land occupation density and built-up space in the ten zones as per Decree no.6285 of 11/9/1954

Land occupation density and Built-up space in the ten zones as per Decree no.6285 of 11/9/1954										
	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5	Zone 6	Zone 7	Zone 8	Zone 9	Zone 10
A	As per construction law	GF: As per construction law 1st floor and above: 70%	60%	50%	40%	50%	70%	As of Decree no. 2616 of 14/09/1953 amended by Decree no.14312 of 21/05/1970	0	As of Decree no. 4811 of 24/6/1966
B	As per construction law Decree no.2339 of 8/12/1971	5	4	4	3,5	2,5	3			
A: Land occupation density							B: Total Built-up space			

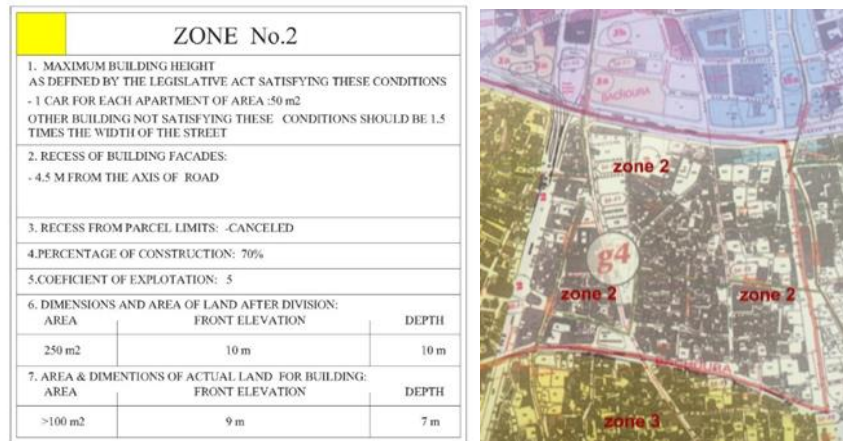


Figure 35 zoning of Bachoura

Buildings developed before 1971 in Beirut were restricted to a height of 6 floors. Since then, the successive variations of the Building Law have empowered developers to build higher and denser, lifting restrictions and increasing allowances. Consequently, a neighborhood like Bachoura, where buildings typically range at 3-6 floors, is at a high risk of being demolished because of what planners have called the *Rent Gap*⁶⁴, the possibility

⁶⁴ The Rent Gap:

By the late seventies, theories on gentrification began to develop around two different concepts: the “production-side” and the “consumption-side” (Slater, 2011). For the production-side, Neil Smith introduced the “rent gap” theory. Once the gap is sufficiently wide, more profits can be acquired from investing in the development or redevelopment of the land (Smith, 1982), usually intended for new tenants. Other production-side arguments on gentrification were made by Catusse and Boissinot, and mainly

of benefiting from constructing a new building with higher floors versus renting out the existing building. Due to the new building code of 2004,⁶⁵ the neighborhood may witness high-rise buildings of more than 13 floors, some of which are starting to emerge (e.g., BBD buildings). They will be concentrated on the northern and eastern peripheries that contain the new real estate developments. The southern part of the



Map 21 building heights in Khandak

addressed the role of the State, but only in the context of the law regulating rent. As for the consumption-side argument, David Ley (1994) argued about the emergence of a new middle class with new needs.

In the Lebanese context, (Krijnen & De Beukelaer, 2015) and (Catusse & Boissinot, 2011 as cited from El-Achkar, 2011), in their work on Zokak El-Blat and Achrafieh neighborhood respectively, identified a specific case of gentrification based on the emergence of upscale residential towers, which in turn are changing the urban landscape and the residents' insight of the neighborhood. Among the mechanisms of renewal of the social and urban fabric, (Catusse & Boissinot, 2011) distinguished the Law on Rent that drives landowners to evict tenants and to sell their properties in search of higher profits. Also, they addressed the social and the sectarian identity of the gentrifiers, as well their choices of residence, they consider that the main driving forces behind these urban and social transformations are of a capitalistic nature.

Understanding the relation between political system and urban transformations in Lebanon, (Davie, 2010) have assumed that Lebanon is run by a "peri-urban elite" composed of oligarchs and sectarian leaders who follow strict rules of sectarian power sharing. Also, Davie concentrates on the interventions by politicians to hamper urban projects, especially in Beirut, because of personal or clientelist issues. (Farah, 2011), for his part, argued that socio-economic differences became an important factor when the local level is weak in terms of economic initiatives and political mobilization; moreover, Amil (1986) affirms that it is the State that empowers and insures the durability of sectarian communities as political entities.

⁶⁵ Following the implementation of this law, Beirut witnessed a real-estate boom "which had sent real-estate prices skyward and produced a certain feverish scramble for plots to build (mostly 'luxury') residential and commercial real-estate". (Boekelo, 2016, p.56). According to Krijnen & Fawaz (2010, p.117), prices in the high-end sector then varied between Us\$3,000 and Us\$10,000 per m². From there, the Bachoura neighborhood, with its prime location, especially for its northeastern corner, was conceived by real estate

district faces new development too, yet these are limited to small-medium scale residential buildings that do not expand to a large part of the blocks; one of the reasons for that is the concentration of buildings constructed in the 1980s-1990s and with 7-10 floors in this part of the district.

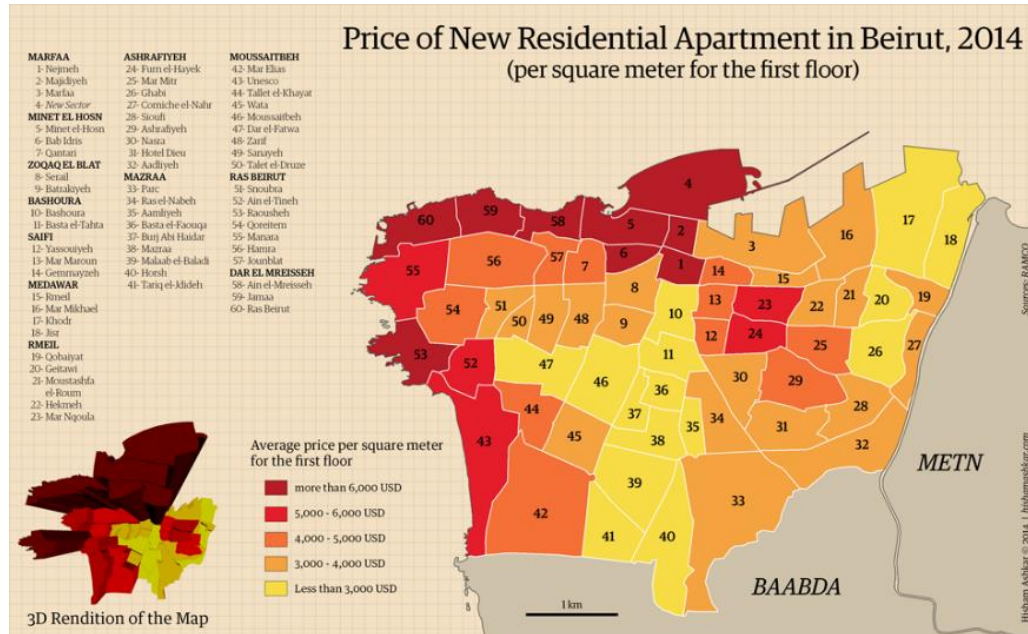
El-Achkar (2011) argues that this change is due to the basic role of public authorities in initiating gentrification processes, as in the case of ZRE (BDD) granted development incentives. According to El Achkar, the actions of the state can take two forms, either “direct intervention” or “setting the appropriate framework”. There are many levels and means of direct intervention: for example, public authorities may engage in the renovation, or they may initiate emblematic urban projects. On the other hand, setting the “appropriate framework” can be by offering incentives to large real-estate developers, such as tax exemptions and increasing the Plot Area Ratio when merging several parcels. Also, this is manifested through the adjustment of building and zoning codes in accordance with real-estate developers’ objectives (López-Morales, 2010 as cited in El-Achkar, 2011).

The low real estate prices in Bachoura compared to other surrounding areas (Zokak el Blat, Monot, and BCD) may have been one of the many motives behind BDD buying in the neighborhood. An overview of the real estate prices in the Bachoura is provided by a developer in the area⁶⁶. According to his information, the price of apartments in the middle of the neighborhood, ranges between US\$1,600 and US\$1,700 per m². In the area overlooking the cemetery and Walid Eido garden, in the south-western corner of Khandak,

developers as a good investment to capitalize on. According to Boekelo (2016), “the ‘limbo’ was somewhat deceptive, because acquisitions had been taking place since 2004” (p. 57)

⁶⁶ Based on interview with developer in 2012 by Boekelo (2016)

the developer sold apartments at \$2,000 to \$2,200 per m². On Bechara el-Khoury street, the figure went up to \$3500 (Boekelo, 2016, p. 69-70).



Map 22 real estate prices of Beirut districts showing bachoura district of lower prices than surrounding neighborhoods

Another dimension that influenced the development of BDD along with other real-estate developments in the Bachoura area is the high level of building vacancy especially in the Old Christian Neighborhood where BDD was first based. These are mainly heritage buildings that faced partial damage during the civil war and belong mostly to Christian families who left the neighborhood. In the absence of a policy that supports the re-population of vacant properties, and with the majority of the original owners being psychologically and socially distant from their old neighborhood that no longer represents a welcoming place for them. This is explained in chapter 3, where the vacancy formed a strong factor of attraction to real-estate developers who benefitted from the easy give-up of the old owners on their properties.



Map 23 vacant buildings in study area (in light orange)

Moreover, the deteriorated state of the pre-war buildings played an additional role in encouraging new developments through two dimensions. The first is the contribution to the devaluation of the neighborhood, a state that comes as a first phase for real-estate speculation. The second dimension is on the level of inhabitants and owners of buildings; the bad condition of buildings (2-6 stories) encourages their owners to replace them with 10-storey buildings in the aim of maximizing profit.



Map 24 building conditions in Khandak

Another part of the regulatory framework that facilitates the demolition of Bachoura in favor of an exclusive BDD is the weakness of the heritage preservation framework. Of the 220 heritage buildings earmarked for protection by the Ministry of Culture in 1999⁶⁷, 20 are located in the Bachoura area. However, by comparing my surveys to the APSAD map (see figure 2), it seems that 10 of them have been demolished so far, 5

⁶⁷ In 1999, the government issued a directive listing 220 historic buildings protected from demolition — unless the minister of culture says otherwise. Khatib & Alami, an architectural and engineering consulting company, created the list, which groups historical buildings into five categories: A, B, C, D and E. “A” refers to buildings in very good condition, and “E” is the classification for those buildings needing significant work. Buildings classified as A, B or C are protected, while D and E can be torn down freely.

of which are within BDD's property.

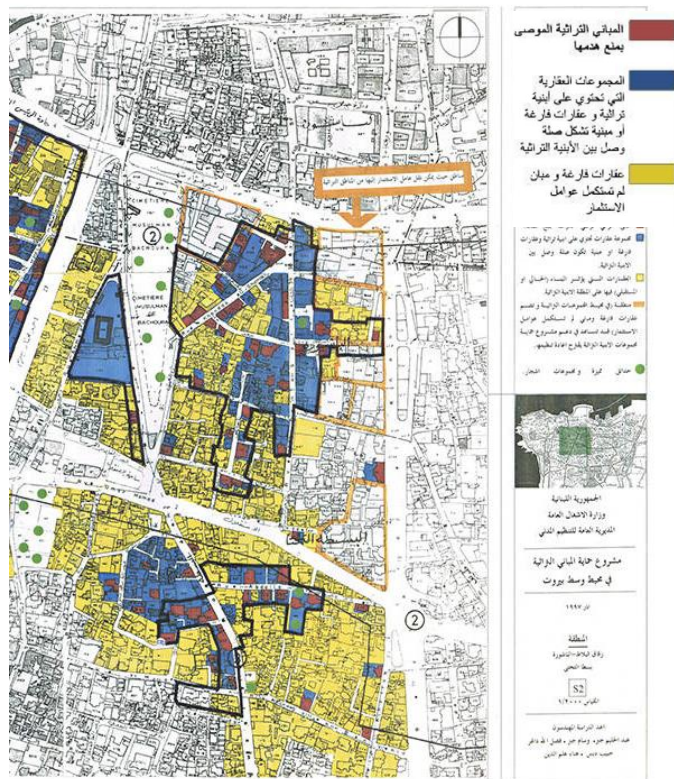


Figure 36 APSAD study

Conclusion: the edge versus the core

While the architectural fabric of the area constituting BDD (the Old Christian neighborhood), its property politics and structure, and the *subsequent large relative disinvestments* set the ground for a radical transformation of the function and character of the area, in the core of Khandaq, the contrast between current and potential value is smaller. It is relatively densely built, which precludes the implementation of large projects, and the rather dilapidated feel (a combination of a poorly maintained old urban fabric and buildings like the Khatib building, hastily and cheaply developed immediately preceding or

during the war) also decreases the overall value of the area. the vibrant working-class street life, with its corner boys, will also constitute an impediment (at least for developers of ‘high-end’ properties). As a consequence, projects were more modest in scale (and hence with smaller absolute profit margins) and the rates per m2 were closer to those of the far southern suburbs than of the surrounding city. (Boekelo,68)

This does not mean however that there has been no activity. To the contrary, for such a relatively small area, there has been many developments. Because there have been no empty plots – except for the strip of land along Bechara el Khoury (the Green Line), new developments ‘feed’ on the older built environment, which has lost its profitability vis-à-vis new developments. Buildings from the 1960s and earlier have diminished resilience in the face of urban change, because they tend to be smaller (especially for buildings of up until the 1940s) and because they generally house people on those ‘old rents.’ For both reasons, they yield relatively little money. In the case of Khandak, we can identify three rough stages of this kind of development that displaces older buildings. the relatively unpretentious and bare 6-9 floor apartment towers of the 1980s, built in a time of great demographic pressure on the city; then the slightly higher towers of the first half of the 1990s, with more attention to finishing and more “class”; and finally the second half of the first decade of this century, with edifices yet a floor or two higher, as allowed under the new building law, mostly developed according to *the currently reigning ‘Gulf’ model for residential towers*. for each new tower, a two to five story building, with small street-level businesses and a few families living above, will have had to make way. (Boekelo, 68,69)

D. The role of Political Parties: Battle of political territories and its translation into the development war

1. The role of politics in the 'protection' of the core and the 'neglect' of the edge to be left for BDD

As explained above, the BDD falls essentially within the old Christian neighborhood of Bachoura, expanding on the north-eastern corner. This area constitutes the largest part of the Khandak Al Ghamik neighborhood. The forced departure of the Christian community gives it the popular perception by outsiders as an abandoned, damaged, and poor neighborhood. Some journalistic narratives of the old Christian neighborhood in the period between the end of the war and before the purchase/development by BDD describe it as falling apart: the fissures of its crumbling buildings tell stories of abandonment, and the ancient, dark stairways emit the smell of disability and sickness” (An-Nahar, 1996-11-11, Mary Zuhub). While architect Rahif Fayyad describes the state of the area as a sample of “a rude rupture” between what the area once was, before the war, and what it is now, deprived of “rehabilitation and renovation, lost amid neglect”. He describes the deteriorated state as a manifestation of a “surreal, perplexing scene (mashhad suriāli, `ajīb)” (As-Safir, 2002-11-01). And ironically, Nawal Nasr wrote in 2005 that “[The identity of the] area arises out of its extreme poverty, on a site where one would expect the willingness to invest millions of dollars” (Sada al-Balad, 2005-10-16, Nawal Nasr).

Many acquisitions in the Christian neighborhood were already made by 2004. At the time, property was being acquired by the owner of ZRE, the developer company of BDD, which was then held by the late Syrian businessman Talal el Zein. El Zain is said to

have had connections in the Hariri circles, according to a number of newspapers⁶⁸, but it is clear that his wealth was accumulated outside Lebanon, prior to his retirement.

Several analyses of land transactions and building development explain the transformation of the neighborhoods in terms of political negotiations and territorial control. For example, Boekelo (2016) argues that the old Christian neighborhood area was opened up for renewed investment through a complex negotiation between the two Shia political parties on the one hand (Hezbollah and Amal) and Hariri's Sunni Future Movement on the other. While residents' presence was negotiated through the Ministry of Displaced, and likely deemed undesirable by all investors irrespective of their religion, the Shia parties may have also read in the presence of these communities the possibility of securing a stronghold in a city where historically the Shia community has no large estates and/or land control. Thus, Boekelo reported that Hezbollah representatives believed that Hariri and his associates wanted to develop Bachoura in order to squeeze out the Shia population "from the area between Downtown all the way to Ras al-Nabaa." (Boekelo, 2016, p.57). According to Boekelo, due to the changing circumstances, Hezbollah decided to give up protection of this part of Beirut in order to protect other sections (Ibid, 2016). Another account from Mukhtar Adel Matar argues that the agenda to control the Shia expansion into Downtown started in the 1960s when the Fouad Chehab Bridge was built to isolate Khandak al Ghamik from its natural extension. Before the bridge was built, he adds, vendors coming to Beirut passed across Al-Khandak Street all the way to the end of Syria Street heading to the souks. With the construction of the bridge in the late sixties, the

⁶⁸ (Boekelo, 2016, p.57).

vendors altered their paths from al-Khandak. By that, the area lost its character directly linked to the center. Matar believes that this separation was “intended”, because Khandak al Ghamik became affiliated with Shia since the sixties.⁶⁹ While this reading is unsubstantiated in historical records of the bridge development, it reflects the emotional and mental condition of residents in the area who see themselves as under attack, along both class and sectarian lines.

2. Social and Demographic transformations: Past socio-political boundary becomes a socio-economic boundary, an Accentuation of the war-formed boundary or its neutralization?

The BDD first built on the 1958 Muslim/Christian boundary, where past conflict had taken place, they tapped the vacancy and transformed it to an opportunity for their development. Looking at it in a normative way, we can see that they, by creating a corporate development that gives no care for sectarian and political dimensions, have built a neutral ground where all communities can meet. While the Christian community no longer resides in the neighborhood, we can say that BDD, by inhabiting the old Christian area, is neutralizing the boundary. Because the BDD attracts a specific talented class, and is in proximity to Monot-USJ, which has a strong institution that builds talent, it is inviting this Christian community to the same place they abandoned through an economic and innovative ground, a cosmopolitan atmosphere that they relate to.

⁶⁹ " بعض من شارع عريق على بعد جسر من البلد " . Retrieved from: <https://www.yabeyrouth.com>

By doing so, they are resonating the aspirations of a great number of youths in the city, away from all political and sectarian identities enforced by the ruling regime. However, by doing so, they have brought to the forefront the conflict that really matters that puts the capitalist Neo-Liberal agenda against the social one. Instead of transforming this place into a real place where communities meet, instead of building this social layer that brings in different communities, they built a new island that mimics Solidere yet on a smaller scale. This transforms the war on space, from the socio-political level (which translates a larger national conflict of political power into boundaries on ground) into a socio-economic one (the capitalist neoliberal agenda versus the right to city). However, the political establishment hasn't given up totally for this war. The political enclave still rules the area on the street level. They can put rules by threatening the image of a corporate/development/entity that has its strength built on its image.

The battle over space in Bachoura expresses the multi-layered conflicts of the city. It is a magnified/exaggerated sample of different conflicts and dynamics that the city struggles with on a daily basis. The case reflects the complexities that the urban field faces in the current time. It highlights the complexities underlying the intersection between two contrasting worlds, on multiple levels. Two spaces representing two poles. It magnifies the gap between communities. Between their contradicting aspirations, their lived experience, their practices, their understanding of themselves as a community and the other as a stranger. Addressing the relationship between BDD and Bachoura means: Setting a tone of relation of different playing forces in an urban field, between a corporate entity and a very politically charged entity, between a skilled workforce and unskilled lower income workforce). On the other hand, it shows how both communities are introverted, how an

edge is created between them while each entity opens to the other surroundings, Khandak communicates with Basta and Zoukak el Blat, and BDD communicates with Solidere and Monot-USJ.

What are possible potentials to redefine the spatial (and functional; social?) interface between BDD and the surrounding Bachoura community to promote a softer transition?

CHAPTER VI

MODELS FOR BDD TO FOLLOW

A. Case Studies on Innovation Districts and their Relation to Neighborhoods-Mitigating the Negative Externalities

In the literature review, I discussed how cities around the world are adopting innovation districts as local economic development strategies. Barcelona (Spain), Chattanooga (Tennessee) and Medellin (Colombia) are some of the cities that are building their version of an innovation district. The academic literature, as has been shown in the previous section, has assessed the negative spillovers of the knowledge-based developments on the urban fabric (Florida 2017; Glaeser, Resseger, and Tobio 2009; Stehlin 2016). Through an analysis of the three above mentioned cases studies, this section provides policy and design responses adopted by local governments to build more inclusive and integrated innovation districts.

I use a comparative table that acts as an evaluation grid to study the BDD. This evaluation grid is formulated through a comparative analysis of case studies with a similar problematic to BDD in Bachoura. The criteria of evaluation I created are based on what I need in relation to the problematic of my case. The entry points are: Process, Actors, Values/Value System, Programs/Strategies, and Design (programs and spaces). The findings of the case study indicate that Lefebvre and Punter's Theoretical Frameworks, which emphasize multi-scaler reflections, scale, connectivity, accessibility, and

permeability, in place-making are critical for the success of the case studies. In order to respond to challenges posed by the BDD such as urban integration, the developer needs to learn from similar successful cases of knowledge districts elsewhere.

1. Case Study One: The 'Chattanooga Way'- Chattanooga Innovation District

This case study explores the strategies that have been adopted in Chattanooga “to build a more inclusive innovation district,” (Morisson & Bevilacqua, 2018, p. xx) focusing on the urban planning and design strategies. Inclusivity as a principle for these strategies is adopted in the aim of mitigating the negative externalities of the knowledge-based urban development. This approach in the planning and the development process is based on public-private partnerships, bold planning and continuous participation from the community; which is considered to be a successful model for building inclusive innovation districts and is referred to as the ‘Chattanooga Way’ (Morisson & Bevilacqua, 2018).

Chattanooga is a mid-sized city located in Hamilton county, southeastern Tennessee, USA. Historically, it had an industrial past with Coca-Cola’s bottling factory serving the anchor institution in the area. However, due to suburbanization and deindustrialization, the city’s population witnessed a severe reduction by the end of the 20th century, especially in its downtown. In response to this downturn, in 1983 a non-profit organization, the Chattanooga Venture, was created and founded with a \$1 million-year donation by one of the foundations that were set-up during the Coca-Cola years, the Lyndhurst Foundation. Through a “community-based goal-setting” participatory process, this venture allowed the community of Chattanooga to formulate a new vision for their city, Vision 2000. The vision aimed to help the downtown navigate deindustrialization and

resurrect its economic role by promoting multiple urban projects targeting public space, infrastructure and public institutions (Morisson & Bevilacqua, 2018).

With the turn of the century, this transformation of Chattanooga's Downtown took a new form directed to resemble what is known as the Knowledge Turn⁷⁰, whereby there is an economic transition from industrial activity towards a knowledge-based economy (Morisson & Bevilacqua, 2018). In 2013, building on the newly established fiber-optic network and the startups that accompanied it in the downtown, the city's local government launched a taskforce which recommended the creation of an innovation district (Morisson & Bevilacqua, 2018). In 2015, 140 acres (around a quarter mile walking radius) of Downtown Chattanooga were designated by the city council as an Innovation District. In addition to the innovation ecosystem, residential units, co-working spaces, and public spaces and plazas were provided along with increased transit around the area.⁷¹

⁷⁰ In the 1990s, capitalist countries started to undergo an economic transition toward post-Fordism, or knowledge-based economies (Amin 1994; Drucker 1998). In the knowledge economy, technological innovation is a precondition for higher standards of living and economic prosperity (OECD 1996, 2015)

⁷¹ <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/the-avenue/2020/01/14/how-chattanooga-tenn-is-leveraging-digital-inclusion-to-open-its-innovation-district-to-all/>

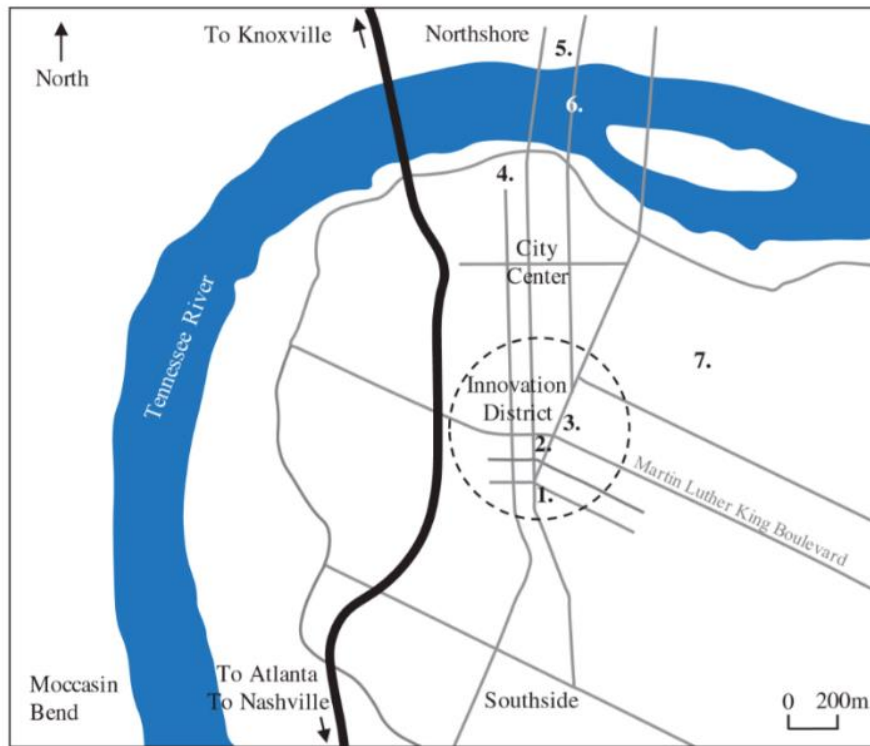


Figure 37 Map of Downtown Chattanooga showing the span of the Innovation District; i.e. the extension of its designed masterplan. Source: Morisson & Bevilacqua, 2018

The development of the district in 2015 made it possible for the city authorities to learn from other earlier developed innovation districts. Moreover, from its context, the area was already facing a light form of gentrification where the majority of households living in the neighborhood shifted from lower class to lower middle class and to upper-middle class. Moreover, the shifts in the racial makeup of the area became less diverse (from 63.3% White and 34.2% African American in 2000 to 71.1% White and 25.6% African American in 2015) (Morris]on & Bevilacqua, 2018). Based on this context, the city's municipal government realized the negatives that arise from having a knowledge-based development. Therefore, in response, authorities planned to design its innovation district, from the

beginning, considering equity and inclusion as its main principles, around which they devoted strategies.

Strategies adopted include: First, promoting digital equity and fostering entrepreneurial opportunities for underrepresented groups; second, programming the downtown area as a place for everyone; third, building affordable housings. The strategies were implemented by a wide range of actors, such as the City of Chattanooga, the Electric Power Board (EPB), and not-for-profit organizations, and were funded by place-based foundations, grants, and corporate sponsors.

a. Urban design

In the case of Chattanooga, no detailed master plan was created for the area, as is the case of typical top-down approaches in urban design. The transformation of the district followed urban strategies aiming to create a more inclusive district: Affordable Housing, Placemaking, and Connectivity. From this map (figure 3) we notice that the leaders provided infrastructure for already existing anchors of innovation. Rather than adding many buildings that generate innovation, they strengthened the networking potential by working on connectivity, accessibility, proximity, and permeability (through a shuttle route that connects this node to a larger city, promoting the inclusion of wider spectrum of people from different places and different socio-cultural profiles, and bike share station to enhance permeability on the smaller scale). In addition to supporting this physical infrastructure, social infrastructure is provided and supported through the inclusion of public libraries, parks, and open spaces etc. Moreover, the addition of affordable housing to

the already existing housing stock, which promotes more diversity in function and the inclusion of people of all income groups.

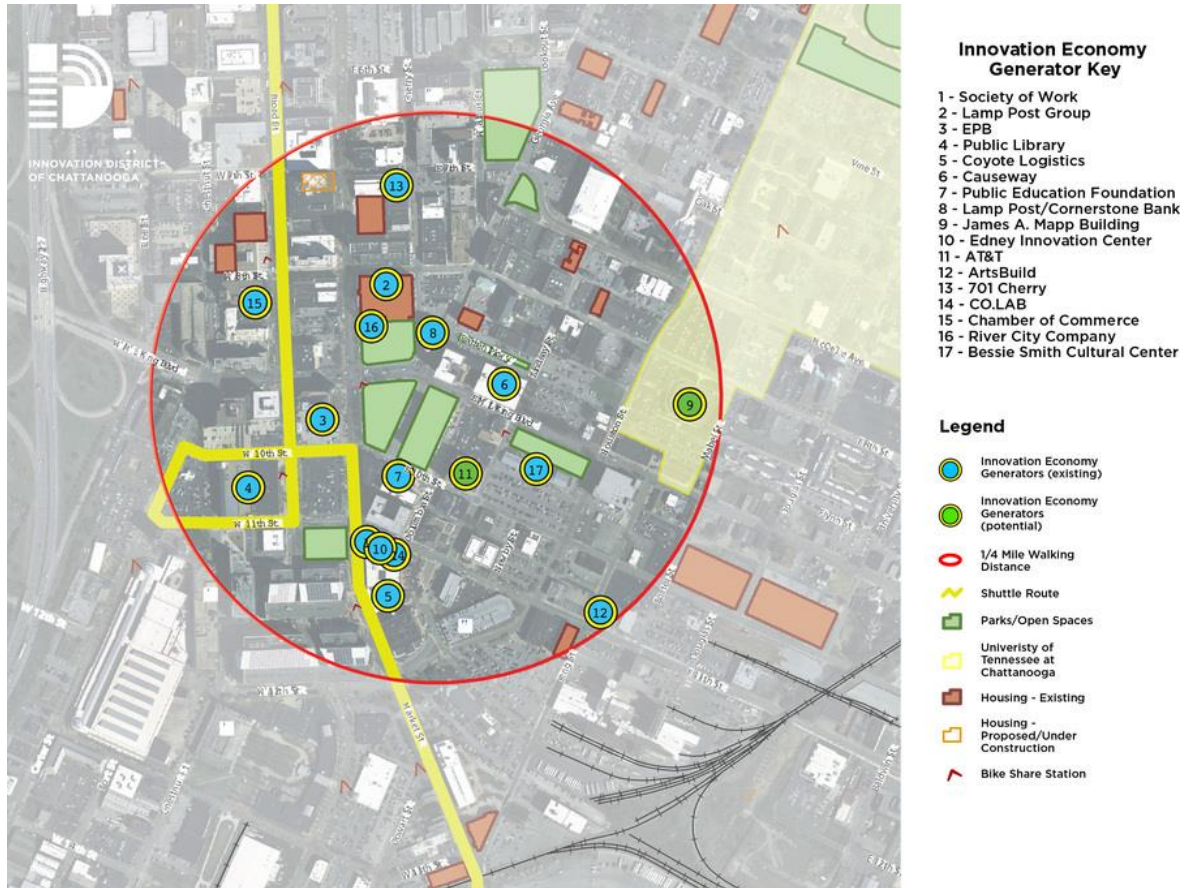


Figure 38 master plan of chattanooga innovation district

ii. Affordable Housing as a Key Strategy for Inclusion

Affordable housing is a key component of inclusion in the strategies of the Chattanooga district’s development. The principle behind it is that the goal of creating a ‘sustainable innovation hub’ that is “well-rounded rather than a one-trick pony” (Sturgis,

2015)⁷². As a result, throughout a participatory process (over 7 months) engaging a high number of local stakeholders (more than 70), twenty-two downtown buildings were selected to be remodeled/demolished to make space for new housing (counting for 1260 housing units) with higher densities and affordable rents. Mostly, the properties targeted by these projects were vacant and archaic which lacked their inhabitants' value while held a strategic value in terms of their location, being within walkable distance to the university, restaurants and coffee shops, and Tennessee River. On the other hand, other buildings that were remodeled were remarkable hotels and office buildings that held a historical value for the city. One example of this approach is the remodeling of an old hotel (named Tomorrow Building) to constitute a 43-unit 'micro-housing' project with a co-living space and relatively affordable rent. Such a project relied, in its development, on local financial support embodied by the Lamp Post Group, a famous local venture capital firm that finances a number of Chattanooga-based startups. The cumulative result of these projects appeared two-years later where the urban core of Chattanooga started to become a more vibrant residential area (Sturgis, 2015).

Affordable housing is implemented in two ways. First, PILOT programs⁷³ are used to provide real-estate developers with an incentive to include affordable apartments in downtown. For Example, tax incentives are given for developers who rent out 20% of their

⁷² 6 March 2015. Sam Sturgis. Bloomberg CityLab. "Why Housing Is Key to Chattanooga's Tech-Hub Ambitions." Retrieved from <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-03-06/chattanooga-tennessee-is-a-rising-technology-hub-securing-its-niche-with-well-planned-walkable-housing-in-the-city-s-center>

⁷³ PILOT programs are property tax breaks that were traditionally used to attract large companies such as Amazon to Chattanooga. This time, these programs are used to provide real-estate developers with an incentive to build apartments in downtown.

units to tenants that make “less than 80 percent of the area median income” (Smith and Smith 2014). In exchange, developers can benefit from a ten-year property tax freeze on new projects or 14 years if they choose to rehabilitate old buildings (Chattanooga City Council 2016). Second, the Chattanooga Neighborhood Enterprise, an NPO, created by the city of Chattanooga and funded by it and foundations, has built affordable houses and also provides loans and mortgages.

ii. Connectivity

Chattanooga's strategy towards connectivity involved low-cost transportation to ferry people into the area. This targeted low income workers and even connected them to affordable and diverse F&Bs and stores.

iii. A Strategic Design



Figure 39 strategic design of Chattanooga downtown in innovation district

The urban design proposed for transforming Chattanooga into an inclusive Innovation Hub had three components based on the existing urban fabric of the city: Civic Crossroads, Downtown Campus, and Cultural Corridor⁷⁴. The concept of the civic crossroads is to connect major anchors present there, mainly public spaces and institutions (e.g., Miller Park, the Public Library, and the Krystal and Tallan office buildings), and to activate the ground floors of buildings, underused buildings and vacant lands by connecting them with these anchors. The Downtown Campus concept integrates the anchor-plus model urban structure to the re-imagined urban area of Chattanooga⁷⁵. It uses the proximity of Tennessee University to create a campus where more programmatic diversity is formed.

One of the tools used to reach this goal is redeveloping some blocks near the university where new buildings are added, designed in a way that combines innovative functions with the general public functions. For instance, buildings can serve the university on upper floors (considered to be the innovation part) while offering retail and commercial space on the ground level (an attraction of the general public). On the level of residence, while blocks near university encompass hotels and residences for university users, other blocks of the ‘campus’ (such as areas around the City Hall and the Cultural Center) hold housing for all income levels and different social groups. The third central element of design is the cultural corridor that reassures the strong cultural identity of the area. The

⁷⁴ March 21st, 2018. Mike Pare. Chattanooga Times Free Press. “Innovation District plan includes greater UTC presence downtown, housing, research opportunities [photos]”. Retrieved from <https://www.timesfreepress.com/news/local/story/2018/mar/21/visiinnovatidistrict-includes-greater-utc-pre/466462/>

⁷⁵ Katz and Wagner (2014)) recognize three main models concerning the urban layout of innovation districts: 1.Anchor-plus model, 2. Re-imaged urban areas , 3.Urbanized science parks. For more details, see Chapter II, section I.

choice on Martin Luther King Boulevard aims at connecting the downtown area, UTC university and the adjoining historical African American neighborhood, considered to be among the most important cultural assets of the city. A cultural center is added to these assets to create a more dense, mixed use development. Moreover, the corridor was planned as a test bed for innovative ideas like transportation, air quality and wireless communications research done by UTC and other innovation generators.

The University of Tennessee is not the only educational component to be integrated in the district. A public-school system is planned to be plugged into the district along with the UTC and the State College. This highlights the use of social infrastructure in the aim of attaining higher inclusion and better development of the district.

In all three design elements, the urban design approach builds on the existing context components, altering the negative impact of some and capitalizing on the potential of others. It utilizes under-used buildings and vacant land. Moreover, it makes use of city government properties and private properties, where owners are invited to be part of the process by exploring ways to repurpose their underused structures, etc.

2. Case Study Two: The ‘Medellin Model’/ ‘Medellin Miracle’- Medellinnovation District

This case study explores the strategies that the local government of Medellin implemented, jointly with a private body in the city, to “mitigate the negative externalities of building the city’s own version of an innovation district”, such as gentrification, non-participation, and segregation, while attaining the success they thought for the project. To them, “economic growth and reduction of inequalities are identified as two sides of the

same coin”⁷⁶. In that sense, the strategies are divided into two categories, absorption and attraction (Morisson & Bevilacqua, 2018). While the attraction strategy aims to “attract knowledge companies and workers to the innovation district to help it thrive”, the absorption strategy aims to “reduce the cognitive distance between the residents and the newly arrived knowledge workers” (Morisson & Bevilacqua, 2018, p. XX). This is achieved by including the residents living in the innovation district and its vicinity in the district’s programs (open labs, trainings, business opportunities, and events) and engaging them in its development process (co-creation process) (Morisson & Bevilacqua, 2018)⁷⁷.

Ruta N Medellin is a nonprofit public organization created in 2009 by the local government in partnership with the public-utility and telecommunications company EPM-UNE (Ruta N, 2010). Its aim was to act as a mediator between companies, public institutions, and universities that connects them but also supports their technological innovations process and helps them through their transformation phase (Morisson & Bevilacqua, 2018).

⁷⁶Eddy Adams. Aug 9, 2019. “Making Sense Of Medellin”
<https://medium.com/@edmundoadams/making-sense-of-medellin-834b5e6b2614>

⁷⁷ *Although the strategy adopted in the Medellin innovation District is promising on a theoretical standpoint, it is difficult to assess its efficacy in the face of real-estate speculation and land pressures.*

Further research should look at strategies to mitigate negative externalities in innovation districts that have experienced strong real-estate speculations., as the case of Beirut

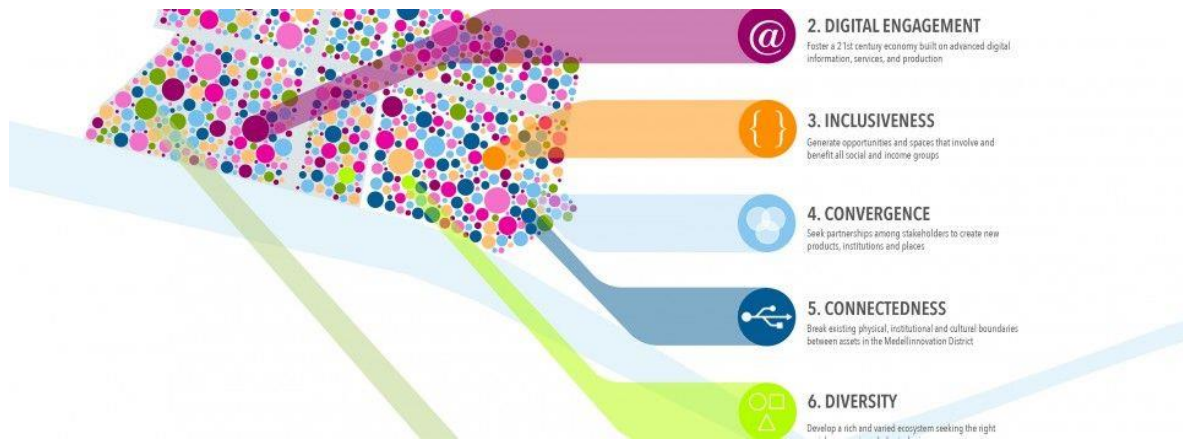


Figure 40 A graphical representation of the Principles of Medellín Innovation District Development Plan. Source: <https://ongreening.com/en/News/digital-technologies-that-are-changing-the-construction-industry-1215>

Located in Colombia's Aburrá Valley, Medellín is the second largest city in the country in terms of population. Historically, it was Colombia's - and South America's - center of industry in the 1970s. This all changed in the 1990s as the cartel turned it into a 'Murder Capital.' However, this was reversed in 2009, when the city partnered with the private telecommunications company EPM-UNE to launch Ruta N Medellín. This non-profit



Figure 41 Area of intervention (in white) and area of influence (in orange) of Medellín Innovation district. Source: Tecnologías, Mercados Y La Ciudad En Transformación. Distrito Medellín Innovation: Estrategia De Diseño Urbano. Retrieved from: <https://www.medellin.gov.co/irj/go/km/docs/wpccontent/Sites/>

organization created in 2012 Medellín's innovation district, which has turned the city as one of the most innovative in the world.

This would not have happened without the social urbanism⁷⁸ strategy, contemplated by the city authorities, mainly manifested by a transport system that connects the area to the poorer suburbs. It also would not have happened without the social urbanism programs, both which decreased the cognitive distance between the existing poorer communities and the new creative class in Medellín. Examples of social infrastructure developed are the creation of library-parks⁷⁹ and new schools⁸⁰, conceived as affirmations of state presence in the poor sectors that became popular in crime and violence⁸¹ in the earlier period (Davila, 2013). In terms of transport infrastructure, Metro cables were constructed, and used for broad urban upgrades: “the use of urban infrastructure as a tool for social cohesion and

⁷⁸ “Social urbanism is the name given to the physical interventions in the poorer sectors of the city over the period 2002-2010” (Echeverri and Orsini, 2010; *The Architectural Review*, 2011). They are the material manifestations of what was termed the ‘Medellin model’, aiming at creating socio-spatial inclusion for a city that is facing a crisis of social exclusion, weak state, and territorial control. Supported by the discourse of paying off the city’s historical debt to the long-abandoned poor sectors, it involved shifting substantial public investment to those sectors in the form of infrastructure, public buildings and services (social infrastructure), and urban space and environmental improvements. This was partly functional (improving the provision of and access to services and improving quality of life indices) but above all aesthetic: high quality architecture and finishing aimed to materialize the idea of inclusion. (Brand, 2013)

⁷⁹ They provide a variety of services including computer and information technology, training courses, cultural activities, spaces for sport and recreation, social programs, business set-up advice and so on.

⁸⁰ In the new schools, architecture was a key feature of state presence. These buildings, implanted in monotone brick neighborhoods, stand out in their scale, form, materials and color, and announce state presence worthy of the wealthier sectors of the city.

⁸¹ The Medellín model came as a response to the challenging aspect of the city becoming “increasingly socially unequal and spatially segregated, with high levels of poverty, a growing social housing crisis, structural unemployment, alarming levels of informality and underemployment, and restricted opportunities for young people. Add the presence of youth gangs and criminal organizations resulting from the incomplete reinsertion of illegal paramilitary groups in Colombia, the trafficking and consumption of drugs and turf wars for territorial control.” (Brand, 2010).

inclusion was an integral part of the transformation with physical infrastructure designed to force face to face interaction between people from different communities and backgrounds” (Shallowe, 2016).



Figure 42 The metro cable passing through the poor neighborhoods. Source: <http://wideopenproject.com/2011/03/03/ruta-n-the-innovation-hub-of-medellin/>

The process of implementing the metro cables was undertaken with the “participation of residents, no family was forcibly re-housed, all transactions were by voluntary agreement, and there was no significant cost for those families as municipal budgets and multiple subsidies were focused on the project” (Brand, 2013). These two elements of social urbanism signify the importance of having large-scale strategy that go beyond the direct limits of the innovation district and expands its targets to reach

larger values for communities⁸². A city-scale urban strategy (figure 7) in that sense enhances the inclusionary capacity and expands the benefits to the wider public.

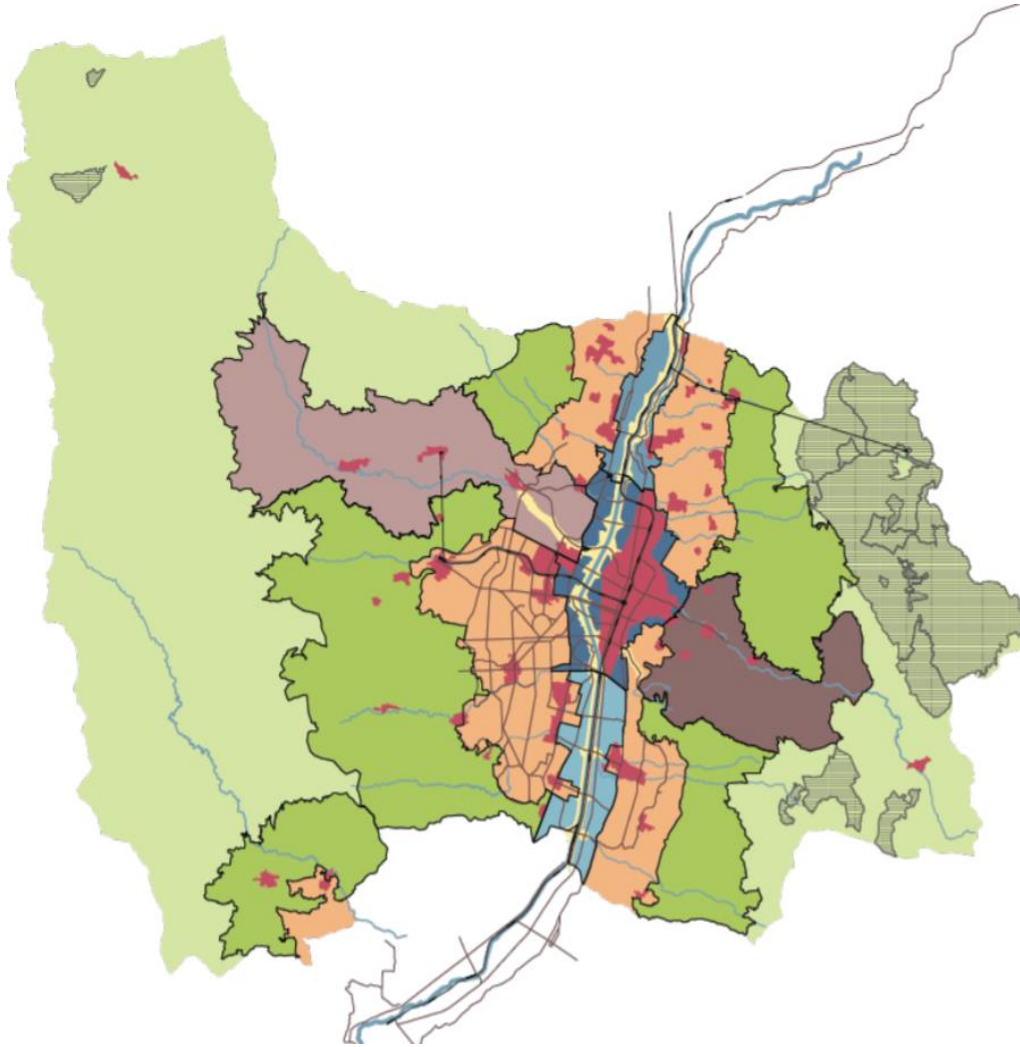


Figure 43 The larger city Vision: Strategic Redevelopment Areas: REGIONAL ARTICULATION + CENTRALITIES + SUSTANINABLE MOBILITY. Source: <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/809831464879257666/housing-finance-conference2016-session-8-presentations.pdf>

⁸² A second key aspect was the municipality's financial capacity. Although projects were not exorbitant (an aerial cable-car cost around US\$25 million, a library-park around US\$6 million), they were largely funded through the city's capital expenditure budget without the need for loans. T

a. Design





Figure 45 Development Phases: Phase 1: Mobilization (years 0-3), Phase 2: Critical Mass (years 3-6), Phase 3: Consolidation (2023) . Source: Tecnologías, Mercados Y La Ciudad En Transformación. Distrito Medellíninnovation: Estrategia De Diseño Urbano

b. Limitations and Underlying problems to consider

The scope of physical inventions is not wide enough to make a lasting impact on the area, especially when low-income. Once they are successful and famous their attention shifts from the local towards global competition. Moreover, the logic of capital controls development. As El Colombiano notes:

“Recently there has been a lot of publicity about Medellín being the most educated and inclusive city, about it being a model of urban innovation. All this must be true, it has been repeated so often. We are pleased with the good things that the city has achieved. But equally, we know and are witness everyday to our region being the most violent in the country, the years go by and we have not learned how to live together peacefully, we are killing each other in the ‘barrios’ [...] Our problems are complex and deeply entrenched in our social structure; simplistic, partial solutions are not sufficient.”

(El Colombiano, 2013) ((Brand, 2013) translation)

3. Case Study Three: The ‘Barcelona Model’ -@22Barcelona

This case study explores the strategies that the city of Barcelona took in order to regenerate their underperforming downtown area, transforming it into an innovation district, while preserving its heritage. This area, known as Poblenou, was once the home of a cluster of factories that made up the industrial hub of Catalonia. Like other cities around the world, the hub faced a decline towards the end of the millennium. However, this decline witnessed a turnaround in 2000 after the launch of the 22@ District, an homage to the previous Zoning Area it was under: 22A. This place-based urban development strategy to regenerate the downtown was part of a larger city-scale plan that which included a holistic plan that encompassed a modification of the zoning laws, a special infrastructure plan that favors public transport (including a high-speed railway station), and a heritage preservation plan (Morisson, 2017). This approach to planning, with its multiple urban projects, is referred to as the Barcelona model (Charnock & Ribera-Fumaz, 2011).

By creating connectivity and making the district accessible to different areas of the city with a relatively low cost, the holistic city scale urban strategy enhanced the inclusive and integrative capacity of the district that became a target to different socio-economic groups. An additional factor of inclusion was added by forming and incentivizing social housing in the district and its surroundings. 22@ specifically promotes the construction of new government protected dwellings in the aim of favoring social diversity in Poblenou and guaranteeing that all streets are navigable throughout the day.

The goals of the 22@ plan expanded beyond the district success towards highlighting the larger value to the city and society. These values are manifested in the district development through preserving heritage, by protecting historical buildings that go back to the industrial era and encouraging the re-use of old-industrial buildings depending on the needs of different areas. Other values of education, equity, social interaction, and environment are by leveraging social infrastructure (increasing the educational level of residents, building new schools, open labs for training, etc.) and physical infrastructure (low-cost expanded public transport system) and both creating and incentivizing green spaces and public amenities. For example, 22@ coding establishes that 10% of the transformed land be reserved for public amenities.

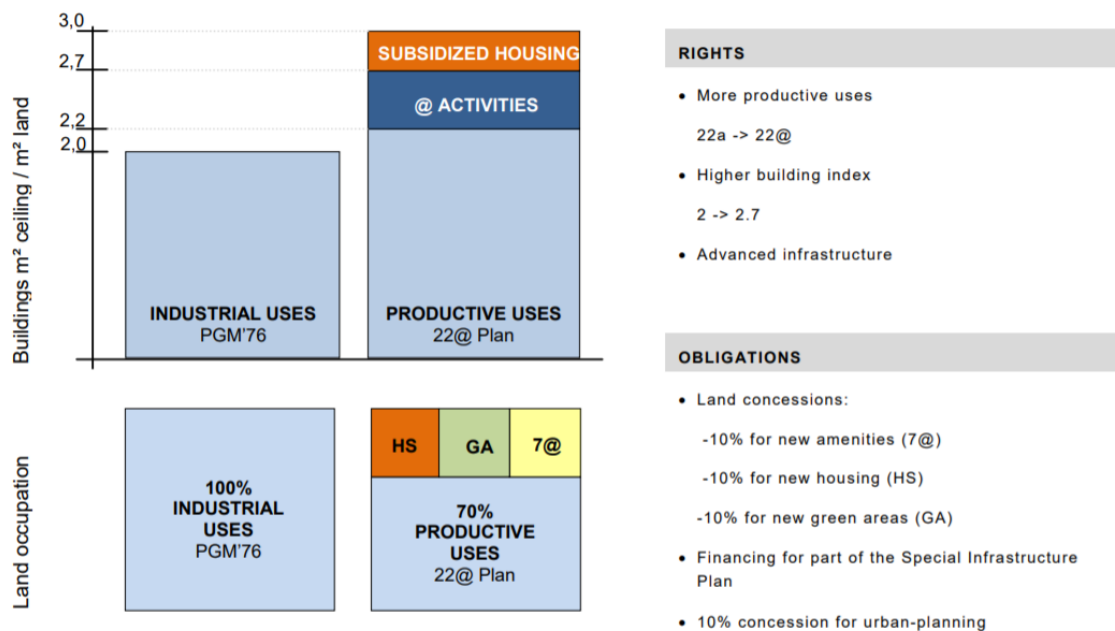


Figure 46 Private development incentives in the new coding of @22 Barcelona

While having a strong leadership of the public sector, in planning, financing and implementing the vision for the district, public-private partnerships are created on a project scale, considering that these partnerships benefit not only the firm but also the city. In that sense, the Barcelona Urban Innovation Lab & Dev (BUILD) includes the private sector through PPP to be a part of the solution for the most pressing urban problems (Bakici et al. 2013). While the local government provides human, technical, and infrastructural capital, the private sector gains experience from “to real-life testbeds for their new products while contributing to the innovative capacity of the city” (Ibid).

a. Limitations of the Top-down Approach and Bottom-up approaches emerging to fill in its gaps

In contrast to what it called for, mainly summed up in inclusion and integration, some critics such as Zarlenga et al. (2013) considered the relationship of 22@project with its former social and urban environment as a form of substitution, not inclusion and integration. According to the researchers, the social interaction between the creative cluster and the people outside was cold, as the latter group wasn't much involved in the district's daily social life. Another example of this low level of inclusion is the opposition of many local actors representing the district inhabitants for the development process led by the city council. According to them, the municipality followed a top-down approach that favored private interests over the citizen's concerns (Capdevila & Zarlenga, 2015). In response to that, the local actors started bottom-up initiatives such as the Poblenou Creative Map platform that brings the local community together.

Guifi.net is another bottom-up initiative created by engaged citizens “without initial institutional support” that offers locals wireless Wi-Fi networks: “a type of infrastructure needed to the development of online services that can be spread out incrementally by the organic involvement of citizens who add connection nodes” (Vega et al. 2012). Currently, Guifi.net is the largest free network in the world (ibid).

4. A Grid of Evaluation

The comparative analysis of the three case studies allows me to define a grid of evaluation formulated through which I can read the BDD/Bachoura intersection. The categories of evaluation are: Process, Actors, Values/Value System, Programs/Strategies, Tools, Design (programs and spaces). (table)

ACTORS	PROCESS	URBAN CONTEXT Characteristics	VALUE SYSTEM	STRATEGIES to mitigate negative externalities	TARGET POPULATION	TOOLS	DESIGN					
							Spatial Model	Urban layout	Governance structure	Urban character		
C.S.1 Chattanooga Innovation District	Public (the city of Chattanooga as leader, planning, financing and managing) In participation with not-for-profit organizations +public-private partnership	Participatory process	Top Down +Bottom-up	Planned	Majority of low-income residents industrial past & population decline history of Citizen engagement in urban development processes City authorities Adopting City-branding strategies Racial differences	Inclusion* [limit income, social, & racial polarization] Equity Place Citizens engagement Diversity Growth	Promoting Digital Equity	low-income residents	Programs	Re-imagined urban area model (reimagined downtown Chattanooga + anchor-plus model) (utilized University of Tennessee as an anchor institution)	Radical Mixed Development (Mixity in use, function, & users: residential space, offices, along with incubators & some university presence.)	Continuity from existing fabric Diversity---Mixity (catalytic mix) functional & economic: mix of innovation with a range of other uses: public spaces & a host of coffee shops & eateries + Places, events, bars, restaurants, & shops that are affordable & interesting for diverse ethnic and socioeconomic groups. Connectivity & accessibility, proximity, permeability: functions linked by attractive streets, a bike-share program & free downtown electric shuttle dense and walkable public libraries, parks, open spaces
							Fostering Entrepreneurship Opportunities	under-represented groups, minorities, children				
							Affordable Housing	renters earning <80% median income of the area	Policies/ coding PILOT Programs (Property Tax Breaks)			
							Event making	Everyone	Events			
							Placemaking	Everyone	Programs (e.g. Placemaking week) Spatial interventions on public space (e.g. redevelopment of Miller Park) form-based code for the district (through it Affordable places are created)			
							Connectivity	Everyone	Policies for low-cost transportation			

C.S.2 Medellin Innovation District	Public-private joint effort (city of Medellin + public-utility & telecommunications company)	Participatory (co-creation with & including the community-inhabitants & associations in the district-in the development of the innovation district)		social urbanism programs and innovative transportation system connecting the poorest neighborhoods with the city center	Inclusion Citizens Participation Interaction/social proximity (reduce cognitive distance)	Absorption (reducing the cognitive distance between the residents and the incoming knowledge workers)	Residents	Programs (Socio-economic): Participatory programs (Co-creation) Labs for Residents' Training Residents' Business Opportunities like open kitchen Living labs & events for resident's inclusion	
C.S.3 Barcelona 22@ Innovation District	Lead by the city Mayor – leadership of the city council Collaboration throughout the process between government, universities & companies Public-private parentships on project scale	Top-down urban strategy Later, some bottom up initiatives started to grow Top-down incentives integrated with bottom-up initiatives	Top-down Planned (by Urban planning Public-institutions)		Education Equity Social interaction Environment Inclusion Integration	larger city-scale plan including a holistic plan that Enhance the inclusive & integrative capacity Partnerships with private sector benefit the city and not only firms Be part of the most stressing urban problems	Residents and general public	1- Modification of the zoning laws: 22@Coding Forming (in city-owned properties) & incentivizing (for private developments): Social/Affordable Housing, public & green spaces, urban amenities in the district and its surroundings 2- A Special Infrastructure Plan that favors public transport A heritage Preservation Plan Forming Barcelona Urban Innovation Lab & Dev. (BUILD)	former old industrial area Social infrastructure enhanced (New schools, open labs,...) Social diversity Accessibility: all streets are navigable throughout the day Public and green spaces Connectivity: Low-cost expanded public transport system (physical infrastructure leveraged)

Legend	Public sector	Participatory	Top-down	Planned	Everyone- city users	Spatial intervention & programs	Embedded	Anchor-plus	University-led	Continuity
	Non-profit org.		Bottom-up	Organic	Surrounding community (inhabitants of nearby neighborhoods)	master plan& coding	Cluster	Re-imaged urban areas	University plus	Diversity/ Mixity
	Private sector				Creative class – district community (users of innovation district)		Campus	Urbanized science parks	Radical Mixed Development	Connectivity ---proximity, walkability, permeability, accessibility
	Public-private joint								Enterprise-led	

Table 1 Comparative Table of Three Case Studies from Which Evaluation Grid is Formed. Source: Israa Darwish, 2020.

5. Findings: Ingredients for Success

Based on the evaluation of the three case studies, it is recommended that to tackle the problematic of gentrification and exclusion, BDD should address multiple principles and strategies:

a. Participatory Urbanism

As the case studies show, the adoption of a participatory process in the development process of an innovation district is a key for its success and inclusivity. In the case of Barcelona which was a top-down approach, it lacked the inclusion that a participatory process could have added. In response to this, bottom-up initiatives were created by the affected communities to fix this gap. This highlights the pitfalls of taking a pure top-down approach in any development that includes a social dimension and in any other urban development.

b. Central role of Public Sector

In terms of actors, the public sector has to be centrally involved in initiating development and partnerships. Therefore, in order to think of social inclusion and general city values, the public sector has to be the cornerstone of any process with the support of the private sector and NGOs. For example, the public sector can stipulate that the district has to maintain and upgrade heritage buildings in their area of operation. Additionally, the district can be made to leverage digital skills for city residents and under-represented communities and other city and national scale values.

c. Inclusion

Inclusivity of the public in general and the immediate context in specific: spatially, this means that we need to reduce the barriers between the district and the locals, etc. Programmatically, inclusivity can be achieved through the ‘absorption’ of the public in general and inhabitants of the immediate contexts in specific. Also, it’s about protecting the presence of the community in the immediate neighborhoods through keeping their stakes in the area and their right to living there. In that sense, Chayka (2014)⁸³ suggests:

“giving guaranteed space at fixed, lower rents in innovation districts to educational institutions and subsidizing their tuition and fees for local residents. Innovation districts can also build inclusivity by guaranteeing cheaper space to affordable housing developments and institutes that serve the community, such as nonprofits or free legal and medical clinics. Bringing new service sector jobs to the district will only be helpful to the residents in the medium to long term if they pay living wages. Whatever policy an innovation district leverages to grow inclusively, it is crucial to remember that inclusion will likely not happen if you do not make it happen.” (p.12)

d. Reducing cognitive distance

One way to reduce cognitive distance between the residents and the newly arrived knowledge workers is by increasing the absorptive capacity of the residents to the external knowledge that the workers are bringing with them. This is a major factor that helps in building an inclusive development. It can be done through open public programs that train the residents of the area of the district to the incoming new knowledge and create business opportunities for them. An additional step can be done using participatory urbanism to

⁸³ As quoted in Lawrence et al., (2019) Planning for an Innovation District: Questions for Practitioners to Consider

involve residents to become full participants in the development of the innovation district, and even accelerate the innovation process.

e. Connectivity to the surrounding context and to transport infrastructure

On the scale of the district and its context, connectivity is very much related to the permeability of the urban fabric. Permeability is what the districts look like at the ground level and how they are stitched into the fabric of the locality around them. It should be noted, however, that permeability does not necessarily mean accessibility in terms of public transport, or engagement with the local area. Sometimes a site has a larger proportion of publicly accessible roads yet has poor connectivity. Similarly, some sites which appear to have low levels of permeability do in fact offer a range of programs and events for the people outside the district (Hanna, 2016, p. 68). Usually, the permeability of the site is a response to location and land availability, and the period in which it developed.

As for connectivity on the larger scale, affordable and upgraded public transport has shown to be a major element to expanding the inclusive capacity of the district to the general public. This highlights the need for integrating any district scale strategy to a holistic vision for the city.

f. Continuity from the existing urban fabric

In all case studies, Innovation Districts were not superimposed on the existing urban fabric, rather they capitalized on it and on the existing functions and heritage of the area, while integrating new developments with the already existing ones.

B. Assessing BDD as an Innovation District: Applying the Evaluation Grid to determine its position vis a vis socio-spatial value

The aim of this section is to determine BDD's position vis-a-vis the socio-spatial values and what guidelines BDD should consider for developing a more successful model of an innovation district, along the lines of the above criteria. It examines where BDD stands now in relation to the principles extracted from the case studies: what are the goals it meets, and those it doesn't, why does the developers take a specific approach in the development of the district. The goal of this analysis is to extract opportunities for possible interventions that can improve the role of the BDD for the surrounding communities and the city and mitigate its gentrifying effects. By assessing BDD, we can find that multiple layers have led to the district's shortcomings in its surrounding area. These are linked to the process of development of the project, the actors initiating the project and articulating its vision, and the values embedded in the project of the BDD development. Conversely, BDD has some elements of success to be valued and built on.

1. Actors, process and Values: BDD as corporate private-led development with a top-down approach lacking larger social values

BDD was initiated by a private company and facilitated by the state through infrastructure and Central Bank incentives to finance start-ups, fostering their innovative ecosystem. In that sense, the process of development by BDD lacked a real role of the public authorities on the level of the municipality and the national level. Hence, the larger social/cultural values including guidelines on how BDD should conduct itself with their neighbors were missing. In comparing with formerly studied cases, this lack of value is

understood as they usually come from the central role and responsibility of the public sector in guaranteeing the right to the city and other larger values of the society.

This issue is reflected in the values that BDD holds today. So, while the vision statement touches on a national scale hinting on inclusion of larger society, the implementation of the project contradicts such a vision and values. Despite the innovation value that it gives, in practice, the company's spatial development strategy didn't differ much from any other real estate development or commercial project that aims for profit. This is manifested on both the physical and programmatic levels. Both levels lacked many socio-spatial values that help with the goals of social inclusion and physical urban integration, like continuity, accessibility and diversity. This is well in line with what was predicted in Morisson (2014)'s study where he showed that innovation districts created by real-estate development companies "lack some conceptual dimensions in order to be fully functioning innovation districts" (p. xx). The fact that the BDD was initiated by a private real estate company may well leading to the same shortcomings in terms of urban integration and social inclusion.

An additional element to the above two elements (actors and values) hindering the inclusive capacity of BDD is its top-down development process. As shown in chapter III profiling BDD, the development process of BDD is a corporate private-led development with a top-down approach, where no participation of the public is induced.

2. BDD's Design Assessed

a. Observations on the development process and proposed master plan of BDD

Through observations on the BDD's proposed masterplan and its ongoing development process, it is noticed that the BDD developers conduct a real-estate project approach with many common points with the neighboring Solidere master plan approach.

In a similar case to Solidere's masterplan, BDD's guidelines are limited to physical design, which include envelope control for street facades through mandatory setbacks, pedestrian passages, podiums boundaries and landscape boundaries. It also highlights the locations of possible landmarks, towers, and podiums. Also, the streetscape and connectivity of the plan is considered in relation with the public realm, yet they are limited to the streets that pass through it (i.e., the public versus private pedestrian passage/bridge). Moreover, the public realm is understood only from a physical point of view. The plan lacks the human integration dimension with no points of social interactions being specified.

The plan lacks a social dimension that is needed to integrate the locals with the district on multiple levels. The first observation could be the absence of potential places of social encounter between different communities including the BDD community, the different locals, and the general public. This aspect is missing not only in the terms of the nature of open spaces but also the programmatic level (affordable and diverse commercial and leisure spaces like shops, publicly accessible play areas for children, etc. and affordable housing), and connectivity levels (like bus stops and bike stops and trails). Moreover, the non-physical policies addressing the social dimension are too limited (like an installation of a small stands for book or clothes donations) and don't touch upon major

issues like making the green spaces accessible to public or providing poor people with free/affordable digital education. While the BDD programs director Stephanie Abi Abdallah talks about the BDD manager's attempts to communicate with the communities of Bachoura and compensate their losses that the project's development caused to their social spaces, the BDD managers didn't advise any policies that would help in that sense (like a policy for preserving the heritage buildings newly owned by them, or a policy that advises preserving the existing old tenant in their newly owned properties, or the like the creation of a committee that combines neighboring community members with BDD managers making it possible to translate the aspirations and fears by the two entities towards making integration possible).

The proposed master plan translates the segregation of the BDD from its surrounding context on the spatial level, where the plan is drawn exclusively within their property boundary and does not consider the surrounding neighborhoods. This expresses the developer's view of the project as an isolated entity that doesn't count for its impact on the context or acknowledge possible paths for integration and larger scale connectivity.

Instead of acting as a creative pole that lead innovation in its context by implementing solutions to urban contextual problems⁸⁴, the BDD is compelled to the conventional understanding of the urban realm and is passive in relating to it . For example, the proposed masterplan maps existing traffic but does not study its own impact on traffic or propose solutions to mitigate the traffic congestion for it and the streets surrounding it.

⁸⁴ For information on this approach see the concept of 'Creative Thinking' addressed by Charles Landry, 2000. "The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators".

Also, in terms of parking, instead of being innovative in terms of transport traffic and accessibility (e.g., bike lanes, carpools), they used the same conventional ways such as large parking space dedicated for cars. BDD's newly bought properties are used as parking lots following the Lebanese regulations in Beirut which stipulates that vacant plots must be used as parking lots for three years before being developed. The law also states that these same properties can be converted into public spaces such as parks, but BDD decided not to do this, which is an opportunity loss of providing shared spaces to the communities.

b. Reflecting on the evaluation grid

i. Connectivity: missing middle scale and city-scale needs to be enhanced

The BDD has its location in relation to the city studied, as their map on the website shows (see chapter III). By that, BDD has dealt with a problem that many cases of innovation districts haven't (see study by Wagner, 2019), what Wagner (2019) refers to as 'The disconnect dilemma'. However, the BDD still faces an issue with connectivity on the neighborhood scale in relation with the surrounding neighborhoods.

ii. Continuity: 'The dead zone dilemma'- loss of place-heritage

In the case of BDD, entire blocks are erased with only few edge buildings kept, the reason behind this are because of ownership issues or because BDD has their own conception of 'architectural/heritage value' (architect of BDD in CNN report 2015). Compared to what has been left and renovated to what has been classified by APSAD, only 3 or 4 buildings out of around 10 classified buildings remain, disregarding the historical

urban fabric of the area. The reason for this selectivity can be justified by BDD because of high renovation costs and lack of heritage policy. This is the case of many demolition processes of heritage buildings performed by developers or owners in Beirut and some cases of innovation districts in the US defined by Wagner (2019)⁸⁵.

In the case of BDD, the real estate prices in Bachoura peri-central district, the existing rent control that applies to pre-1992 contracts, as well as the rent gaps it generates given current zoning regulations, are the main reasons encouraging the tabula-rasa approach and high-end development applied by ZRE (as explained in chapter V). An additional observation in the progress of the project shows that even when the project's original master plan had already exploited the development potentials, it was further altered for extra development potential. For instance, the lot adjacent to the church that was preserved as a garden in the master plan was later replaced by a massive building.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Wagner (2019): *'In my discussions with city planners, developers, and placemakers in several districts, I heard repeatedly that the erosion or loss of place is often triggered by their inability to use Historic Preservation Tax Credits (for districts in the US) and other place-based incentives, making it economically unfeasible to undertake costly building re-adaption or rehabilitation efforts.'*

⁸⁶ Wagner(2019): *" In other cases, leaders cited escalating real estate prices that have led developers to fully build out their parcels at the expense of creating a diversity of building sizes and designs. In other cases still, weak market areas were up-zoned or re-zoned as a means to "heat up" the market, but planners neglected to implement design or building controls to ensure quality development. Even in places that seemed to do everything right, the sheer amount of "new" or "large" development sometimes erased the smaller, older, and diverse urban treasures that can't be recreated."*



Figure 47 BDD originally proposed masterplan

LEGEND





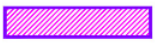









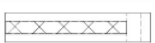












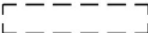

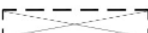


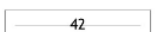
BDD Project Parcels		BDD boundary with proposed future connections to adjoining plots	
Building with maximum height subject to an urban design approval		Building with maximum building height	
Retained building for historical or architectural reason		Religious Building	
Existing Garden proposed for link up		Building recommended to be retained for historical or architectural reason	
Part of BDD public space and streetscape subject to spatial treatment		Private Garden on podium with below ground construction allowed	
Public pedestrian bridge or passageway		Public Garden with below ground construction allowed	
Private pedestrian passage		Planned public pedestrian passage min width 2,5 m	
Shared surface between pedestrian and vehicular traffic subject to a spatial treatment		Access to Underground Parking	
Proposed steps or stairs		Cadastral zone boundary	
Minimum mandatory setback from street kerb		Boundary to church or other structure subject to design approval	
Mandatory built to line of Podium with permitted setback within the building body		Landmark building with massing and facade treatment subject to design approval	
Frontage with mandatory active streetfrontage		Key Views to be retained	
Passage and annexes for vehicular parking		Local landmark	
Site reserved for streetscape feature or other BDD signage		Outline of reserved area for BDD facilities below ground	
Key site with particular design innovation		Void within building to BDD facilities below	
Direction of traffic		Skylight within Public Space to BDD facilities below	
Existing Contours			

Figure 48 Legend

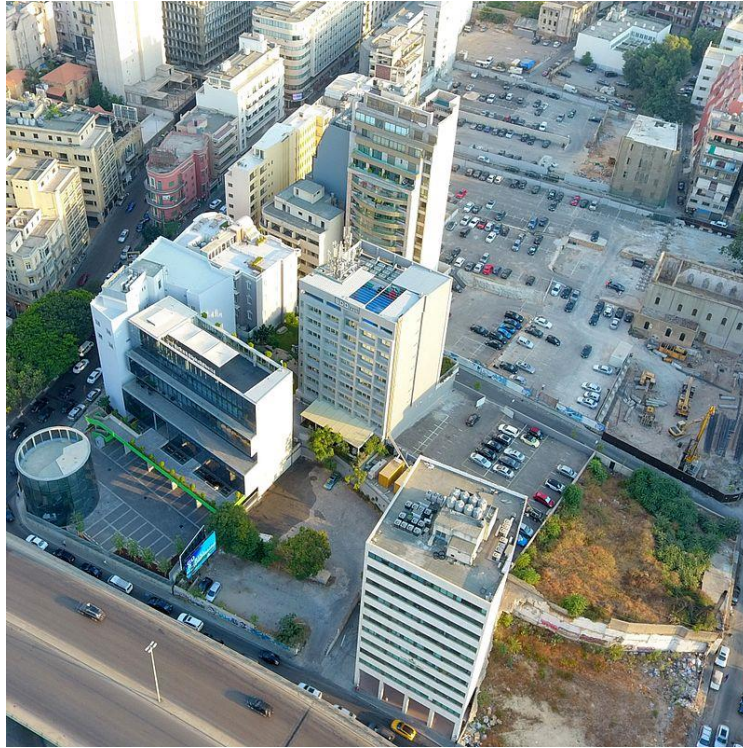


Figure 49 BDD now compared to BDD in the coming phases .
Source: ZRE Website. BDD Master Plan. Conceptual Design.
Retrieved from: <http://www.zre.com.lb/conceptual-design/>



Figure 50 A rendering of the future proposed development for BDD. Source: ZRE Website. BDD Master Plan. Conceptual Design. Retrieved from: <http://www.zre.com.lb/conceptual-design/>

C. Conclusion

This chapter used a case study approach of analysis to understand the current problematic of BDD as an innovation district. It assessed the BDD by applying an evaluation grid formed from the explored case studies. The findings show that the BDD is segregated/disconnected of its

urban fabric and exclusive of many other populations especially its nearby neighborhood of Bachoura. This reality comes as a result of the district development process that lacks multiple criteria.

On the other hand, one can't only see the problematic of BDD-Bachoura only from the perspective of what BDD hasn't managed to do. A good understanding of the context of Bachoura, studied in the earlier chapters III and VI, hints at many difficulties that BDD developers faced on their turn in their attempts to create a dialogue with the neighborhood behind. The earlier chapter (chapter V) analyzed some of the roots leading to the development of BDD in a way that favors it over Bachoura and adds on its dilemma with place. The chapter highlighted the central role of the regulatory framework in producing such relations (influencing gentrification: physical destruction and social displacement) in addition to the politics of the city forming territorial ghettos (hindering possible dialogue between BDD and Bachoura). Also, the socio-economic profile of the neighborhood of Bachoura created another obstacle, where the common ground between the two entities almost lacked.

However, as shown in the case studies, the context problematic is not unique to BDD. According to Kat Hanna (2016)⁸⁷, most of the 'successful' Innovation clusters and districts are located in or proximate to lower-income urban contexts with many similar settings to Bachoura (Khandak al Ghamik). An example (in addition to the three studied cases of Chattanooga, Barcelona, and Medellin) is Tech City, an innovation district located in inner east London, "historically having a high proportion of newly arrived, poor immigrant communities, with a

⁸⁷ Kat Hanna (2016) INCLUSIVE GROWTH AND THE DEMOCRATISATION OF INNOVATION: Experience from London

labor market characterized by low-skilled, low-paid work.”⁸⁸(Hanna, 2016). Accordingly, BDD can learn from these cases to become more integrated and inclusive.

How to engage BDD developers in these principles?

The only challenge that makes it harder for the case of BDD is the regulatory framework. From here, a possibility to think of a corporate social responsibility as a supportive framework in any intervention could be viable.

⁸⁸ Hanna (2016): While poverty rates have declined significantly in recent years in the east London boroughs which house the Tech City cluster, inner east boroughs still have the highest proportion nationally of children and old people living in poverty.⁶⁸ This suggests that the reduction in poverty is at least partly explained by an influx of wealthier, more professional households into the boroughs, rather than existing residents becoming wealthier."

CHAPTER VII

BRINGING IT TOGETHER- SHOULD I INTERVENE-WHY-HOW

A. Findings Restated

Expanding over five blocks, the BDD encroaches on its nearby context, without any consideration for the displacement their interventions triggered. The project's detailed master plan proposes a high-end modern urban renewal intervention that threatens the presence and livability of the low-income old urban fabric of its context. The BDD specifically takes over the district known as 'The Old Christian Neighborhood' of Bachoura, which extends over half the area of Khandak Al-Ghamik. Despite its claimed advantages, it is undeniable that the project not only erases whole blocks in this neighborhood, diminishing effectively its area by half, but it also fractures the historical urban fabric, threatens and ravages heritage, and causes displacement to a large segment of residents and businesses. In sum, rather than integrating with what is there, the approach of the development is a tabula rase of the historical area, with sporadic preservation of historical buildings turned into relics. By doing so, the development process of BDD generates, especially on the north-eastern edge of Bachoura, an excessive state of transformation to what the Bachoura district is already facing due to its strategic location on the southern edge of BCD⁸⁹.

⁸⁹ Bachoura faces a fate similar to other peri-central districts of Beirut that have been subject to a high level of gentrification and real estate speculations.

1. Second Solidere?

- In perceptions:

As shown in chapter V, a general perception of BDD as a ‘Second Solidere’ clearly appeared in the Bachoura-Khandak residents’ speeches. They directly linked the development on the northern edge to its neighboring Solidere.

- In conception:

When Barcelona’s Mayor gave his visions and give his reflection on BDD, his focus was always on the needed connection of it with Solidere through burying Fouad-Chehab bridge, (it relates to their, similar architecture, corporate, possibility for growth in that direction)

- The development process of BDD has many similarities with the neighboring Solidere

Model:

The process of implementation of BDD being based on the tabula-rasa scheme of Blocks, with keeping few selectively chosen architectural heritage, opens a question of the similarity of this large-scale project to the Solidere Model. The difference between the two is first, the spatial scale, where Solidere worked on a district scale, while BDD on block subsector scale. The second is the governance model. While Solidere was framed from the beginnings as a (Public-Private partnership), BDD started as a private development with a public facilitation and support. The third is that Solidere was associated with forceful displacement of inhabitants (in an indirect way), while in the case of BDD, the cases in general are based on the willingness of pre-war community to get over this relation to the neighborhood and buy. Another factor to be considered is the process of implementation. BDD, although have put an initial ‘master plan/framework’, has planned the project to be implemented in phases. This way it keeps the field pen for future uncertainties, and this appears through altering happening in the first phase. It looks like BDD developers are aware of this need to be flexible. They might have learned from Solidere’s

experience in that sense. The last and the most important dimension to compare is the social success through activity, diversity, and inclusion. While Solidere has shown to have partially failed in that respect, BDD is highly aware of this dimension, yet this question of inclusion and diversity is still not well tackled and responded to by them. With these commonalities and differences, the question would be, could we place BDD in a position of a possible advanced revisited scenario of the Solidere scheme of Corporate urban design?

2. Edge versus Core Framing

How the different layers of analysis and observations lead to this framing?

- Through the different perceptions by a major segment of the inhabitants towards inner developments differing from the edge development
 - The contrasting landscape of Bachoura between the (transport) edge, characterized by large empty lands functioning as parking lots, and the inner high-density neighborhoods can be directly noticed from the first sight of the area,
 - The land use after the implementation of BDD is of a corporate- ‘innovative’ character, what doesn’t relate to the inner neighborhood residential and local/small scale commerce.
 - These layers make the framing of the problematic as an edge versus core liable. From here, the strategic intervention can be based on three themes: the core strategy (public-private, courtyards, people living in the spaces in-between), the edge strategy, and the interface.

B. Should I intervene and why? What do I gain and what do I lose in each scenario?

To know if an intervention would make a positive change, we should first recognize the consequences of doing nothing. This should be comprehended on the level of development

dynamics in the area, and on the level of BDD's actions and position in that sense in addition to level of inclusivity of their programs.

1. Do nothing scenario

Result based on development potential, and based on the already ongoing development by BDD, if the site is left to the current dynamics, gentrification might take over the whole neighborhood of Bachoura-Khandak. We can see how the block near cemetery is being bought although it has a strong community, in addition to multiple properties on lying on the direct western edge of the district. For that, the development should be directed to have less massive change.

Moreover, the urban decay of Bachoura is an urban problem that needs to be address, so why not use presence of BDD and its power and property to implement catalyts of change towards a better urban quality?

a. BDD's position understood from their actions throughout the two past years:

The BDD claims its openness to changing positively and that they just want good alternatives (evidences: Barca mayor invitation, presentation of BDD in Sheffield University Workshop; their section studying the relation with Bachoura community and some minimal actions considering relation to the neighborhood). This gives a ground for possible scenarios for applying CSR as a framework and advancing in it.

However, on the other side, BDD's claims of social inclusion and social responsibility towards the immediate context it impacted is not translated into real important steps towards re-framing this relation.

Development processes proceeding along the same already drawn plan: an example is building two massive buildings surrounding the church; not considering heritage values; demolishing other heritage buildings, continuity of property development and evacuation of their residents...

Need for inclusivity of Bachoura inhabitants not met; not initiating considerable inclusive programs targeting the low-income community; with minimal technology literacy within all ages; and which represents the majority of Bachoura residents.

C. How to intervene?

- What potentials can form a solid platform for intervention? What to avoid? How to deal with contradicting possible externalities?

- How would this intervention be a win-win scenario? how would it reverse the impact? (success for BDD, less negative externalities from development on the neighborhood behind, and more inclusivity of communities.)

- Would it produce another form of gentrification? If it does how to address this issue? (case studies)

- What position should I take for a plausible outcome? Can taking the position of a mediator/urban design consultant help more than other position?

1. Forces that influence the Design

- BDD masterplan and implementation fail to address inclusion (program that would have affordable housing, training, etc.) and integration with surrounding neighborhoods (connectivity, borders, public spaces)

- In the current economic crisis, BDD knows it has to reinvent itself. It is imagining a process to appeal to a social commitment, but so far, very little is materializing.

- The framework through which the BDD was developed was a predatory real-estate framework, it was not inclusive of residents, and didn't account for them. Many residents continue to be kept in the dark as per the goals of the company. There are no official frameworks of discussion for the future of the district.

- Public agencies are completely missing.

- The community nearby has major challenges: It is not a coherent low income community only, it has layers of occupants including struggle over territorial control, political parties with strongmen/ thugs in the street, elderly and less old residents who know each other well and are tight knit, and others

- The commercial activities and business owners of the district can benefit from the BDD and attract more business and livelihoods.

2. Defining Opportunities and challenges from the Context

I am working on two aspects: the development aspect and the (social) aspect. So, I start with a general assessment of the case: understanding the current development dynamics in the study area, and here it is general, where different developers and types of development are identified, beyond BDD. Then, from there, I identify the area that is directly impacted by BDD because the BDD and its impact is the aim of my research.

a. Of possible soft intersection/interface between the two entities

What are common values to build on? What are already existing relations? What are existing initiatives by BDD towards Khandak? What are existing agreements between the two

communities? How is this minimizing the distance? (employer in BDD buys snack from Khandak, guy in Khandak works as security man in BDD, BDD supporting Khandak, Bachoura library interaction with BDD (Assabil Association), ...)

b. On development and property spatial and temporal aspects: Possible spatial and programmatic entry points in the context

- Current occupation/property/development: Property Map (waqf, private, public, BDD, other) (empty lands, empty buildings, properties owned by BDD not demolished yet, parcels not developed to maximum potential and aren't of heritage value (I can base on APSAD),)

- Future development based on BDD's Master plan

In these two, I conclude with **Temporal, Spatial, and Property (Gaps)** that could be the ground of Intervention

3. Applications from case studies: Principles and tools of Intervention

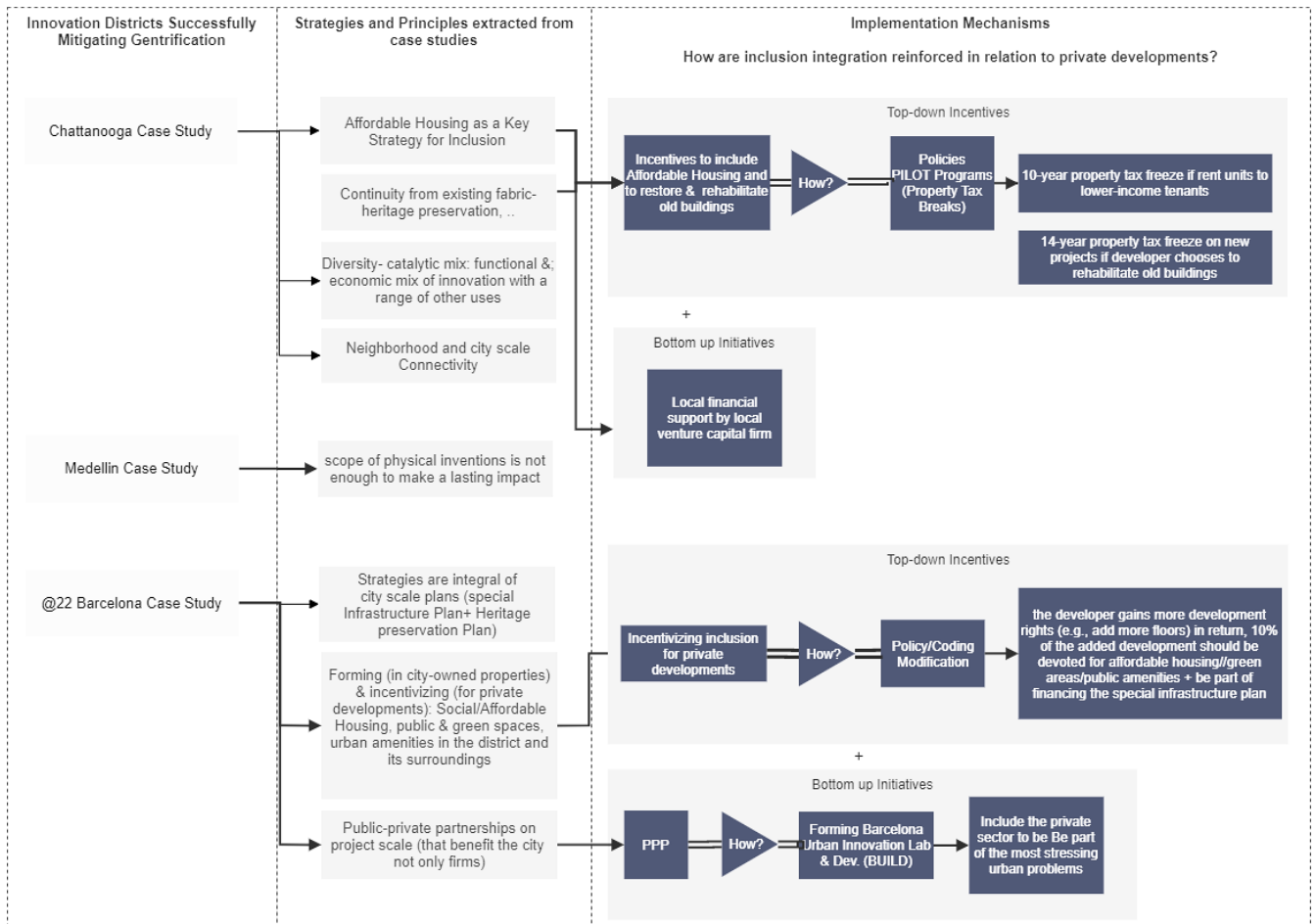


Figure 51 Principles, Strategies & Implementation Mechanism learnt from case studies. Israa Darwish, 2020.

4. An Urban Design Framework of Intervention

a- A Socio-Spatial Urban Strategy

The overall goal of the study is to balance the development process & the relationship of BDD & Bachoura, to mitigate the gentrification impact of BDD on Bachoura & reshape the interface between the two entities, while considering the strategic location influencing the market forces, & other contextual forces. In response to this goal, the thesis provides an urban vision that sees BDD as an inclusive & integrated digital district. The two main objectives of this vision

are first, to reduce the cognitive distance between BDD and the surrounding communities, especially Bachoura-Khandak al Ghamik communities, and second, to mitigate gentrification impacts expressed by social displacement and loss of place. Accordingly, this thesis proposes three main strategies to tackle the problematic presented in these objectives:

- Spatial integration strategy
- Absorption strategy
- Affordable housing strategy

The principles and design translation of each of these three strategies is exemplified in the diagram attached.

b- Implementation Mechanisms

How to re-enforce and incentivize inclusion and integration in BDD development process?

i. Top-down incentives

- Incentives to include Affordable Housing and to restore and rehabilitate old buildings
- Incentives to include open spaces and diverse programs (commercial,...)

How:

Policies/ Programs by Government (eg. Property Tax Breaks), examples:

- X-year property tax freeze if rent units to lower-income tenants & specifically in Bachoura
- X-year property tax freeze on new projects if BDD chooses to rehabilitate old buildings & restore vacant properties that they own
- The developer gains more development rights (e.g., add more floors) in return, 10% of the added development should be devoted for affordable

housing/green areas/public amenities + be part of financing the open space network

ii. Bottom-up incentives

- Induce Participatory process of development and create Successful Partnerships through Forming an Urban Innovation Lab including a neighborhood-scale committee. The lab would join representatives from BDD, the Municipality of Beirut, NGOs, Communities of Bachoura & urban professionals, all to offer a participatory and active platform for implementing inclusion & integration specific for the case and be part of the stressing urban problems in the context.

ii. Public-private Partnerships (PPP)

Create PPPs between public agencies and BDD developers for creating strategic interventions for the establishment of open spaces and community-related developments, enhancing physical and social infrastructure. These can be on a project basis, e.g.: BDD offers financing and Municipality offers land, or infrastructure...The public bodies involved can also be, in addition to the municipality of Beirut, BDL, MoT, MoE, who already were part of initiatives, financing of related programs with BDD programs.

c- Space-time gap as possible approach for the development process

As clarified in the potentials mentioned before, the state of the BDD development being in its first phases and the transitional character of the whole area being makes it possible to think of how to manage the transition and how to benefit from the space time gap.

i. Case Study on Space-Time Gap: Urban Catalysis and Temporary Notion, the case of a decaying urban area: AmsterdamNoord.tmp⁹⁰

The project area - the northern IJ-Embankment in Amsterdam - is a rather complex urban setting. After a long period of 'decay' following the dismantling of the heavy ship construction industries, the area got entangled in an interplay between different authorities, investors and potential users - all with their respective agendas.

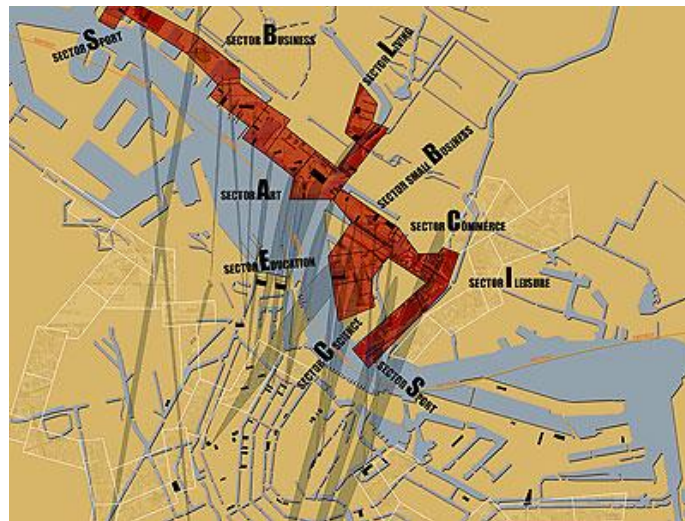


Figure 52 The Amsterdam Northern IJ-embankment can become a 'safe shore', where ideas, projects and programs that are too 'weak' for the market competition of the central city will get grounding, time and space to develop.

The aim of AmsterdamNoord.tmp has been to develop **a strategic proposal to enable different forms of temporary use within an urban plan** - the master plan for redevelopment of the northern IJ-Embankment in Amsterdam. In this approach, temporary use is integrated into all the stages of the new city development (as '**soft program**') – being able to adapt its function and position during the course of the long-term development process. The project has been part of

⁹⁰ This case study is retrieved from (Stealth Group) website; based on Topalovic et al (2012). More precise citation is needed.

Urban Catalyst, an EU research project on new strategies for the development of urban residual areas in European metropolises.

- “The strategic ‘infusion’ of time-based programs and architecture can work as a catalyst for urban development.

The described process, in which temporary use is integrated into all the stages of the new city development, is presented here on the time-diagram. Participation of temporary use in the total program rises until it reaches 30%:70%.

Within this framework, temporary users have certain frequencies of renewing. These frequencies or cycles of temporary use coincide with a certain incubation period for a given program.

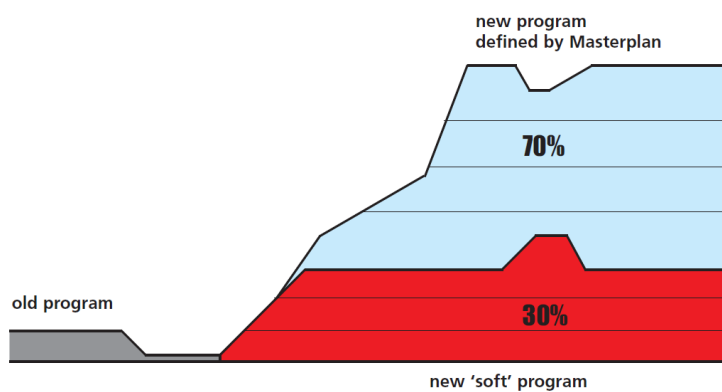


Figure 53 new programs versus old programs

- Methodology:
 - Recent developments >North IJ bank Masterplan
 - The plan, have a time-horizon of around 25 years.
 - Planning areas

The transformation concentrated on three areas:

- The core-areas which are characterizing the new developments (starting from 2006),

- The areas appointed for gradual transformation which will be gradually densified (till 2025) as soon as a plot or function becomes vacant to redevelopment

- Areas which remain unchanged until 2025; mainly those areas which have been recently reconstructed or are currently in process of reconstruction.

- The process of transformation:

The master plan lists several aspects of the transformation; the division of the three types of development areas (also a time-wise division), the fact that current companies should not be hindered by the transformation, the involvement of a large number of current users of the area, and the fact that the master plan should be a flexible plan.

It is important that fluctuation in the market can be taken into account, and that the process of production is adaptable. Adaptability at that point is desired in function, place and speed.

The Masterplan document suggests certain flexibility during the process of development, mainly through structuring and organizing robust infrastructural elements (public space, road connections). If we would define this in terms of a planning tool, it would be of a rather passive character. An over-dimensioned infrastructure provides for possibilities to host and service unforeseen futures.

Then, a strategy has been made to keep the future development of the area to some extent 'fluid' within the framework of the master plan. Thus, the developments can respond to

the changing reality during the 25 year trajectory. A catalyst function has been given to temporary program and architecture - with a number of motives:

- Bringing new users in, utilising / activating the time-gap
- By-passing moments of market stagnation in a difficult economic situation
- Flexible handling of restrictive regulations / legislations
- Creating a sturdier economic microclimate
- Changing 'image' of the area
- Activating the potential coming from external initiatives
- Pioneering and promoting a stronger future character for the area

With the municipality of Amsterdam Noord (SDAN), the outline for a 'platform' for the infusion of temporary uses and users has been made. This platform stimulates, coordinates and offers expertise - both to temporary users and to the project managers responsible for the area. Because the platform can in principle act on the overall scale of the area (a few square kilometres) there is a large potential for temporary uses to find a place within its territory (either on short-term, or if desired more permanently). Finally, the prototype of a planning tool to handle the time-space occupation of the area has been made (see figure). This tool 'manages' the necessary information-base both for the Municipality, the planners involved and the potential users and initiatives for the site.

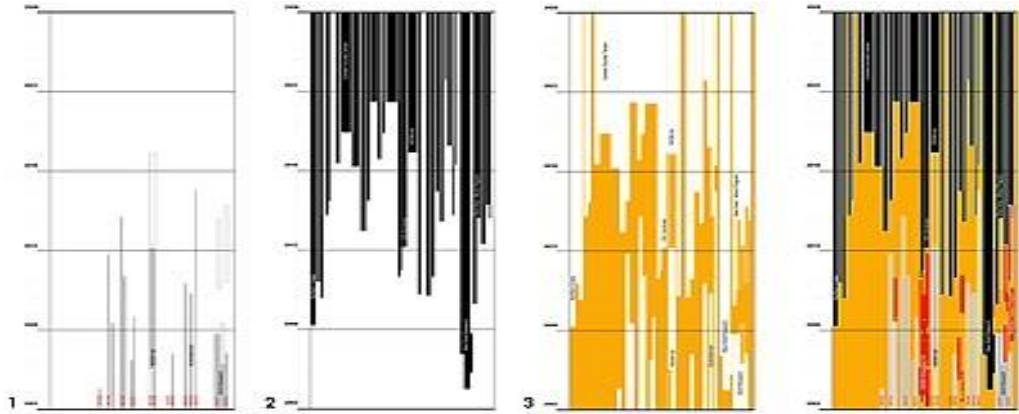


Figure 54 Space Time diagram: 1 - existing use, 2 - planned, 3 - time/space gap, showing the possibilities for alternative programs to enter the redevelopment process

The Urban Catalyst research at Amsterdam Noord has been in the unique position to research the possibilities for temporary use while being amidst the development of larger scale experiments in temporary use on one hand and a large scale ‘try-out’ of open ended, dynamic planning (master plan Northern IJ-Embankment) on the other.

ii-Application on BDD-Bachoura Context: Benefiting from the Space-time Gap

- Usually, Day-time activity: offices, empty afternoon and night. So, add activities, relating to the communities of Khandak, that keep the space active. This is in the temporal dimension.

- This can work for the medium, long-term as it calls for adding functions that can work in line with the BDD development, integrated to it rather than substitute. It calls do the diversity in functions that makes the district of a mixed use rather than corporate land use.

- On the short and medium terms, and in coordination with the development of the BDD phases, we can think of temporary use of space, which makes it possible for creating a ground of possibilities benefiting from time gained in the phasing process, and the spaces still open

alternatives. Temporary urbanism in that sense can make these spaces as test-beds of design, and the uses and constructions in this phase may be transformed to permanent if the BDD if they were proven to be successful.

- On the spatial dimension, many properties (lands and buildings) are still not developed by BDD. Some are empty, others are still occupied. Looking at these spaces as areas of possible penetration, making them places of opportunity and alternatives, and transforming the threat of real estate ownership I to an opportunity. This is possible by benefiting from the both the phasing development approach by BDD and the old-tenant to owner property transfer process

- Within these, we can try to work back on the values dismissed by BDD developers, like heritage buildings preservation, keeping the existing urban fabric and the community still living in some bldgs, incorporating affordable housing, creating community-oriented inclusive spaces and programs,

- The empty lands that BDD is using as parking lots while waiting for Development (as per the building law says) can be used as parks,.... Which is a needed value, and these can be supported by the Municipality

- Still looking on the property dimension, the Waqf property is a potential that was misused by the Syriac Waqf,.. Need to rethink it..

URBAN VISION

BDD IS AN INCLUSIVE & INTEGRATED DIGITAL DISTRICT

GOAL

Balance the development process & the relationship of BDD & Bachoura, to mitigate the gentrification impact of BDD on Bachoura & reshape the interface between the two entities, while considering the strategic location influencing the market forces, & other contextual forces.

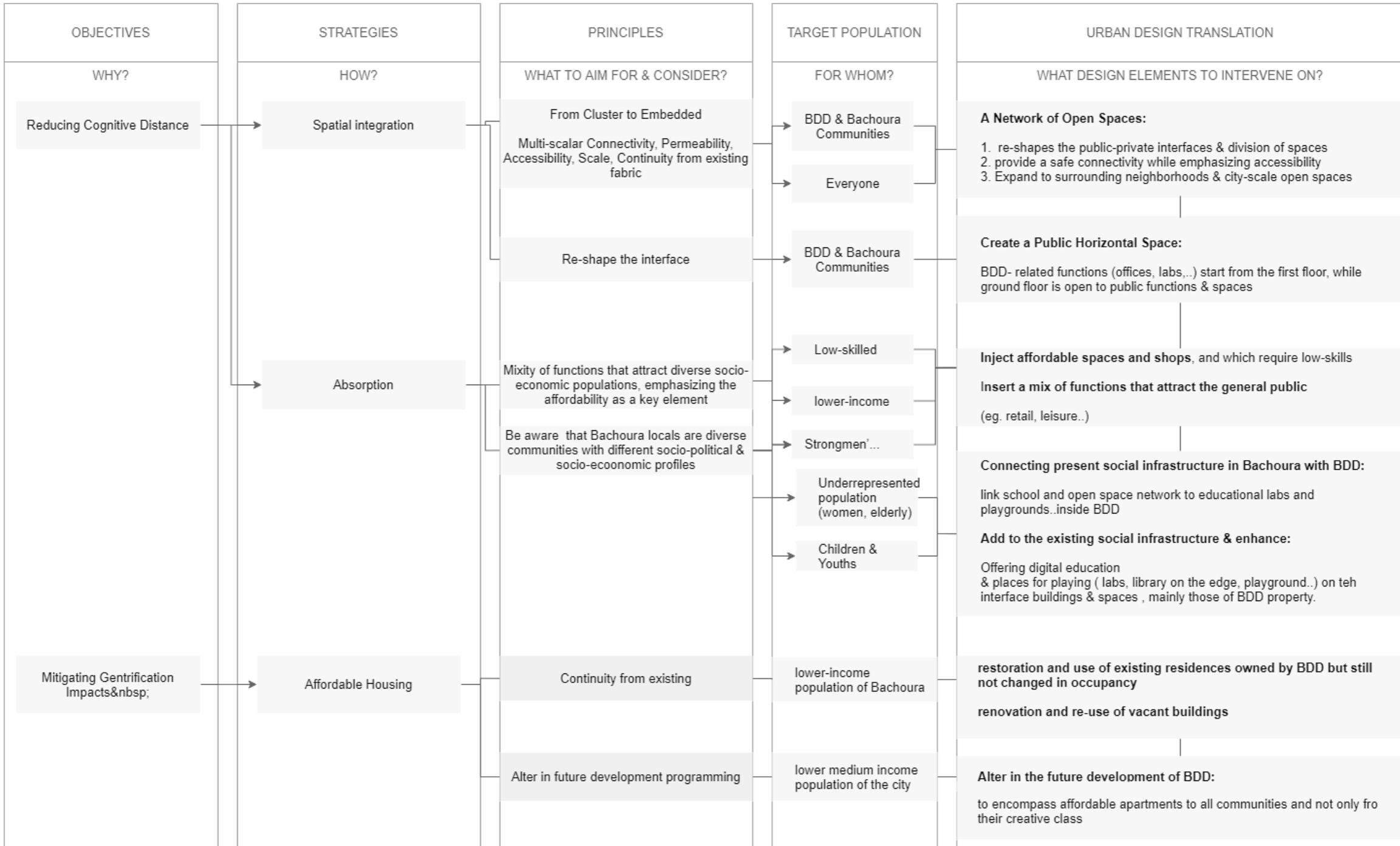


Figure 55 Framework of Urban Intervention

IMPLEMENTATION MECHANISMS

How to re-enforce and incetivize Inclusion and integration in BDD development process?

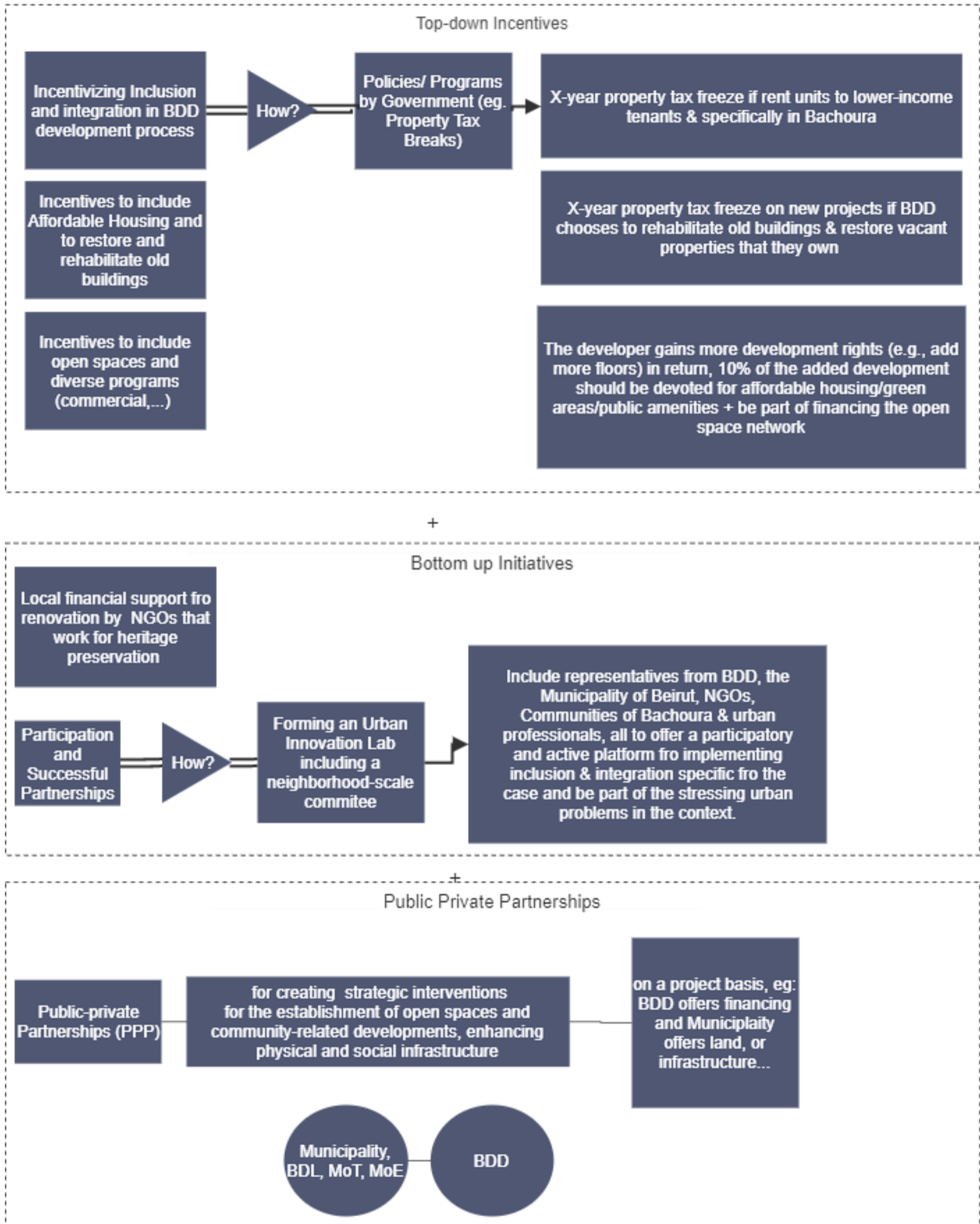
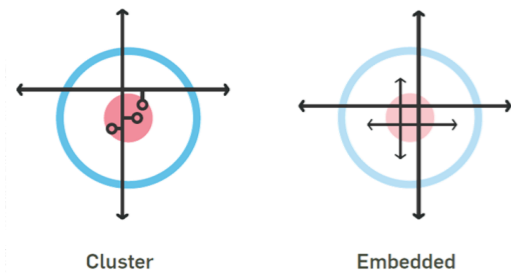


Figure 56 Implementation mechanisms



Map 25 Strategy Map: In orange, the newly owned buildings by BDD to be kept for affordable housing. The green arrows represent ground floor connectivity.

Connectivity on multiple-districts levels--- FROM A CLUSTER TO AN EMBEDDED SPATIAL MODEL

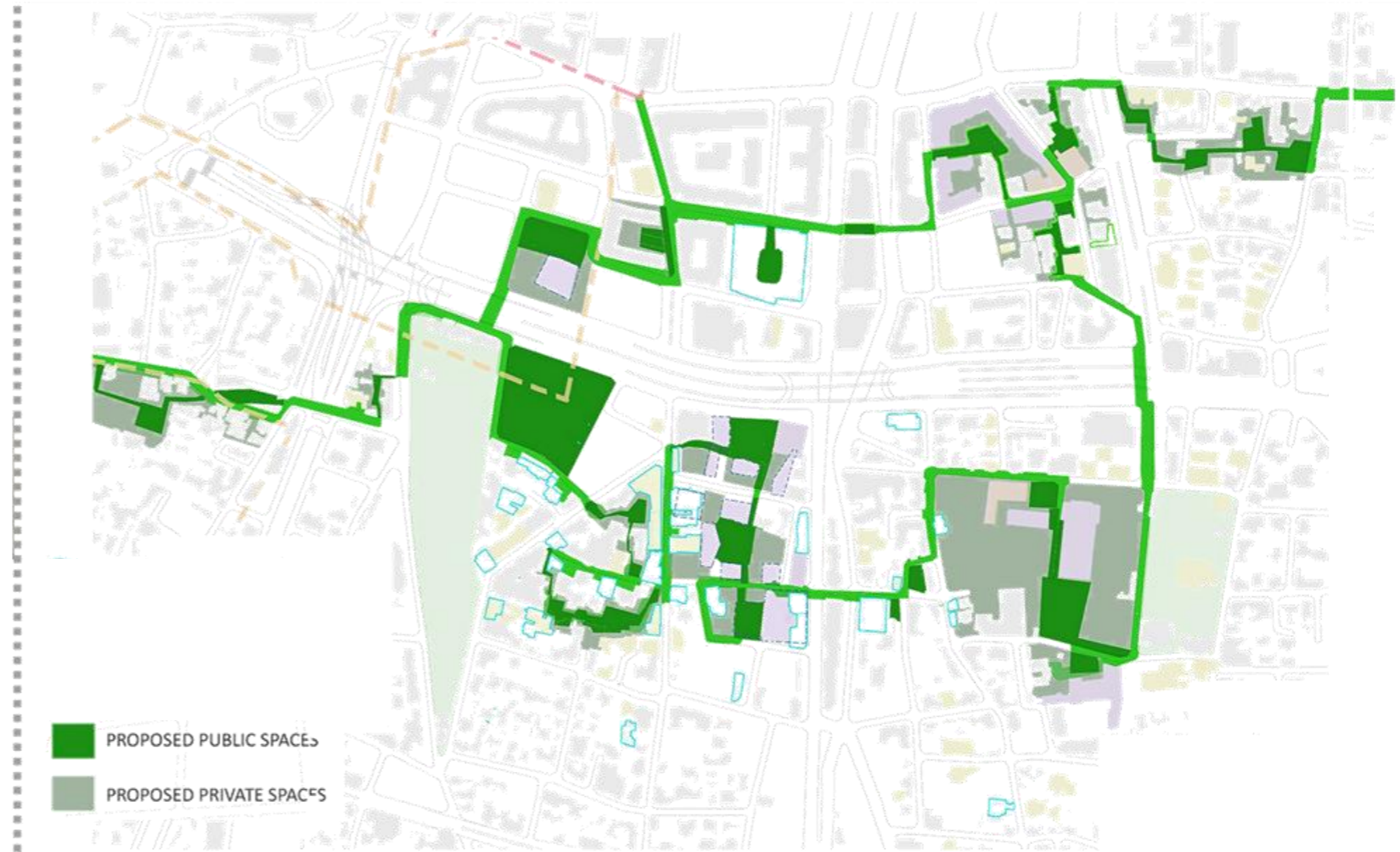


1. woven into the urban fabric
2. maximum number of public-ways roads
3. range of shared facilities between users & the general public
4. high traffic mix with general traffic flow

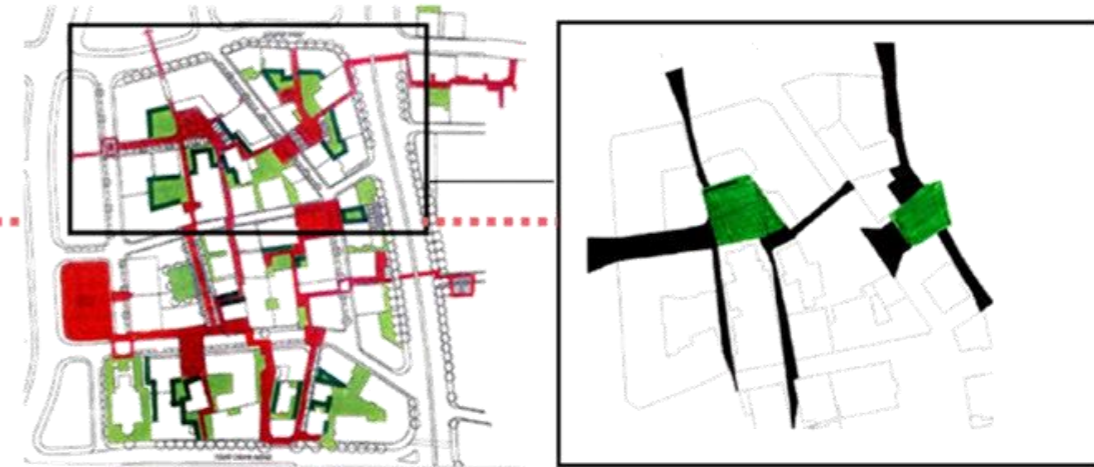
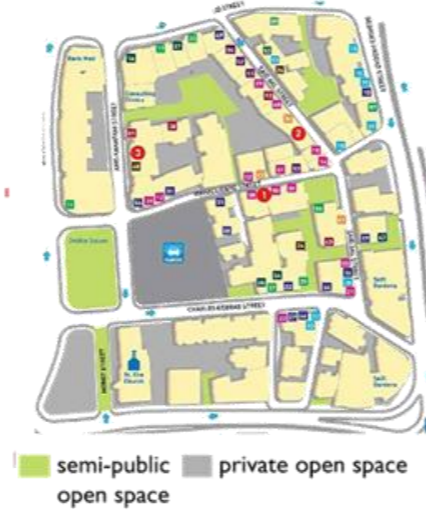
COURTYARD/HAWSH TYPOLOGY
Exists in Khandak ElGhamik and Monot, needs organization and networking to city scale open spaces



Exists in Saifi; organized, needs networking to city scale open spaces



SAIFI VILLAGE AS A MODEL

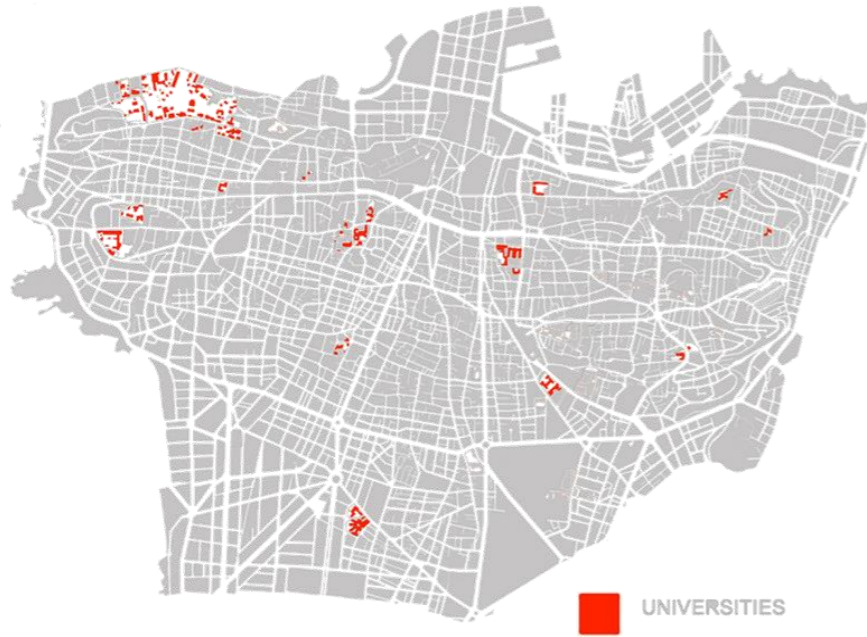


Open spaces typology in Saifi

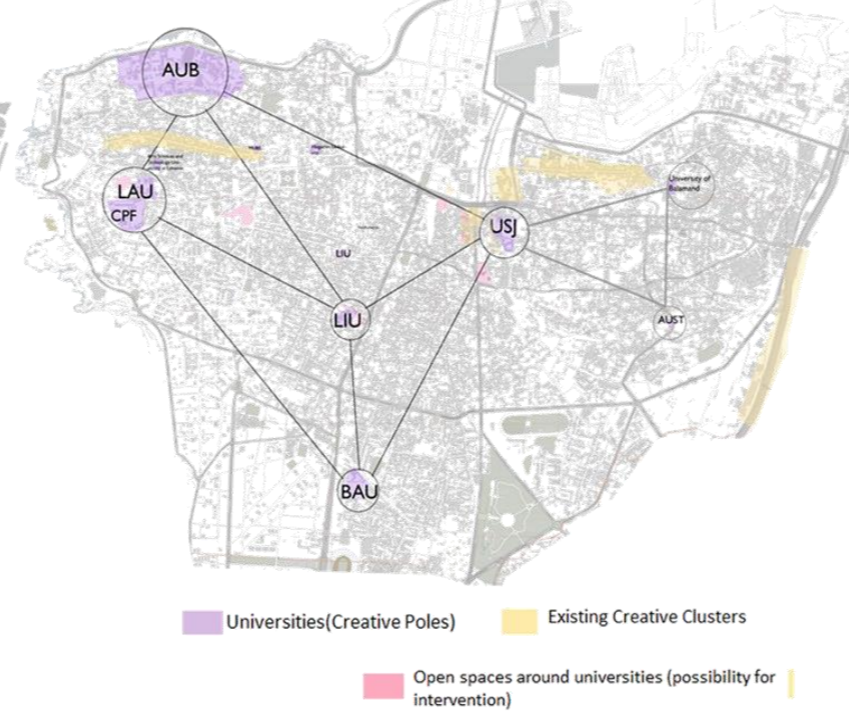
(Source: Mona Khechen in Post-War Urban Transformation Pattern)

Figure 57 a network of open spaces on multiple district level

CREATIVE POLES: UNIVERSITIES



CREATIVE POLES: & CLUSTERS



5 MINS WALKING DISTANCE AROUND EACH UNIVERSITY



POSSIBLE TRAILS THAT GO WITHIN WALKIN DISTANCES OF UNIVERSITIES AND EXISTING TRANSPORTATION LANES

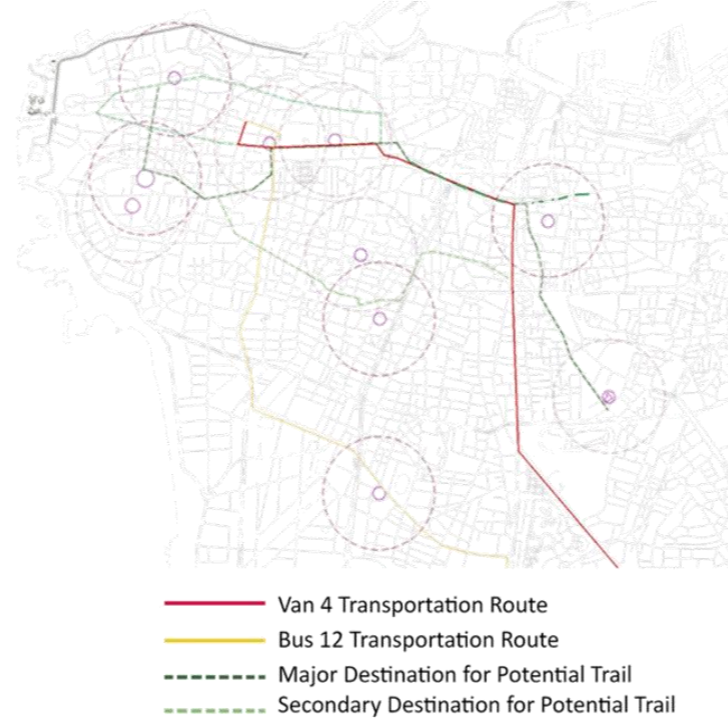
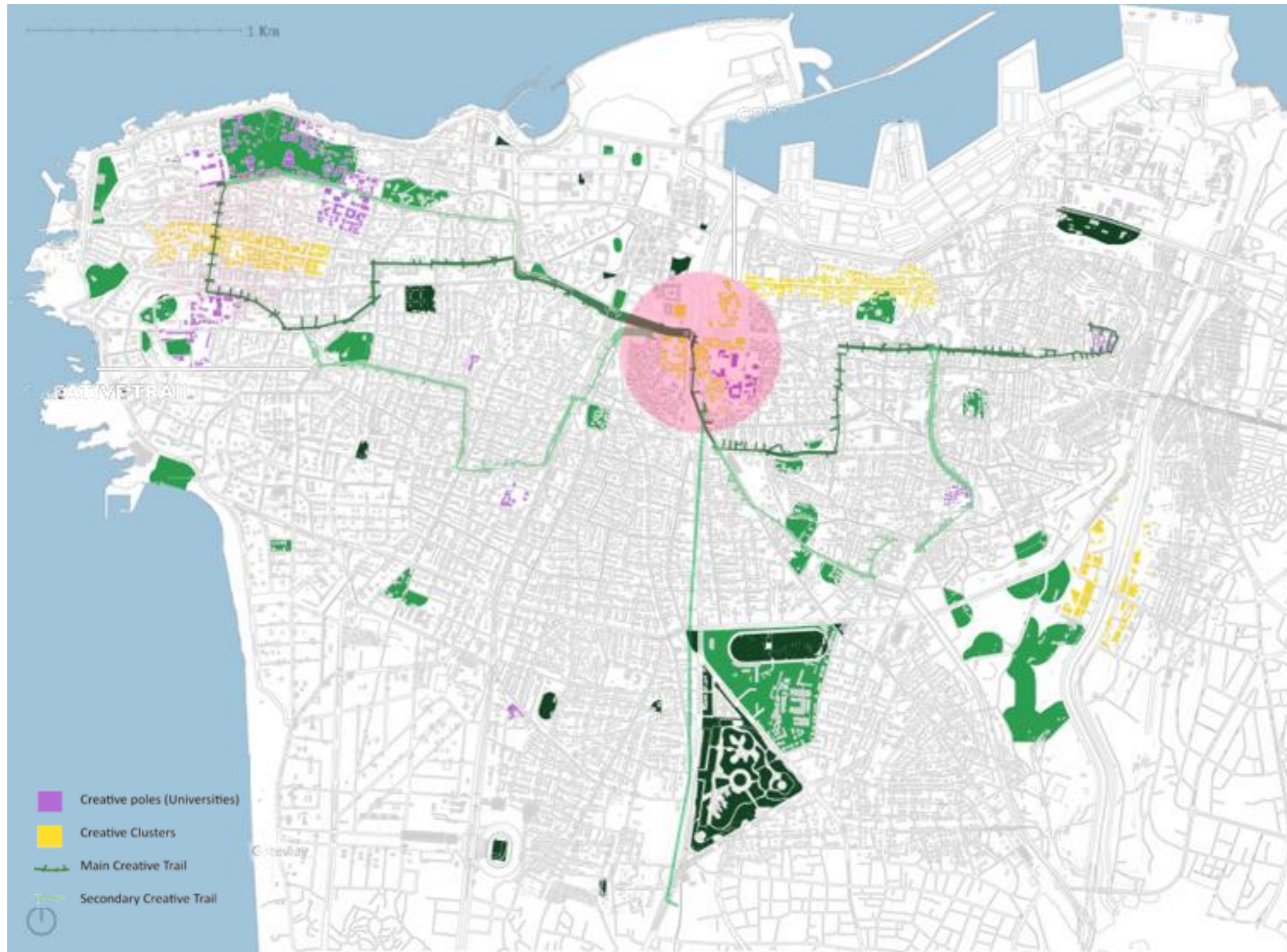


Figure 58 city-scale connectivity network

CONNECTIVITY---TOWARDS A NETWORK OF OPEN SPACES, STARTING FROM BDD AND EXPANDING TO THE CITY



Map 26 Long-term City-scale vision

Time Frame



Figure 59 Time frame

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