AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

SECTARIAN BORDER ZONES AS LIMBO LAND DEVISING RESILIENT URBAN DESIGN STRATEGIES FOR THE SOUTHERN SEGMENT OF OLD SAIDA ROAD

by
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submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Urban Design
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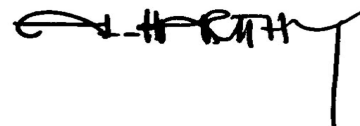
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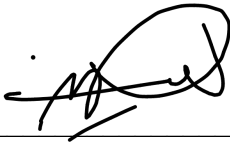
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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Lynn Kamal Hamdar   for   <u>Master of Urban Design</u>
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Title: <u>Sectarian Border Zones As Limbo Land: Devising Resilient Urban Design Strategies for the Southern Segment of Old Saida Road</u>

Since the end of the Civil War in 1990, Old Saida Road has evolved from a sectarian demarcation line into a fluid border zone serving as an economic exchange thoroughfare between two interfacing communities: the Shi'a-controlled Ghobeiry district and the Maronite-controlled Chiyah district. However, its Southern segment is still in a state of limbo due to overlapping sectarian land ownership and contested governance.

The aim of this thesis is to devise a set of place-making revitalization strategies that instigate a mediating ground between diverging interests and communal identities, taking into consideration the sectarian pattern of land ownership, the fragmentation of the physical and social fabric, and the market-led development of private property. As such it is an attempt to address a recurring question in post-conflict divided cities: How can urban design engage with sectarian border zones as dual spaces of segregation and integration to be negotiated or 'fluidified' in response to the realities of their immediate and city-wide contexts?

For theoretical and methodological insights the thesis reviews selected references on fragmented and divided cities, local case studies on the formative dynamics and planning of sectarian borders, and urban design literature, academic theses and professional reports on socio-spatial integration. Following a context appraisal of Old Saida Road and its Southern segment, the study concludes with a set of place-making revitalization strategies for enhancing the quality of streets and open spaces, improving vehicular and pedestrian accessibility, and providing a framework for private development.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

For the past three decades, Beirut's 'Green Line,' bounding the Christian East and Muslim West of the city, has developed into a resilient edge undergoing a differentiated set of changes responding to the dynamics of its bordering districts (fig. 1). The reconstruction project of downtown has depolarized the section of the Green Line falling within Beirut's municipal boundaries. In contrast, the section along Damascus Road, has been neutralized as a through traffic artery and a spine with religious, educational, cultural, and entertainment amenities.

Concurrently, the southern section along Old Saida Road has evolved from a sectarian demarcation line into a fluid border zone serving as an economic exchange thoroughfare between two interfacing communities: the Shi'a-controlled Ghobeiry district and the Maronite-controlled Chiyah district exhibiting a high mixity of uses, from malls to food and retail outlets, to mechanic shops and used-car dealerships. Since this section falls within the administrative jurisdiction of four municipalities, Beirut, Chiyah, Ghobeiri, Furn El Chebbak (fig. 2), it has been subject to differentiated residential and business permutations. Its Southern border zone delimited by the Mar Mikhael Church roundabout is still in a limbo state due to overlapping issues of sectarian land ownership and contested governance.

This thesis aims to devise a set of place-making revitalization strategies that instigate a mediating ground between diverging interests and communal identities. It addresses a recurring question in post-conflict divided cities: How can urban design engage with sectarian border zones as dual spaces of segregation and integration to be

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reinforced, negotiated, or 'fluidified' in response to the realities of their immediate and city-wide contexts.

1.1. Case Study in Context

Beirut's former Green Line, as it still stands now, stretches out from the city center to reach the Southern suburbs cutting across multiple districts having diverse impacts on its post-war evolution. Hence, four sections may be identified (Fig.1):

1. The first section falls within Beirut Center District (BCD) and extends from Martyr's Square to Fouad Chehab Ring Road. This section has been depolarized through its integration in the post-war reconstruction project undertaken by Solidère, a private real-estate company entrusted with the reconstruction of the city center.

2. The second segment extends from Fouad Chehab Ring Road to the Tayouneh Roundabout along Damascus Road. It currently functions as an entrance/egress to the city center, as well as an inter-district distributor and a spine for religious, educational, cultural, and entertainment amenities.

3. The third segment falls within the immediate suburbs of Beirut. It extends from the Tayouneh Roundabout to Mar-Mikhael Church intersection and runs along Old Saida Road, separating the Ain El-Roummaneh district to the east from the Chiyah district to the west.

4. The fourth section falls within the southern suburbs and extends from the Mar-Mikhael church to the Choueifat area.
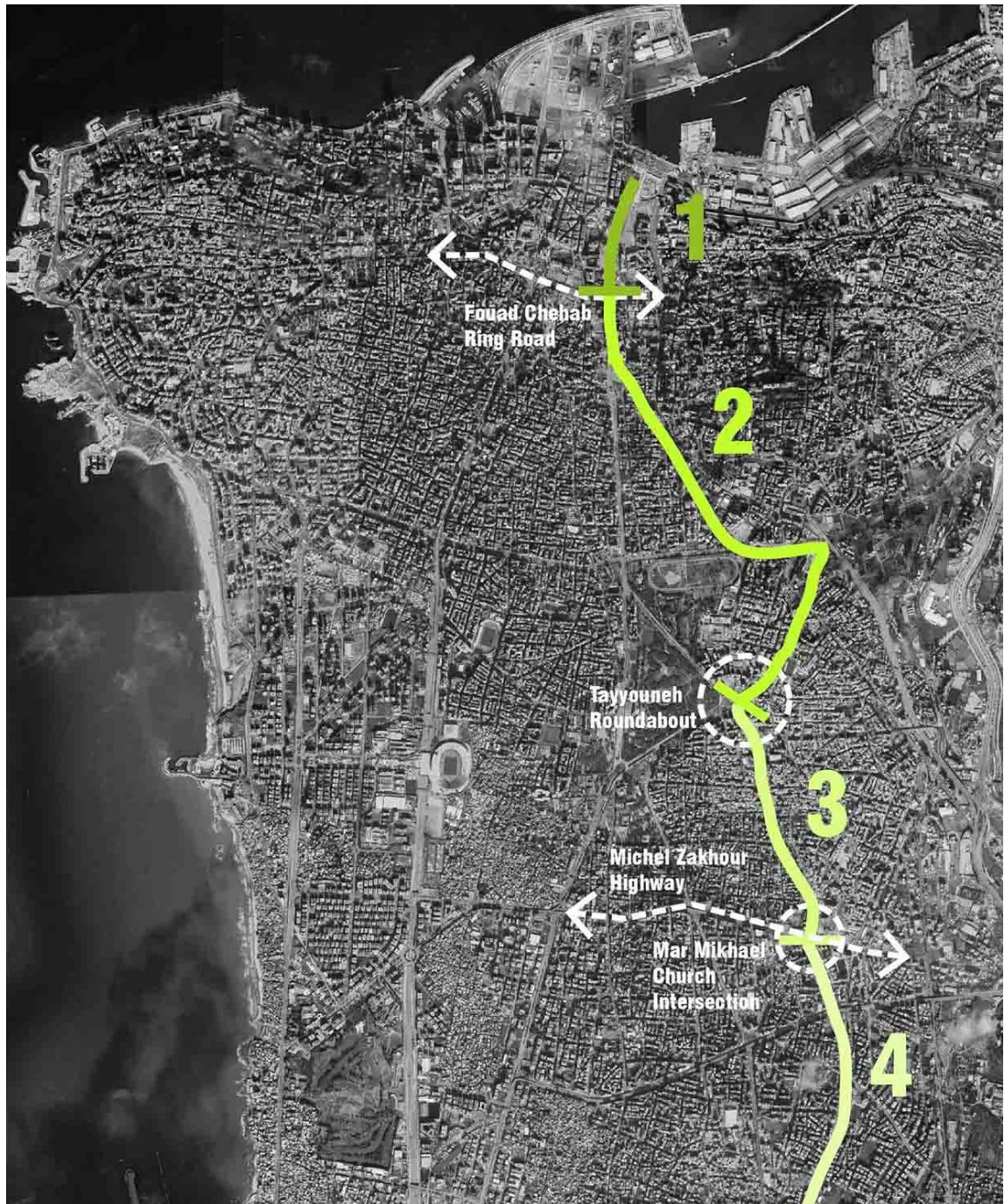
Figure 1: Map of greater Beirut showing the four segments of the Green Line. (Author, 2020)

This thesis focuses on the Old Saida Road section (Fig. 2) which underwent

multiple changes from 1975 up until now from a battle zone during the war; to a

sectarian border zone and primary vehicular spine during the post-war period; and to a

lively commercial strip at district and city scales (1990-2020) (Kabbani 1988, Bou Akar

2018, Farah and Teller 2012, Hafeda 2016). The case study/intervention area will target the Southern segment of the Old Saida Road as an area in limbo with a dynamic commercial edge and dormant residential zones controlled by political parties inhibiting their development dynamics (Fig. 2).
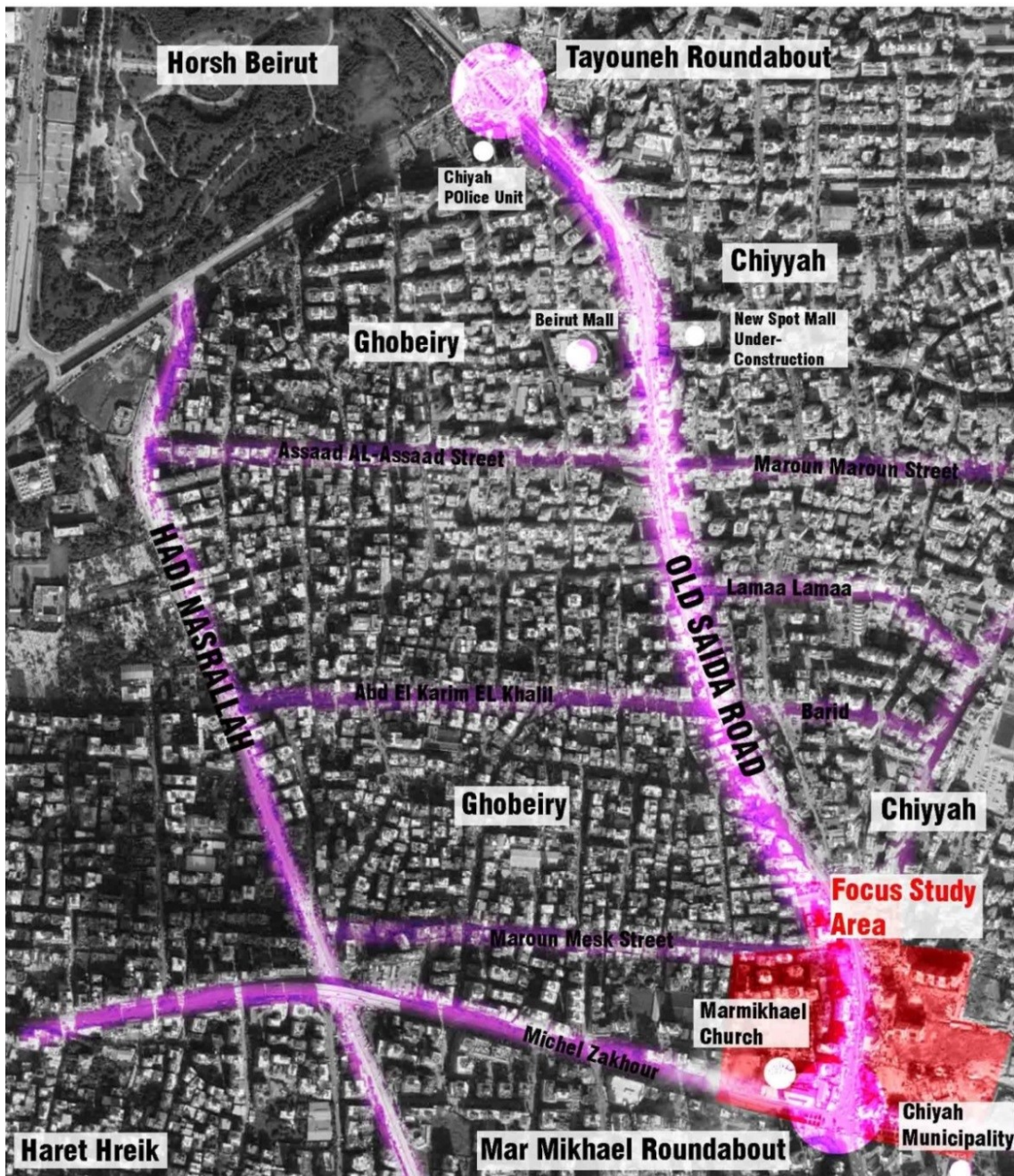
Figure 2: Map displaying the location of the segment of the green line under study (Old Said Road), and the surrounding context. (Author, 2020)

1.2. Hypothesis/Premise

Starting from the premise that sectarian borders are dynamic frontiers responsive to the transformations happening in their adjoining areas (Urban Planning and Design workshop, 2019, the American University of Beirut, (Gaffikin et al., 2010; Bou Akar, 2018), I start by acknowledging these transformations and how they reveal the level of the resiliency of place.

The analysis conducted during the workshop, investigating Beirut's fragmentation, indicates that the evolution of Old Saida Road is an outcome of two complementary manifestations: the 'perceived identity' by the inhabitants based on sectarian affiliation, and the 'socio-economic and political' identity rooted in everyday spatial, development, and everyday administrative practices. Both are subject to the territorialization imposed by dominant political parties leading to partial paralysis of residential development in the study area and discouraging its integration across the border zone. Accordingly, this thesis intends to answer the following questions:

1. How can urban design strategies restructure the identity of Old Saida Road and encourage the transformation of the perceived sectarian edge into a fluid/mobile socio-economic and institutional border?

2. How can urban design devise a set of place-making design interventions that consider the sectarian patterns of land ownership, the spatial fragmentation of the urban fabric, and the market-led dynamics to improve the public domain and to regulate private development?

1.3. Research Significance and objectives

This thesis aims at repositioning how urban design/planning deals with border zones. The goal of urban design strategies has either been to integrate the once divided edges or reinforce borders as a means of managing conflict (Bollens, 2013). This thesis recommends that dealing with edges/borders can also be approached through mediating a set of place-making design interventions as means of managing governance, reconfiguring the socio-economic patterns of the edge, and proposing design strategies that accommodate the edge's sectarian identity. As such, it is an attempt at removing the preconceived stereotypical dynamics of integration/segregation and recommends mediation as means of border prosperity.

1.4. Research Methodology

This thesis builds and expands on the Urban Planning and Design Workshop, conducted during the fall semester 2020 in the context of the MUPP/MUD program at AUB. For theoretical and methodological insights, I will review in chapter 2 selected references on fragmented and divided cities including Beirut, Belfast, and Nicosia (Bollens, 2012, 2013; Calame and Charlesworth, 2012); local case studies on the formative dynamics and planning of sectarian borders (Bou Akar 2018; Farah and Teller, 2012; Hafeda, 2019); and urban design literature, academic theses and professional reports on socio-spatial integration (Gaffikin et al., 2010; Kabbani, 1998; Leclair-Paquet, 2013; Debs, 2011). I will conclude with the theme of mediation as an approach for managing fluid sectarian edges.

In chapter 3, I will conduct a context appraisal of Old Saida Road along three tracks:

- The 'physical setting' covering the spatial identity through morphology and spatial development patterns;

- The 'perceived identity' by the inhabitants of the border zone is due to the effect of religious-political parties and power structures affecting the lived identity;

- The 'socio-economic activity' rooted in everyday communal, development, and administrative practices.

The final outcome of this chapter will be identifying character zones along Old Saida Road and the definition of the intervention area for a detailed case study. I have chosen onsite observation as my primary research method (Travers, 2001), given that I have been a local inhabitant of the area for many years. Onsite observation will cover street iconography, socio-economic practices/manifestations, and mobility. For secondary sources, I rely on maps collected from the municipality, newspapers, and existing studies on the area (Fawaz and Gharbieh, 2016) to produce my analytical and synthetic maps.

Chapter 4 consists of a detailed analysis of the action area with respect to the sectarian pattern of land ownership, the fragmentation of the physical and social fabric, and the market-led development of private property leading to a synthetic map highlighting susceptibility to change at a lot and block scales.

Chapter 5 concludes with a set of place-making revitalization strategies for enhancing the quality of streets and open spaces, improving vehicular and pedestrian accessibility, and providing a framework for private development.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

FLUID SECTARIAN BORDERS IN FRAGMENTED CITIES

For theoretical and methodological insights the thesis reviews selected references on divided and fragmented cities (Bollens 2012, 2013; Calame and Charlesworth 2012); local case studies on the formative dynamics and planning of sectarian borders (Bou Akar, 2018; Farah and Teller, 2012; Hafeda, 2019); and urban design literature, academic theses and professional reports on socio-spatial integration (Gaffikin et al., 2010; Kabbani, 1989, Leclair-Paquet, 2013; Debs 2011). The conclusion introduces the concept of mediation as a means of managing conflict and highlights how the resilient growth of frontiers creates fluid sectarian borders.

2.1. From Division to Fragmentation: Investigating the Evolving Dynamics of Sectarian Borders

Sennett (2004) distinguishes between 'borders,' which are porous membranes that act as places of exchange, and 'boundaries,' that guard territory and establish closure. This thesis starts from the premise that demarcation lines created during the war have evolved from dividing 'boundaries' to resilient sectarian 'borders' both integrative and segregative, acting simultaneously as places of exchange and places of fragmentation due to their enduring perception as sectarian divides. Landman (2011) and Bollens (2013) distinguish between initiators - what contributes to the formation of borders in fragmented cities - and their impacts. They argue that to regulate inter-group conflict derived from ethnic differences, boundary drawing, physical partitions, and electoral

freezing are bounding devices/tools utilized to initiate negative consequences in the long term, hence further fragmenting the already divided cities. The impact of those manipulations generates frontiers: "[…] transitional conflict zones that are always shifting […]" (Bou Akar, 2018). Creating new frontiers and maintaining them, forms the sectarian identity of places. One specific identity that dictates the spatial structure in conflicted cities is "territorialization;" it represents the spatial manifestation of sectarian and political powers to gain control over territories, producing "sectarian borders." The notion of materialization in sectarian borders describes how 'tactical bordering practices' can manipulate and occupy space, which forms creative processes and practices embedded in the everyday life of city dwellers (Hafeda, 2019).

2.2. Administrative Bounding as a Homogenizing Tool: The Case of Beirut

The case of Beirut sheds light on how boundary lines can be administrative and purposed to classify and demarcate different religious-sectarian identities for allocating electoral representation through the concept of "place of origin" (Bollens, 2013). Those invisible boundary lines were reactivated during the civil war (Fig. 3) and transformed into permanent social boundaries during the post-war period (Calame and Charlesworth, 2012). An important aspect that enhanced postwar fragmentation was the sectarian-based resettlement initiated during the civil war and further consolidated after the war, which maintained religious polarization and reduced the extent of religiously mixed districts in Beirut.
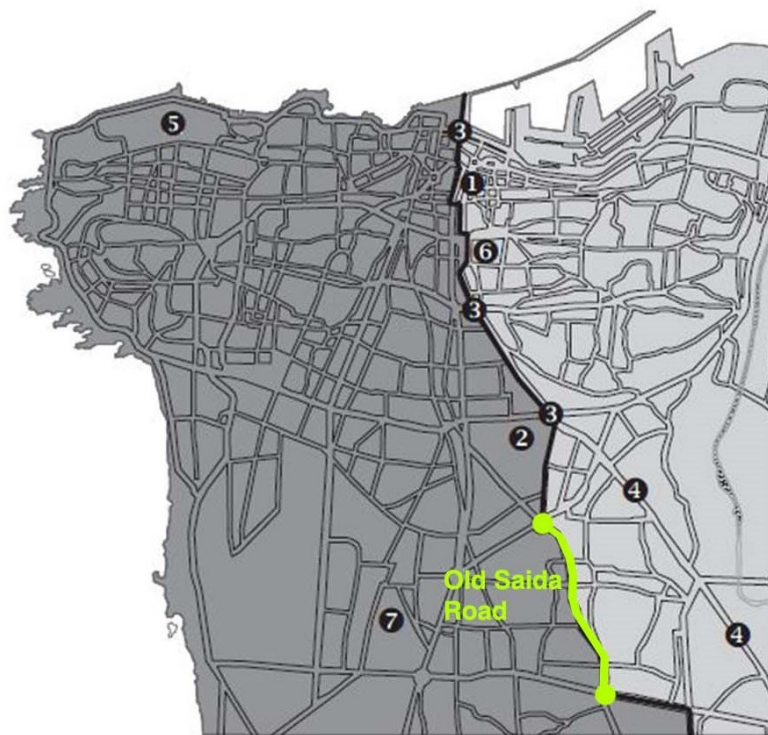
Figure 3: Beirut's partition between 1975 and 1990. (Calame and Charlesworth, 2012) edited by Author.

West Beirut, predominantly Muslim Lebanese, PLO & pan-Arab

East Beirut, predominantly Christian Lebanese & Nationalist

The Green Line

❶ Martyrs' Square
❷ Hippodrome
❸ wartime crossing point
❹ Damascus Road
❺ American University
❻ St. Joseph's University
❼ Shatila refugee camp

Economic, administrative, and political dynamics were the 'initiators' of demographic change in Beirut across what we now know as the 'Christian' East and 'Muslim' West. However, the 'impact' of those boundaries was the maintenance of post-conflict sectarian borders, hence, validating different types of bordering practices: administrative, surveillance, sound, and displacement (Hafeda, 2019). Those bordering practices maintain the homogeneity of the opposing "sides" of frontiers. Hiding behind the layers of spatial representation of those borders, the city's social and political space

is suspended between the past and the present. Therefore, it becomes easy to maintain the conflict in those 'geographies of fear' (Hafeda, 2019).

The country revealed a resilient approach for a long process of post-conflict revitalization. Meanwhile, many religious rivalries persist; this is due to the rooted sectarianism that is being passed on to younger generations due to an electoral system that does not match the demographic realities (Calame and Charlesworth, 2012). This has been demonstrated lately through the sectarian confrontation between Ain el Remaneh and Ghobeiry despite the commercial exchange along Old Saida Road.

2.3. Administrative and Municipal Bounding as Instigators of Fragmentation: The Case of Mazraa and Chiyah

Administrative boundaries have shaped the perceived identity of space; between the practices of residents and political parties, the perceived identity of space operates within the limits of the administration and outside of it (Hafeda, 2019).

2.3.1. Model 1/Mazraa: Administrative Bounding within Beirut

In the Northern part of Beirut's Mazraa sector, the political power on the ground is predominantly exercised by the Shiite Amal Movement. In contrast, the political representation in parliament and Municipality is predominantly held by the Sunni Future Movement. This shows the incompatibility in political representation at the levels of administration, parliament, and on-ground. Mazraa has a two-dimensional bordering scheme, operating:

(1) At the level of Muslim-Christian tensions, Mazraa and Tarik Al Jdide are both in the Muslim west side of the Green Line (Fig. 4);

(2) At the level of the Shiite-Sunni (Muslim) Mazraa and Tarik Al Jdidie are divided across a second administrative-parliamentary boundary (Fig. 4).
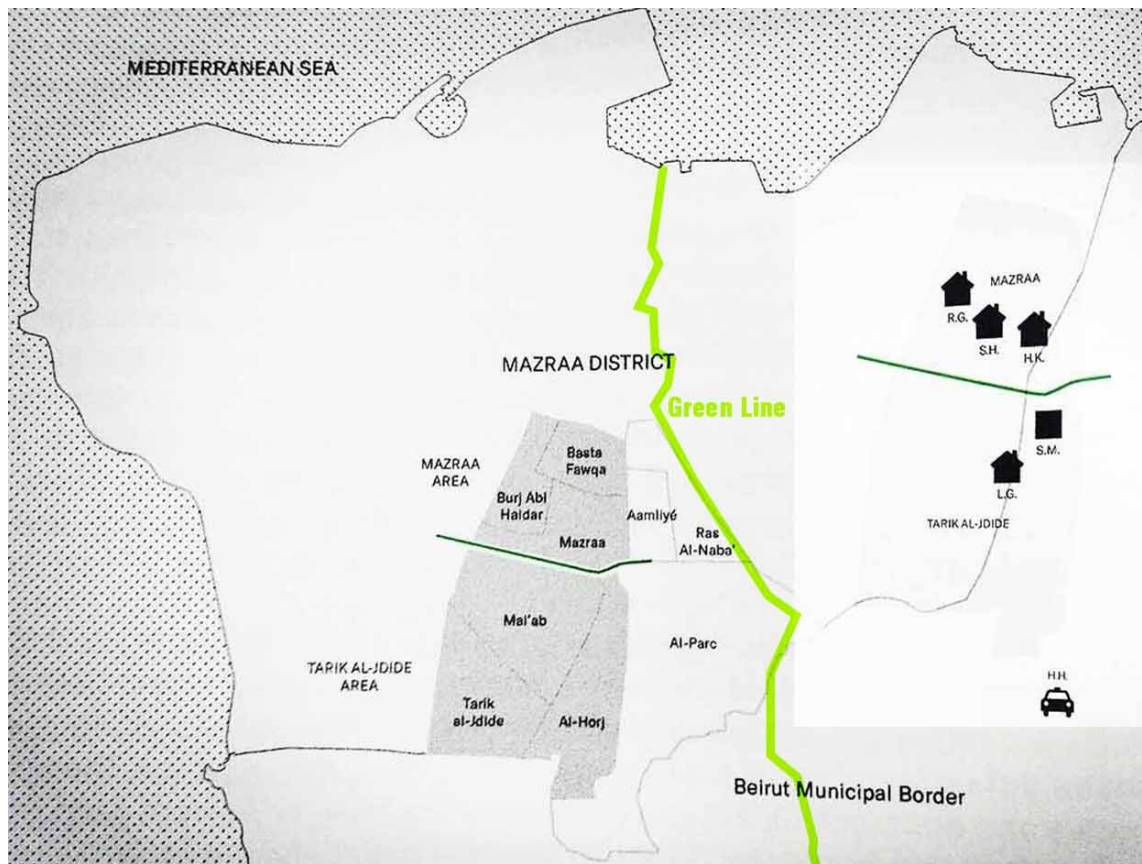
Figure 4: The administrative bounding between Mazraa and Tarik Al Jdideh in the Mazraa Sector of Beirut based on the dominant sect, while being part of west side of the Green Line formerly (Hafeda, 2019) edited by Author.

The incidents of 2007 and 2008 reveal the symbolic importance of 'roads' as ongoing boundaries dictated by administrative bounding, separating two sectarian borders, Mazraa and Tarik Al Jdide. The impact of the boundary on the Shiite-Sunni sensitivities within the two territories continues to project the road as a symbol and representation of the country's ongoing Sunni-Shiite tension.

Hafeda (2019) describes this to be "[...] a form of bordering practice, one which operates as a form of an alerting critical spatial practice [...]", due to its multi-dimensional sectarian manifestation. To this day, the boundary is activated at every

sectarian incident that occurs in Beirut, emphasizing the tension and 'alertness' of non-physical boundaries on the perception of sectarian territories.

2.3.2. *Model 2/Chiyah: Municipal Bounding at the Peripheries of Beirut*

A stranger once told me "[…] do not go within Ain Al-Remmeneh, go up to Tayyouneh, the service will take you easier from there […]" (Anonymous, 2019); here distance is not the reason behind his advice; it is an in-depth perception of the 'other' behind the opposite sides of the line or 'boundary.' This section aims to concentrate on how the boundaries-made-battle-lines in Beirut's peripheries transformed into sectarian frontiers and how different authors have approached them through various planning lenses.

Beirut's Green Line divides the zone of Chiyah into two sectarian border zones, differentiating its spatial identity from the rest of the southern suburbs. The once agricultural area underwent various transformations from the year 1940 (Bou Akar, 2018; Khuri, 1975), through rural-urban migration waves. The municipal bounding of the area into two zones (Ghobeiry and Chiyah) was the leading cause for the activation of 'Old Saida Road' as the civil war battlefield, bounding two sectarian borders, the Muslim 'West' Ghobeiry and Christian 'East' Chiyah.

In the aftermath of the war, the area remained a frontier (Bou Akar, 2018) with a 'road' demarcating two sectarian border zones controlled by political parties responsible for the on-ground tension between the two communities. The frontiers located at the southern segment of the road were occupied by postwar squatters until the reconstruction of the Hay Madi security square in 2005 demolished them for new construction. The section following the Chiyah jurisdiction was left with land dictated by complex ownership patterns and a territorialized spatial identity. I will call this

'Limbo Land'. Farah and Teller (2012) describe the different placemaking, guerilla and reactive urban planning approaches to various sections in the southern and south-eastern suburbs. However, Bou Akar (2018) highlights how frontiers located at the southern segment of the Chiyah demarcation line are planned to persist as "[...] geographies of war yet to come [...]".

Municipal actor networks (Farah and Teller, 2012) were formed through mobilizing the "locality's identity" by leaders within the sectarian borders. In the Chiyah area, the extreme integration of stakeholder efforts in a public-private partnership scheme/proposal to revive the economic centrality of the demarcation line, created a clash between actor networks of Chiyah and Ghobeiry. "[...] Turning this area of tension into a place of encounter and openness between the southern and the south-eastern suburbs [...]" at the project and stakeholder (implementation level), ended the scheme's efforts.

The proposal was composed of multiple large scale development schemes, residential and office complex projects, rehabilitating the informal Chiyah Souk, and enhancing the economic centrality of the "Old Saida Road." However, the conditions of resolving the post-war squatters (Bou Akar, 2018) - what is now 'Limbo Land' at southern segment of the road - complicated the project putting all efforts to an end.

For the time being, the Old Saida Road contiues to act as a sectarian edge, bounding two sectarian borders and displaying various forms of economic, political and socio-spatial manifestations that enhance its territorialized identity while maintain segments of the road in 'limbo' state. This will be later developed in chapters 3 and 4.

2.4. Socio-spatial Integration/Segregation Strategies in Urban Design

Based on the former argument discussing initiators and impacts of boundaries and borders, Landman (2011) questions why specific urban interventions are labeled positive and negative. Gaffikin et al. (2010) argue that the integrative approach in dealing with contested cities manifests in the open public space layer and questions the level of inter-communalism. Referring to Massey (2005), he continued: "[inter-communalism] is an appreciation for pluralism and diversity, toward an acceptance of ambiguity and paradox, complexity rather than simplicity […]". Through linking the concepts of open spaces, multi-culturism, and negotiation, Leclair-Paquet argues that "the recognition of the city's multidimensionality can participate in healing a culturally divided city by raising the likelihood for cross-cultural encounters to occur […]"(Fig. 5). This is a vision of a city that is open and flexible, interrelated, but not homogenized (Capel Tatjer, 2004).
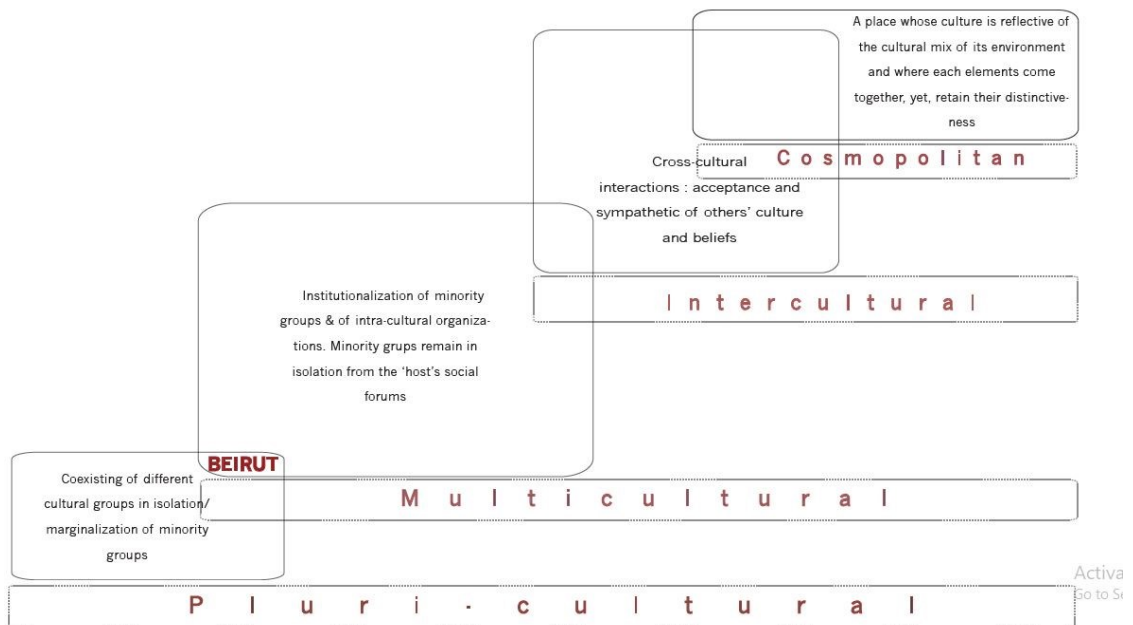
Figure 5: The hierarchal classification of culturalism in cities, and Beirut's positioning with respect to the classification. (Leclair-Paquet, 2019)

2.4.1. Shifting Approaches to Contested Cities

Gaffikin (2010) discusses cities with competing nationalism that have debated urban space and ownership, such as Belfast and Nicosia. The two countries have experienced a shift in the approaches followed to manage contestation from (1) a politically induced planned segregation into (2) a politically managed planned integration.

Nicosia: Ethnic/Religious Division

Nicosia's approach to contestation shifted the master plan from one that (1) focused on revitalizing the two sides while maintaining the segregating buffer (Fig. 6, left) into a (2) 'neutralized buffer zone' through employing different open space strategies (Fig. 6, right). The buffer zone's vital role was acknowledged as the most significant neutralized public space. Political accommodation, rather than eliminating the representation of the divide, was a key factor for a cohesive integrative vision.

Figure 6: Nicosia's city center circulation with the buffer zone in yellow (left) and with an integrative city center eliminating the buffer zone (right). (Gaffikin et al., 2010)

The Nicosia Master Plan (NMP) continues today to be the basis of ongoing development on both sides of the Green Line; there have been almost one hundred local NMP projects funded either locally or by foreign institutions, displaying an important bi-communal mechanism through the years (Bollens, 2012). Nicosia's wall underwent a physical change with time: in March 2007, the wall was demolished at Ledra Street by Greek Cypriots, with the blessing of Turkish Cypriot authorities. Ledra Street is now part of a central shopping street in the heart of Nicosia and was fully reopened on both sides of the former wall in the presence of Greek and Turkish Cypriot officials (Bollens, 2012) (Fig. 7).

Figure 7: Ledra Street: a 32-year division transformed into a commercial strip. Retrieved from: https://lebanesedaily.com/en/2019/09/30/top-things-to-do-in-nicosia/

Belfast: National/Sectarian Division

In Belfast, the roots of conflict circulated around the land ownership being given to Protestants over land cultivated by Catholic farmers Post-conflict schemes showed that open space grew through a laissez-faire approach of successive projects that

highlighted the essence of division through walls and architectural buildings. It is described as a 'defensive and provocative design' (Gaffikin et al., 2010). However, this technocratic neutrality was dealt with in 2008 through the concept of 'shared spaces for a shared future,' by introducing small scale pocket parks connected by pedestrian-friendly streets. Over time, this scheme shifted inward-directed spaces to an interconnected network with other public spaces, including Architectural adjustments, through employing integrative planning attempts at the micro-scale to recover the social fabric (Fig.8)

Figure 8: Peace lines in Belfast showing the ethnics spaces (left), in comparison to the transformed neutral spaces in Belfast's docklands (right). (Gaffikin et al, 2010)

2.4.2. Segregative and Integrative Local Approaches to Beirut's Green Line

With reference to Beirut, two non-implemented proposals dealing with the Green Line portray different segregative and integrative approaches. A stratification of the division between Muslim and Christian communities through the design strategy decreases war created tension – a scheme with dual identity (Kabbani, 1989).

One position states that social alienation created by the civil war should be accepted and accommodated rather than camouflaged and neglected. In his model, Kabbani dissects the Green Line into three separate approaches (Fig. 9). For the Chiyah

model, he proposes definitive stratification of the two neighborhoods through a green belt that segregates the residential blocks, and an underpass next to Horsh Beirut that further segregates the area. He counterbalances this segregation by proposing socially integrative functions that promote integration at focused points.

Down town area,
Integration desired

The middle piece
acts as a hinge

Chiyyah, Ain el Rimmaneh,
seperation desired to normalize
the social hostolity
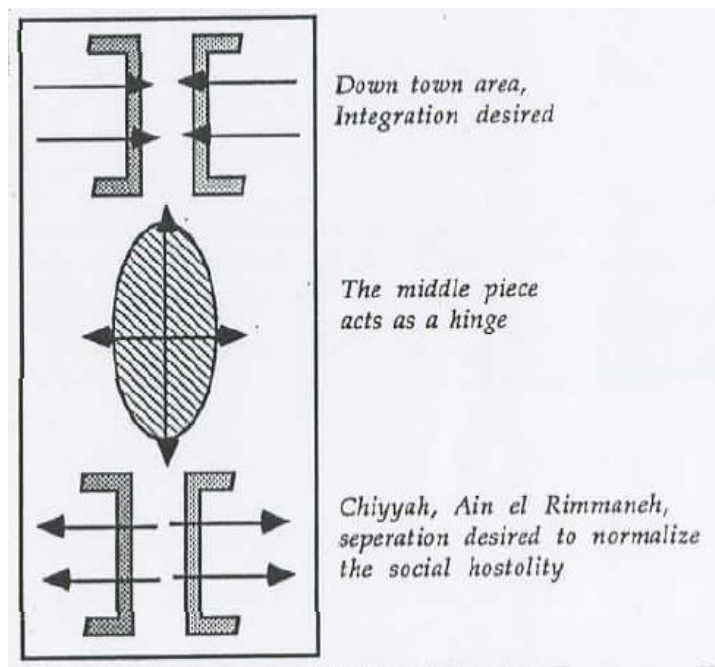
Figure 9: The three sections of Kabbani's postwar vision for the Green Line of Beirut. (Kabbani, 1989)

On the other hand, Debs (2011) proposed the Liaison Douce strategy to upgrade the public domain and a *socio-spatial integration* scheme for the Green Line. His goals include:

- Revitalizing the public domain beyond the roads network;
- Improving life conditions within the city;
- Damascus road rehabilitation promoting a new urban structure;
- Prioritizing sustainability and social infrastructure;
- Improving public transportation.

He divided the midsection of the Green Line along Damascus Road into four segments and prioritized different transportation and pedestrianization schemes, compatible with the functions within each section. Types of direct actions taken on the neighborhood and district scales were upgrading pedestrian and bike lanes, upgrading public transportation and mobility, reinforcing local uses and functions, and reconfiguring open spaces by through acknowledging their social value (Fig. 10, 11).
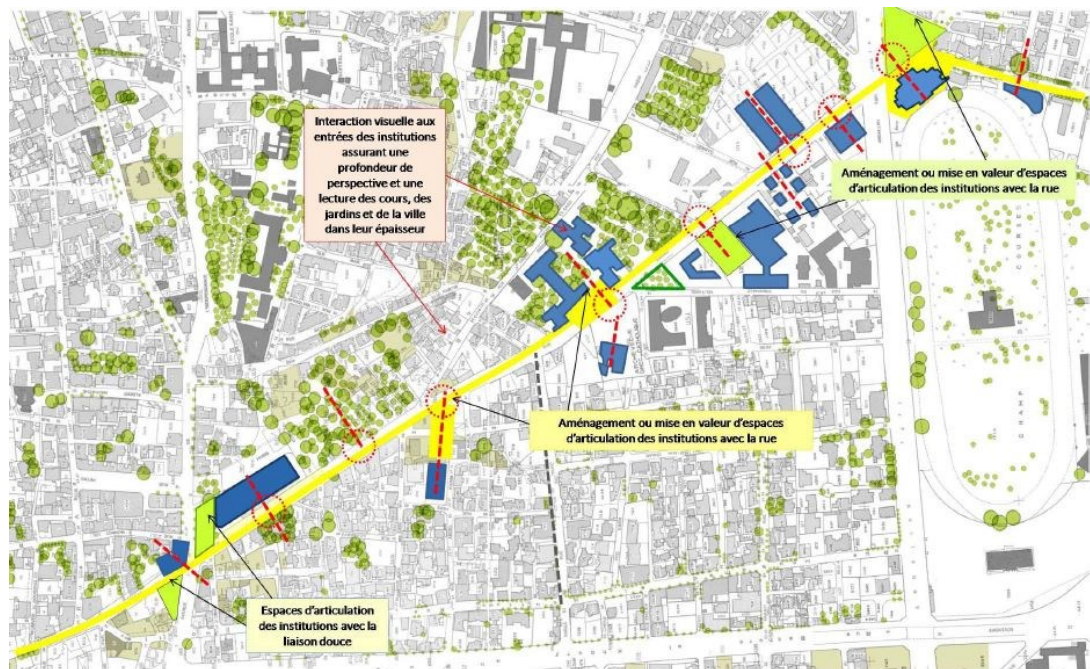
Figure 10: Upgrading the public domain of the second segment of the Green Line through the Liaison Douce (Debs, 2011)

Figure 11: Primarily public space of Ras-Al Nabaa proposed in the Liaison Douce. (Debs, 2011)

2.5. Conclusion: Mediation as a "Fluidifying" Approach to Sectarian Borders

"The opposite of the process of negotiation is the physical border and segregation."
(Hafeda, 2019)

Going over all the concepts analyzed systematically, I can define what is meant by "fluidity" and "Limbo Land". Fluidity is the dialectic relationship between the sectarian reading of communal bordering practices and perceptions, and the social and economic practices in sectarian borders. Limbo Land is the case where the sectarian perception of land predominates its physical activity, causing land to be kept vacant due to spatial territorialization. It is caused by sectarian control over post-war frontiers.

Analyzing the 'segregative/integrative' approaches to post-conflict sectarian borders in Belfast, Nicosia and Beirut, reveals a lack of a 'fluid approach' as to how borders can grow into resilient spatial manifestations 'both' integrative and segregative. Dealing with 'Limbo' land adds new perceptual dimensions to the contested environment, shaping ownership problems and management/control practices into territorialized spaces as ongoing war geographies.

Therefore, I argue that the above urban design proposals and strategies neglect the mediating negotiation of a phasing dimension that deals with *resilient spatial growth*, to enhance the fluidity of sectarian borders with a manifested 'limbo'.

As stated by Leclaire-Paquet in reference to Jones: "recognition of sectarian borders is better than tolerance since it emphasizes the celebration of diversity" and measures the spatial environment's fluidity.

Mediation, by definition, means the intervention to resolve a dispute; in urban design, mediation means negotiating conflict resolution through planning and design strategies for building an intervention while taking into consideration all the competing

actors. However 'limbo land' demands structuring a spatial-temporal framework in

parallel, to prepare implementation tools that encompass stakeholder

efforts/contributions and organizes the management of the public space schemes, going

further than designing the physical environment.

CHAPTER 3

OLD SAIDA ROAD AS A FLUID SECTARIAN BORDER

3.1. Analytical Framework

The context appraisal aims to reach a critical understanding of the dynamics of change affecting the Old Saida Road, from the end of the civil war in 1990 until now. The study area boundaries extend from the Tayouneh Roundabout to the Mar Mikhael Church intersection and correspond to what is referred to as the third segment of the Green Line (Fig. 12).
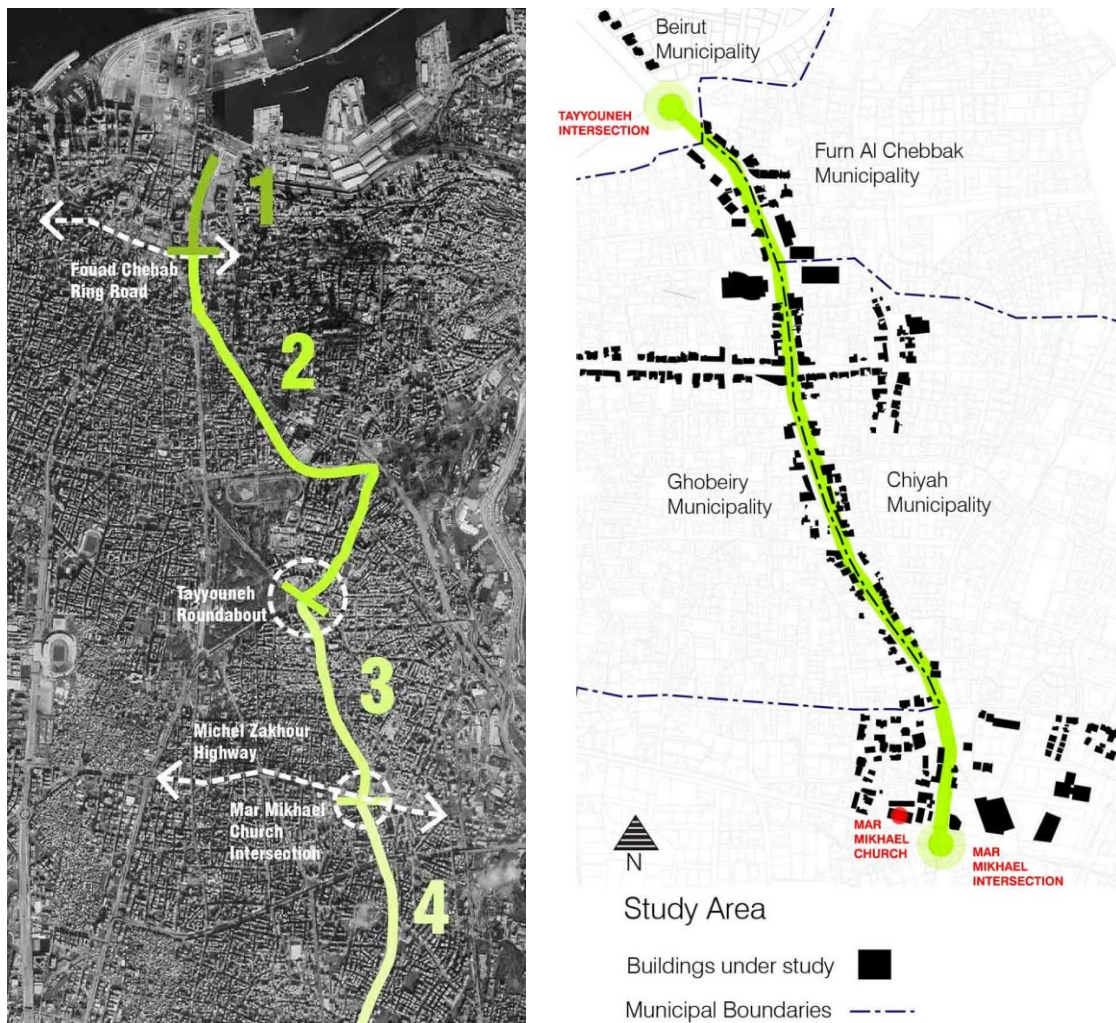
Figure 12: The study area (right) in reference to the third segment of the Green Line of Beirut. (Author, 2020)

As mentioned above, the guiding theme of the context appraisal is approaching Old Saida road as 'a fluid sectarian border zone', both segregative and integrative, oscillating between being a zone of economic exchange and a zone of sectarian confrontation. This fluidity assessment aims to allocate different character zones by identifying the border zone's manifested identities and reveals the reason for choosing the southern segment's 'limbo land' as a site for intervention. Accordingly, the context appraisal will proceed along four parallel tracks:

1. The outline of a conceptual framework for the spatial and functional analysis of sectarian border zones;
2. The investigation of the historical and spatial development of the Old Saida Road;
3. A comprehensive analysis of the physical setting, market, and community appraisals of the Old Saida Road's southern segment to derive a set of opportunities and constraints for the urban design intervention;
4. Concluding with the North-South character zones in terms of their physical characteristics, the prevalent socio-economic and sectarian identities.

Historical and Spatial Development

This section entails the reading the dynamics of growth of the study area, and highlights the issue of spatial territorialization brought forth by sectarian-related community practices. The purpose is to identify the continuity and change in the urban fabric during the prewar, war, and postwar periods.

Physical Setting and Connectivity

This section entails the analysis of the current morphology, townscape, pedestrian, and vehicular mobility, bringing forward issues of identity, legibility, and connectivity.

Market and Land Use Patterns

This section entails the analysis of the market dynamics, land use patterns, and sectarian-induced socio-economic manifestations to develop a critical understanding of the transformations in the border zone.

Community Markers and Governance Patterns

This appraisal analyzes sectarian markers and communal practices and develops a critical understanding of the connection between local authorities and religious/political parties. It helps deduce the networks and models that shape the governance patterns in the study area to understand the legislative framework. It further articulates a provision and management scheme for the southern segment of the border zone (see chapter 4).

3.1.1. Conceptual and Spatial Framework

I will start this chapter by defining a conceptual framework cutting across the four phases of the context appraisal and serving as a unifying spatial framework for the analysis and interpretation of the findings. To this end, I will define what is meant by 'border zone,' identify its components and modalities of reading, and outline the characteristics of its identity features. Approaching Old Saida road as a 'fluid sectarian border zone' entails two modalities of readings:

1. A transversal (East-West) reading uncovering the internal components of border zones and their segregative/integrative dynamics (fluidity) (Table 1 and Fig. 13);

2. A longitudinal (North-South) reading helps classify the changing physical, spatial, and social character of the border zone, leading to the definition of distinct 'character zones' (Fig. 13)
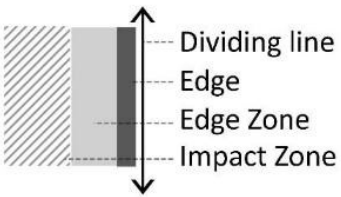
	Components	Definition
	Dividing Line	Refers to the corridor space that marks the sectarian divide between interfacing districts, i.e., Chiyah (Christian territory) and Ghobeiry (Muslim Territory).
	Edge	Refers the fronting lots and buildings in terms of their function and spatial defining characteristic, as well as their level of permeability.
	Edge zone	Denotes the adjoining blocks in terms of their activity patterns, morphological and built environment characteristics
	Impact zone	> indicates the adjoining districts in terms of their dominant function and development dynamics.
Table 1: Definition of the border zone components. (Author, 2020)		
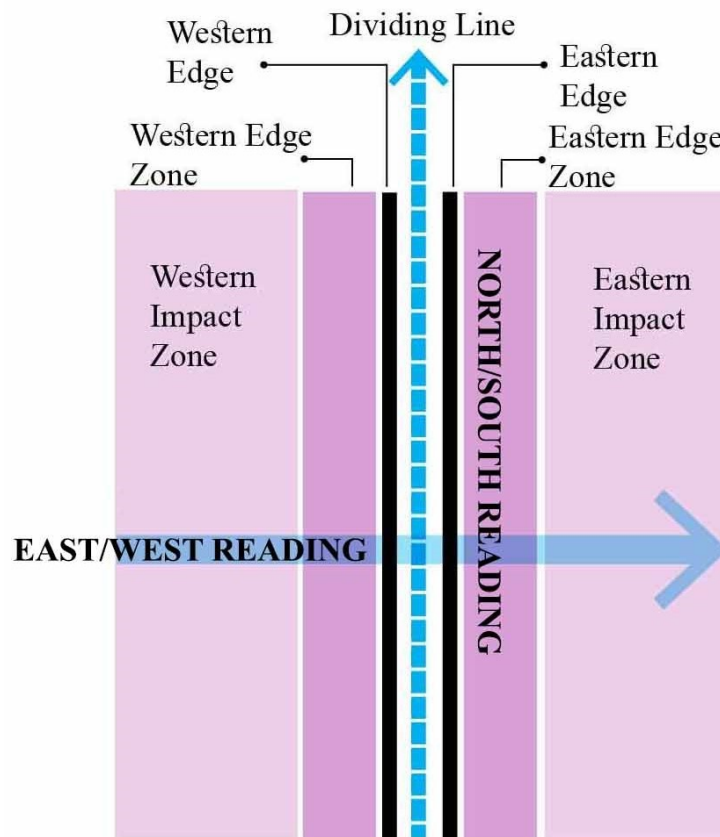
Figure 13: The two reading modalities serving as spatial framework. (Author, 2020)

3.2. Historical and Spatial Development: Continuity and Change in the Physical and Social Fabric

As mentioned above, this section reads the dynamics of growth of the study area, and highlights the issue of spatial territorialization brought forth by sectarian-related community practices. The purpose is to identify the continuity and change in the urban fabric during the prewar, war, and postwar periods. I will be concluding with a reformulated definition of the border zone components according to the study area.

3.2.1. *Prewar Period: From Rural and Agricultural land to Urbanized Sectarian Periphery*
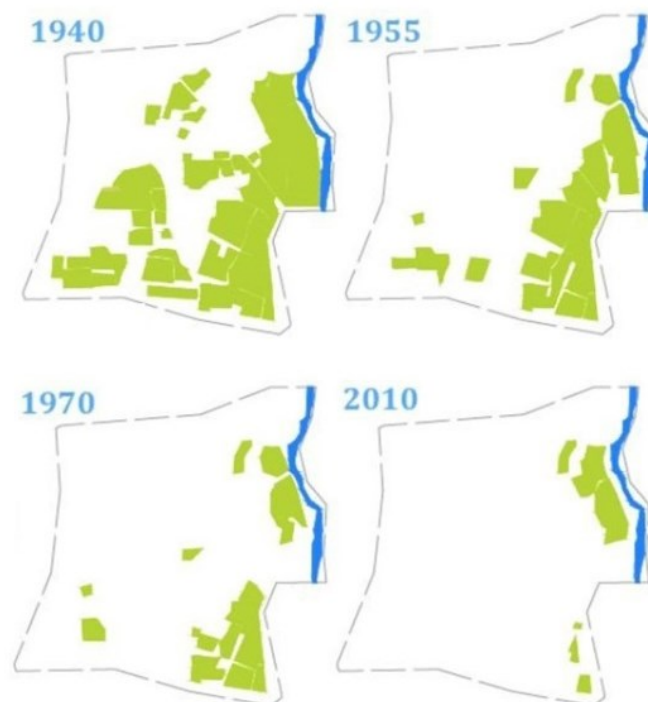
Figure 14: The agricultural versus urban expansion between the year 1940 and 2010 (Left). (LAU, 2014).Retrieved from an unpublished report (Rosenthal, 2013)

Prior to the establishment of the Ghobeiry Municipality in 1956 as a separate administrative entity, Chiyah, as one cadastral district, encompassed a large portion of agricultural land at the Southern outskirts of municipal Beirut, supporting silk industries

(Fig. 14). The pre-war economy focused on a large service sector in Beirut's central areas, whereas industrial activity was practiced in the suburbs (Farah and Teller 2012).

With the increase of rural to urban migration from the Bekaa, South Lebanon and Mount Lebanon (Fig. 14), the Muslim (Shiites) settled in the Western area and Christian (Maronites) in the East (initiating the demographic and spatial configuration later to be activated during the civil war) (Fig. 15). By the early 1940s, Ain El Remmeneh (East Chiyah) was still agricultural lands owned by Maronite families (UH Lead, 2014).
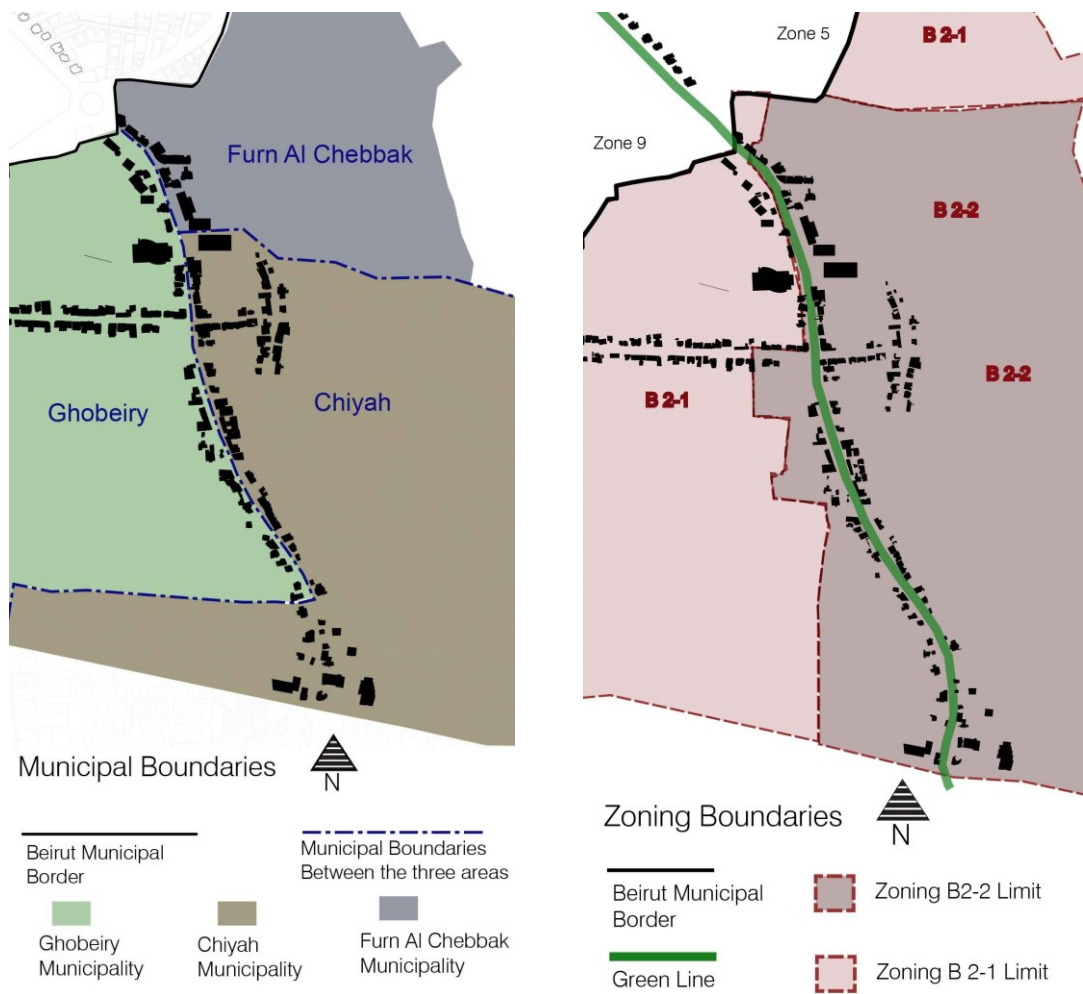
Figure 15: Old Saida Road delineating four municipal boundaries (left), and the zoning limits in Chiyah, Ghobeiry, and Furn El Chebbak (Right). (Author, 2020), Original scan retrieved from the DGU of Beirut.

The municipality of Chiyah created tension between the two sects, favoring its Christian over its Shia constituency by offering them better provision. This led to the establishment of a new municipality of Ghobeiry in 1956 based on the request of West Chiyah's residents (Bou Akar, 2018). Hence, after the partition, the Chiyah municipality is mainly composed of the area located to the east of the Old Saida Road, and the Ghobeiry municipality covers the area to the west side of the road (Fig. 16); with the exception of the southern segment of the Old Saida Road which falls under Chiyah's jurisdiction to the west of the road.

3.2.2. War Period: From Sectarian Suburban District to Sectarian Confrontation Zone

Beirut became divided between East and West in the Spring of 1975, the day after Phalangists militiaman ambushed a bus in Ain Al Remmaneh killing 27 Palestinians. Militias started to control both parts of the city and restricted crossings between the East and the West of Beirut (Leclaire-Paquet). This incident marked the beginning of the civil war in Lebanon, leading to significant demographic changes, with internal migration in the whole country across a clear geographical division between West and East Beirut (Hafeda, 2019). As a result, the segregative nature that the Chiyah/Ghobeiry municipal boundary that was set in 1956 along with Old Saida road's physical location, were activated by the religious-political parties between the years 1975 and 1990, enhancing the sectarian division between East and West Chiyah.

During the war, the decentralization of the economic activities and the service sector occurred in a fragmented manner within unified religious groups, separated by the Green Line (Fig. 16).
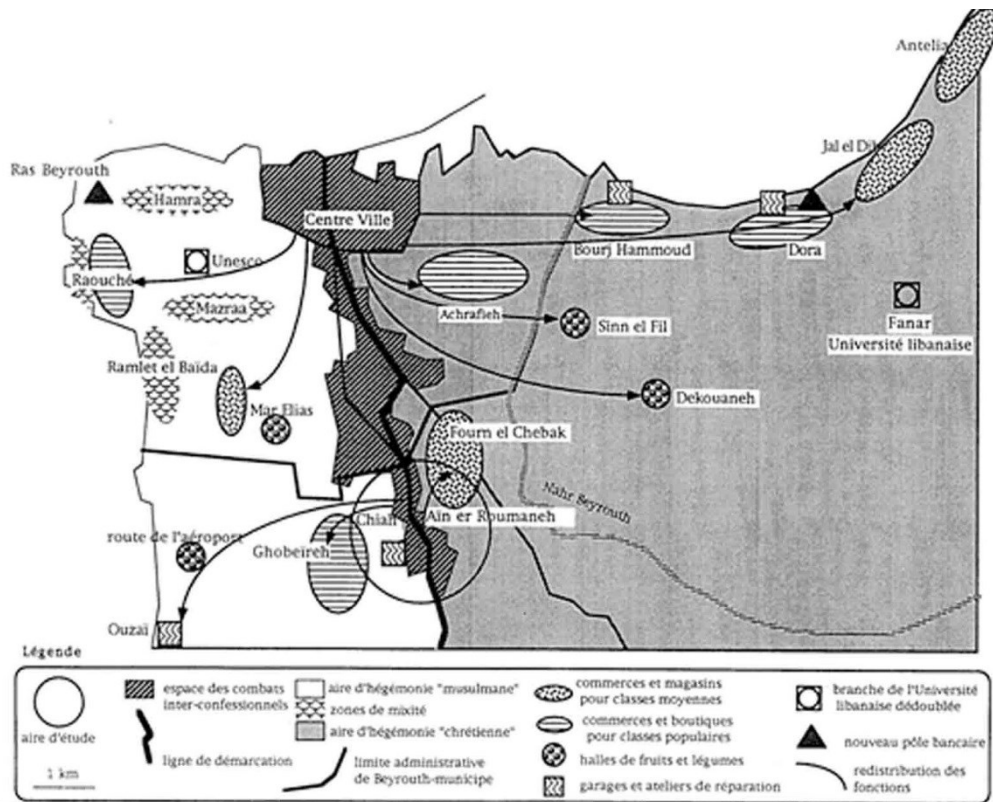
Figure 16: Decentralization of economic functions during the Lebanese Civil War. (IAURIF, 1993)

3.2.3. Post-war Period: From Sectarian Confrontation Zone to Fluid Sectarian Border

Today, Old Saida Road holds the memory of war and territorialization. From 1975 until now, the municipal and zoning boundaries have not changed (Fig. 17). In contrast, the function of the edge of the Old Saida Road transformed from (1) a battle interface (1975-1990), to (2) a transportation corridor that serves as a primary connector between Beirut and its suburbs reaching South Lebanon (1990), and eventually to (3) a sectarian interface with different socio-economic manifestation depicting the new edge's identity (1990s-2020). Although the municipal boundaries drawn to separate the two areas of Ghobeiry and Chiyah were given names of pre-existing areas, the residents

to the west side of the Old Saida road, still call it Chiyah and not Ghobeiry, whereas the

residents of the east side of the road call it Ain El Remmaneh.
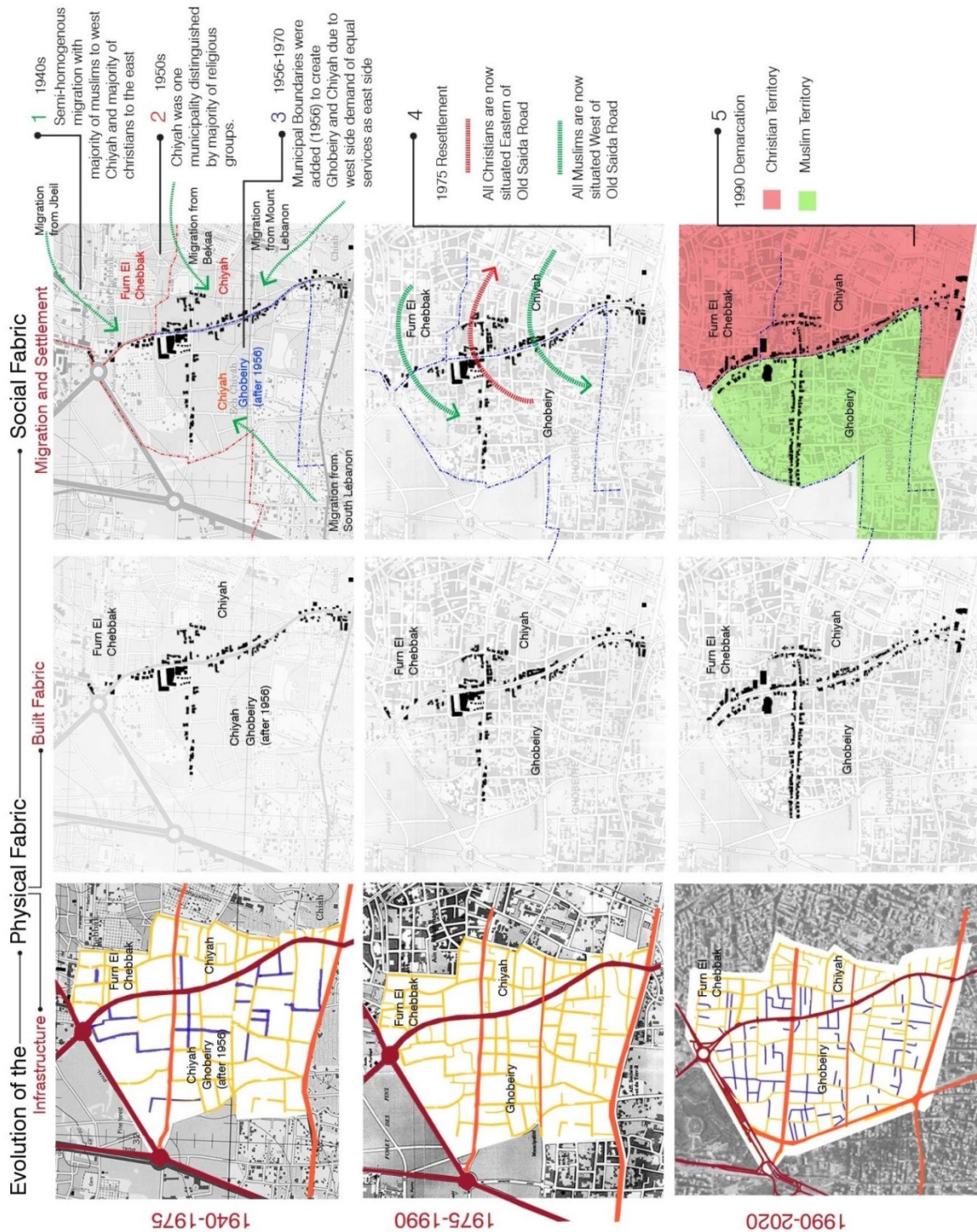
Figure 17: Continuity and change in the physical and social fabrics along Old Saida Road's border zone, between the year 1940 and 2020. (Author, 2020)

3.2.4. Defining the Old Saida Road Border Zone Components
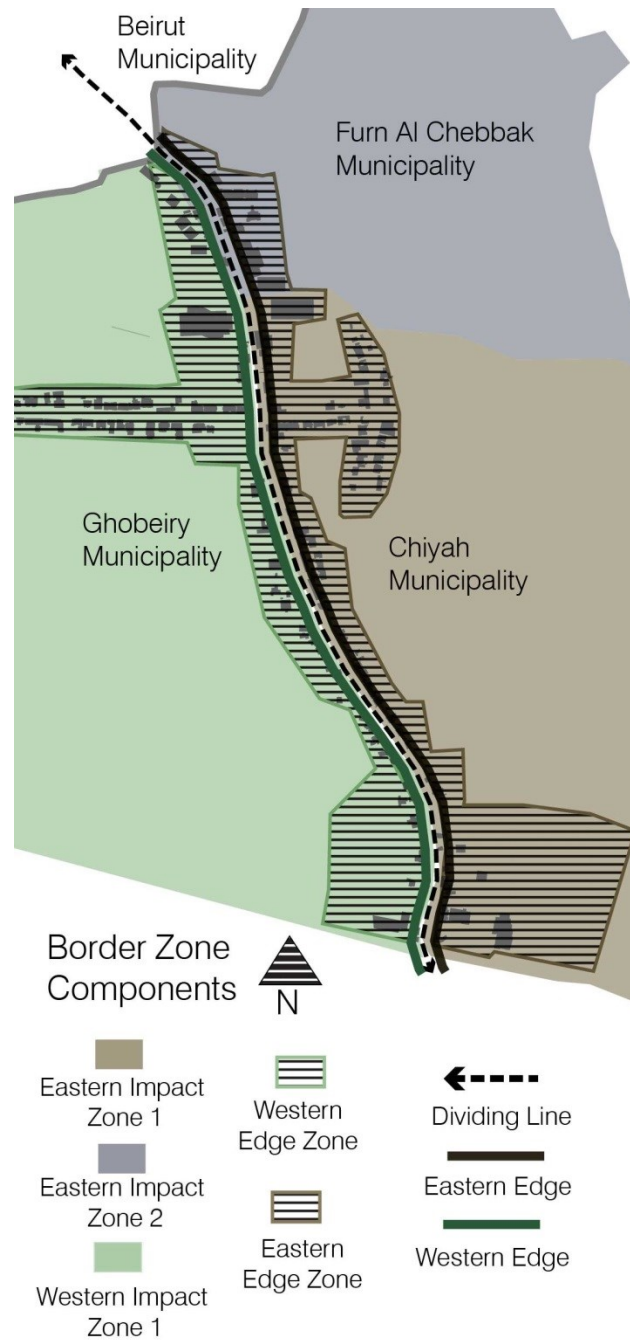
Figure 18: Border Zone Components of Old Saida
Road. (Author, 2020)

The spatially interpreted components of the border zone are of four types: Dividing

Line, the Edges, the Edge Zones, and the Impact zones (Fig. 18). If we articulate the

four components of the study area, we can delineate the following:

- *Dividing Line:* refers to Old Saida, the corridor space that marks the sectarian divide between Chiyah (Christian territory) and Ghobeiry (Muslim Territory);

- *Edge:* the Eastern edge (Chiyah) and the Western edge (Ghobeiry), denoting the fronting lots and buildings in terms of their functiona and spatial-defining characteristics, as well as their level of permeability;

- *Edge Zone:* the Eastern edge zone (Chiyah) and the Western edge zone (Ghobeiry) denoting the adjoining blocks, to the East and West, in terms of their activity patterns, morphological and built environment characteristics;

- *Impact Zone:* Eastern Impact zone (Chiyah and Furn Al Chebbak) and the Western Impact zone (Ghobeiry) are the areas forming the physical continuation of the border zone and impacted by its dynamics.

3.3. Physical Setting and Connectivity Appraisal

Consistent with the analytical framework, studying the spatial identity revolves around the morphological, townscape, and traffic analysis, bringing forward issues of identity, legibility, and connectivity to enhance the quality of the public domain in terms of streets and open spaces. Consequently, this section provides an analysis of the northern, middle, and southern sections of the Old Saida Road, to conclude the spatial conditions and its level of fluidity.

3.3.1. Building Footprints, Conditions and Heights

I will be analyzing this section according to the following framework (Table. 2):

Section	Building Typologies	Spatial Conditions / Fluidity
Northern Section	Mixed Use Towers Malls	Buildings in accordance with infrastructure created hard edges, low fluidity

Middle Section	Postwar damaged buildings functioning as commercial street frontages Mixed Use building additions (center typologies)	Soft edge with high street dynamic, high fluidity
Southern Section (Later to be emphasized in chapter 4)	Mixed Use Towers Mixed Use Buildings Large construction Shack typologies Vacant land Wakf Land Mar Mikhael Church Ownership facing sectarian hindrance	Hard edges with potential land for development, low fluidity with high susceptibility to change
Table 2: Building typologies in the different sections of Old Saida Road, and the resulting spatial conditions. (Author, 2020)		

The identity of the edge and its border was 'fluidified' to adopting growing and ever changing uses of the fabric post-1990. However, the fabric itself seems to have developed incongruously and over several phases (see Fig. 17). We can illustrate the evolution of the fabric's footprint in different sections of the Old Saida Road.

Northern Section

Figure 19: New development patterns along of malls (spot mall) and mixed use typologies. (Author, 2019)
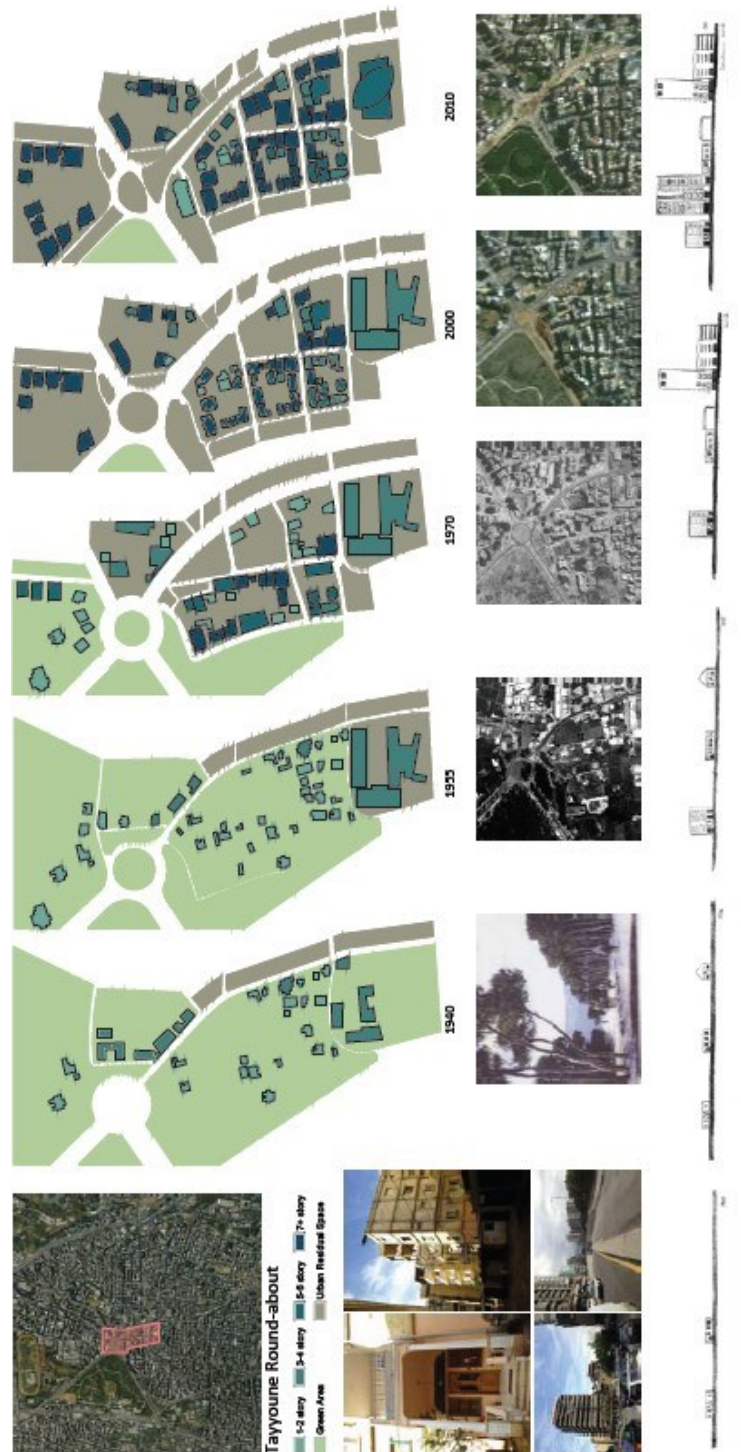
Figure 20: Growth Patterns in the northern section of the Old Saida Road's Border zone. (LAU, 2013)

The ***northern section*** of the road (Fig. 20) shows a transformation in land uses (from agriculture to Residential/Commercial) between the years 1940 and 1975. However, it was not until the year 2000 that we saw the formation of hard edges that

affected the mobility of the road, delivering new forms of commercial towers and malls (Fig. 19).

Middle Section

Figure 21: Building conditions along the edge zone of Old Saida Road (left), and images showing dilapidated buildings due to the civil war in the middle section of the edge zone. (Author, 2019)

The ***middle section*** of Old Saida Road's edge zone was the most damaged physically by the civil war (Fig. 21). The edge was already developed in the year 1990, and little development changes were made to the existing fabric between the years 2000-2020 (Fig. 17). The new development on this edge consists of mixed-use centers

and buildings that serve commercial purposes at the road's interface. The main additions were on Assaad al Assaad Street, where new residential development is continuously being injected due to the high demand for housing.

Southern Section

Figure 22: Building heights along the edge zone of Old Saida Road (left) and new development patterns along the southern section edges (right). (Author, 2019)

The *southern section* of Old Saida Road remains as a *Limbo Land* due to complex ownership patterns and contested sectarian control. The location of the Mar Mikhael Church and Wakf lands along the Muslim western side of the Green Line created a post-war frontier. Privately owned land is mostly underdeveloped, except for

towers, and large construction buildings along the edges of the southern segment (Fig. 22). Wakf land is partially developed for residential and educational purposes. Vacant land either remains vacant or is occupied by car dealership and repair businesses, conveying a neutralized interaction between Christian owners and Muslim tenants.

Territorialization is very flagrant in this area due to landlords' common perception that this area is an everlasting war territory, a frontier (Bou Akar, 2018). This area witnessed many development and land ownership disputes as well as rejected revitalization projects due to the existence of post-war squatters that extended from Hay Madi district onto portions of this area.

A significant number of parcels are still vacant; other parcels were turned into commercial towers, compounds or large-scale buildings, or kept stagnant with dilapidated buildings remain from the civil war. Nevertheless, one feature manifests the spatial structure of this area: the high-security presence and the interface of sectarian control groups (Amal and LF) occupying structures, mostly old buildings as settling points within the fabric. The southern section of the border zone exhibits a hard edge due to the building typologies and high potential for land investment due to ownership and parcellation patterns (later elaborated in chapter 4).

3.3.2. Infrastructural Analysis

Hierarchy	Infrastructure	Spatial Edge Conditions / Fluidity
Primary Infrastructure	Tayyouneh Roundabout Mar Mikhael Intersection Old Siada Road (Northern and Southern section)	Hard edges, unsafe pedestrian access, low fluidity
Primary Infrastructure	Old Siada Road (middle section)	Soft Edge, high street dynamic, moderate pedestrian accessibility, high fluidity
Secondary	Assaad Al Assaad, Maroun	High street dynamic, sectarian

Infrastructure	Maroun Streets Maroun Mesk, Emile Naim Streets Abel El Karim El Khalil Street	manifestations, Moderate pedestrian accessibility, low fluidity
Tertiary Infrastructure	Inner district roads network, inner block access	High street dynamic, sectarian manifestations, High pedestrian accessibility, low fluidity
Table 3: Infrastructural hierarchy and types, and the resulting spatial edge conditions. (Author, 2020)		
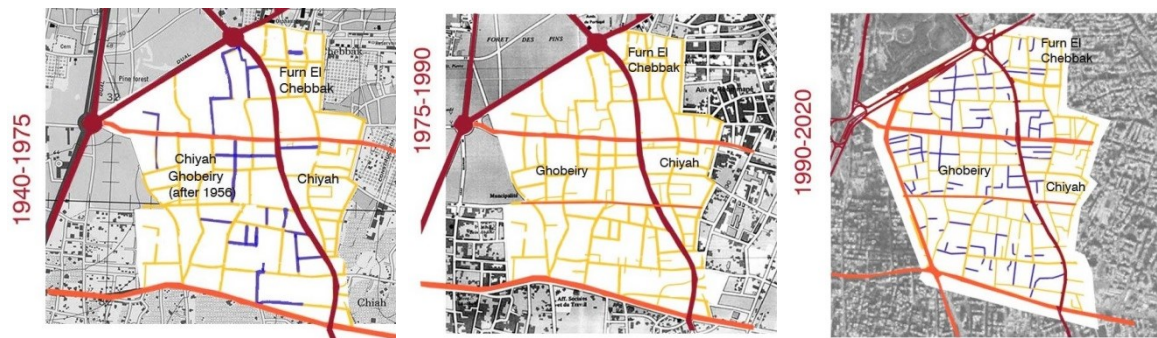
Figure 23: The introduction of new secondary and tertiary roads to the roads network between the year 1940 and 2020. (Author, 2019)

Prior to the year 1990, the connectivity between the Chiyah and Ain El Remmeneh areas relied on Old Saida Road being the primary road that connected central Beirut to the suburbs and south Lebanon. Besides the Old Saida Road, existing secondary roads serve the district and block levels (Fig. 23). Pedestrian accessibility was still prevalent at block and lot level, making the network system pedestrian-friendly.

Post-war, the role of the Old Saida road was delimited after the implementation of the airport road connecting BCD to the airport, and South Lebanon. The Old Saida Road remained as a primary connector between BCD and the suburbs, maintaining its prewar significance; however, it is no longer the primary connector to South Lebanon. Though disruptive, it has been of great benefit for the lived space. As a result, the perception of the road as a divide did not change; instead, the road's function changed following the socio-economic practices amid both sides of the road.

Figure 24: The construction of the traffic underpasses in Tayyouneh (up) and Mar Mikhael intersection (down). Source: LAU, 2013. Retrieved from an unpublished report (Rosenthal, 2013)

The most recent upgrade of the infrastructure encompassed the implementation of two underpasses, one under the (1) Tayouneh roundabout at the ***northern section*** of Old Saida Road and another under (2) the Mar Mikhael Church intersection at the ***southern section*** of the road (Fig. 24, left then right respectively). In association with the building typologies at both ends of the Old Saida Road, the implementation of such infrastructures created hard edges due to low pedestrian access.

While the expansion aimed to relieve traffic congestion and make the two areas more accessible from the city center, it affects the accessibility to inner roads, and continuously creates congestion around the smaller entry and exit points of the Old Saida Road. This congestion along the road is caused by a nonexistent public transportation system, which is composed of only the Nb.4 Bus and taxis that pass through it. The Nb.4 Bus travels from the suburbs to BCD and then stops in Hamra, Beirut, for another round. The lack of bus stops (at least) or nearly any strategy for public transportation (at most), is compounded with the high mobility of this road, the accessibility to the automotive shops, the direct 'primary to tertiary' structure of the roads network, and the high economic activity rate.

3.3.3. Conclusion: Fluidity Patterns of the Physical setting
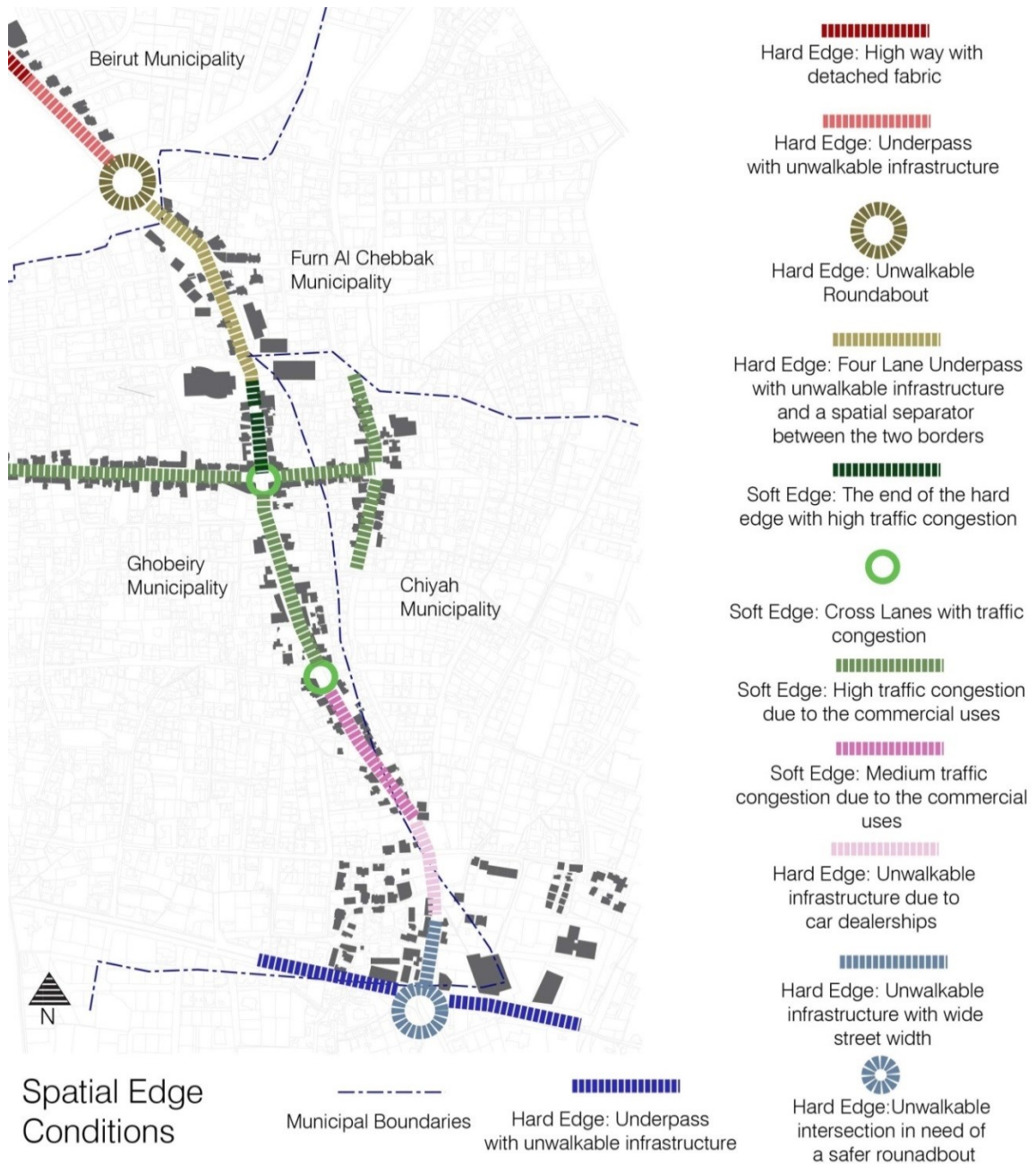
Figure 25: Spatial Edge Conditions along the edge and edge zone of Old Saida Road. (Author, 2020)

The Old Saida Road's physical setting underwent continuous transformations, producing variable edge conditions along its edge zone. The different dynamics that spatially manifest this edge zone vary between *hard edges* caused by infrastructural

variations and associated building typologies, and ***soft edges*** caused by socio-economic

manifestations, associated building typologies, and frontage usages (Fig. 25). The

'territorialization' of the physical setting has affected the continuity and change in the

physical setting by creating a non-continuous edge zone with different spatial

characteristics.
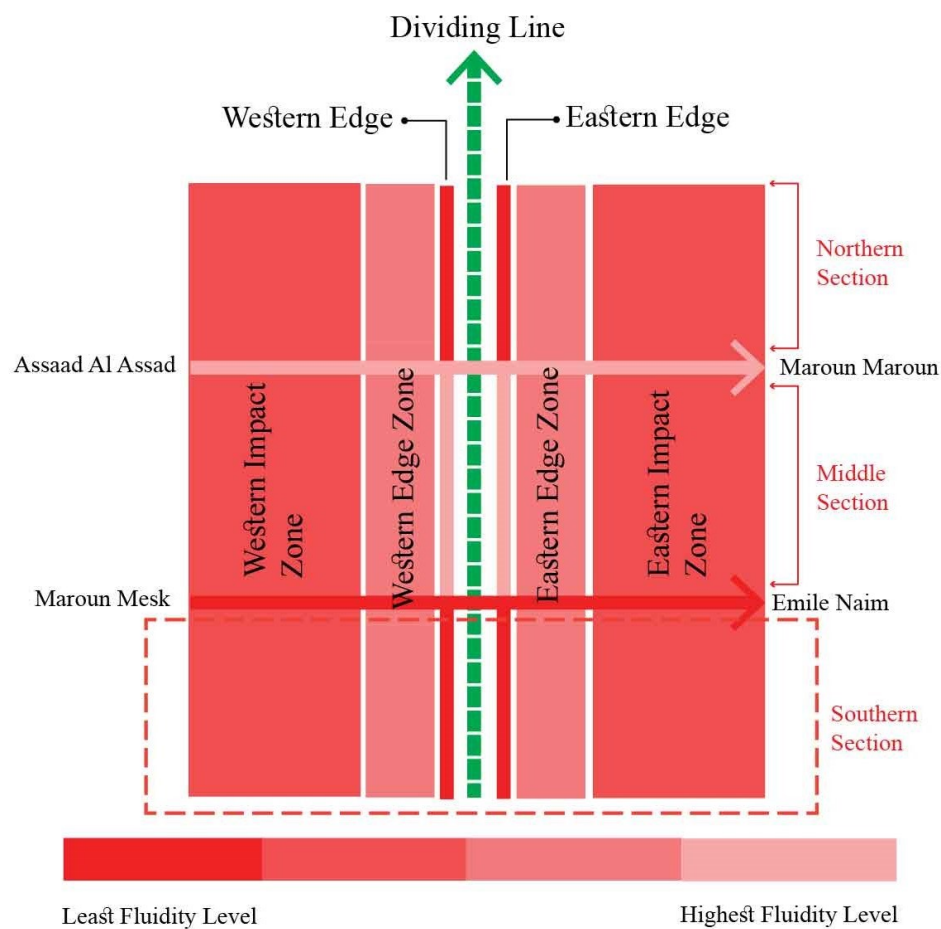
Figure 26: Level of fluidity in the physical setting and connectivity of the border zone components, while highlighting the differentiated patterns in the southern segment. (Author, 2020)

The dialect between the socio-economic and communal identities along the border

zone components, results in border zone's *Fluidity* demonstrated in the physical setting

and connectivity as a form of territorialization and hard and soft edge conditions (Fig.

26). However, these territorialized identities were manifested the most in the southern segment of the border zone, due to the discussed ownership and control patterns.

Primary infrastructures such as roundabouts (Tayyouneh), intersections (Mar Mikhael), and Old Saida Road's southern and northern borders act as hard edges with *'low physical fluidity'* levels due to unsafe pedestrian accessibility and the prevalent building typologies associated with the infrastructural upgrade. Secondary and tertiary infrastructure and the middle section act as soft edges due to a high street dynamic associated with socio-economic uses, revealing *'high physical fluidity'* levels along the edges (Fig. 26).

3.4. Market and Land use Patterns

As mentioned above, this section entails the analysis of the market dynamics, land use patterns, and sectarian-induced socio-economic manifestations in order to develop a critical understanding of the transformations in the border zone.

Accordingly, this section consists of a survey of the street and upper-level commercial activities along Old Saida Road in terms of their 'trade area' as an indicator of the level of fluidity of economic and social practices.

3.4.1. Land Use Concentrations and Socio-Economic Activities

I will classify both the horizontal and vertical distribution of commercial activities in three types of functional concentrations explained in the following tables (Tables 4 and 5):

Category	*Function*	*Sectarian practices / Fluidity*
Neighborhood commercial	Serves the daily needs / convenience shopping in residential neighborhoods	indicator of *uni-sectarian* socio-economic practices

District commercial	Provides for retail goods and services purchased regularly by residents of several nearby neighborhoods, and also accommodates offices, institutions and housing.	indicator of *inter-sectarian* socio-economic practices
General commercial	Provides a full range of retail, office, car related uses and civic uses with a City-wide to regional trade area	indicator of *non-sectarian* socio-economic practices
Table 4: Horizontal distribution and concentrations of economic activities. (Author, 2020)		

4.

Category	*Use*	*Building type*
Single use residential	Land containing a building with residential uses	Apartment buildings
Single use commercial	Land containing a building with single commercial uses like shops, car sales or rental etc.	Apartment Buildings used for commercial services, Small structures, vacant land
Mixed use residential	Land containing a building with multiple uses in combination with residential unit(s).	Apartment buildings with street commercial
Mixed use commercial and other	Land containing a building with multiple uses but with no residential unit's uses. An example would be a building containing commercial shops, offices, a warehouse, restaurants, other	Office Buildings, commercial complexes, malls, large construction buildings
Table 5: Vertical distribution and concentrations of economic activities. (Author, 2020)		

Currently, fluid transformations can be identified through land use concentrations along the border zone of the Old Saida Road, which convey three ranges of sectarian indicators. An essential recognition while mapping out those transformative uses was the formation of use concentration 'patterns' on two levels: (1) horizontally distributed concentrations, and (2) vertically distributed concentrations (Tables 4 and 5). The horizontal distribution of concentrations distinguishes three impact scales of those uses: **neighborhood, district, and city scales** (Fig. 27 and Table 4). The vertical distribution of concentration includes (1) single-use residential, (2) mixed-use

residential, (3) mixed-use commercial, (4) and single-use commercial buildings (Fig. 27 and Table 5).
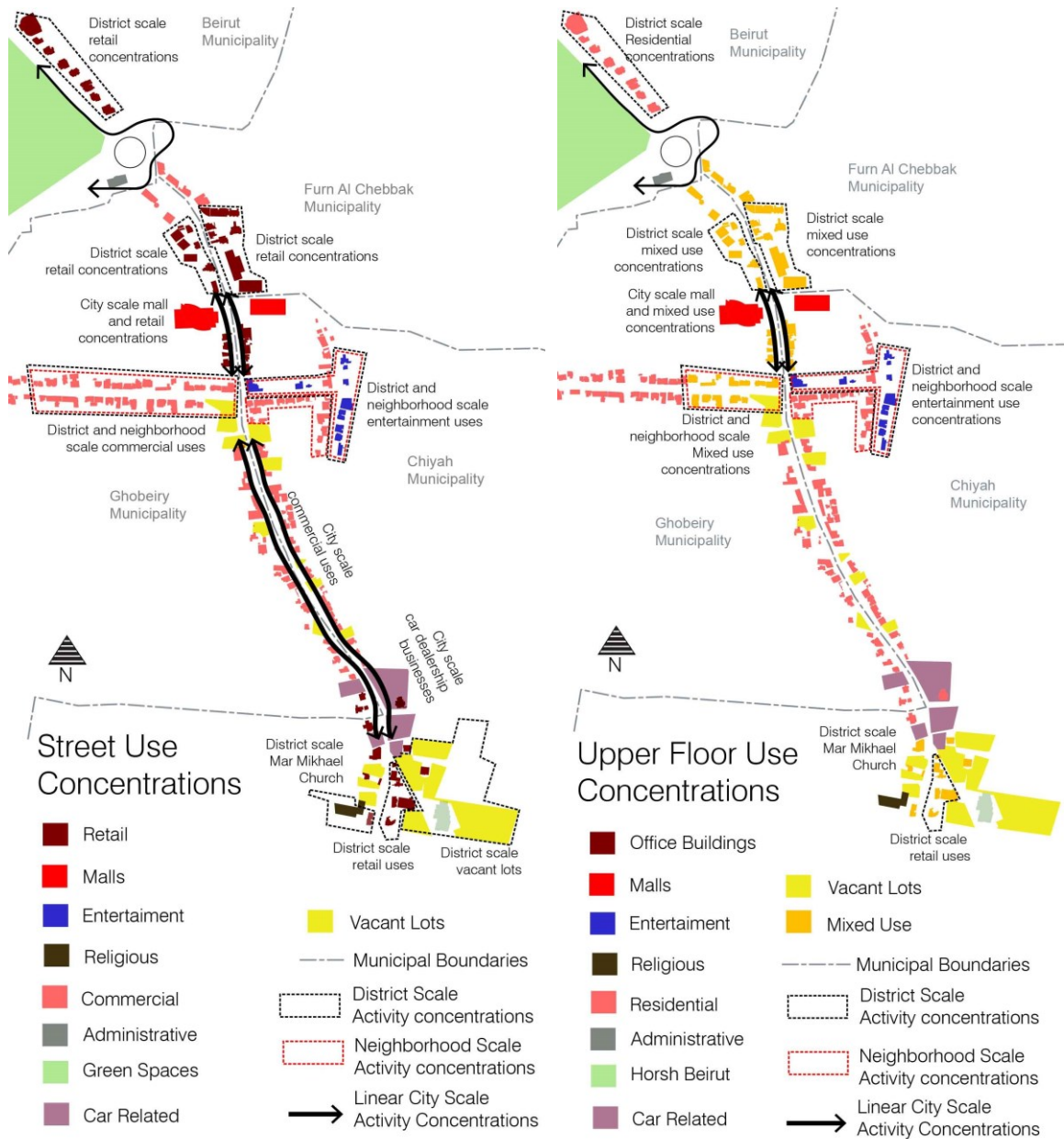
Figure 27: Street uses (Left) and Upper Floor uses (Right) concentrations along the border zone of Old Saida Road in the year 2020. (Author, 2020)

The **neighborhood scale** revealed a uni-sectarian reading (Table. 4). The uses include (1) single-use residential concentrations, made up of apartment buildings with residential uses only, and (2) mixed-use residential concentrations, consisting of

buildings with commercial uses at the ground floor (e.g., car-related businesses and shops) (Fig. 27 and Table. 4&5). ***District scale*** concentrations indicated an inter-sectarian reading (Table. 4) including (1) mixed-use residential concentrations and (2) mixed-use commercial concentrations which are composed of buildings with multiple uses and no residential types (e.g., commercial shops, offices, a warehouse, restaurants) (Fig. 27 and Table. 4&5). Concentrations with impact at the ***city scale*** and non-sectarian readings (Table. 4) mostly include single-use commercial concentrations (e.g., office buildings, apartment buildings used for commercial services, Small structures, vacant land); in addition those concentrations encompass uses related to shops, commercial services and car businesses (Fig. 27 and Table. 4&5).
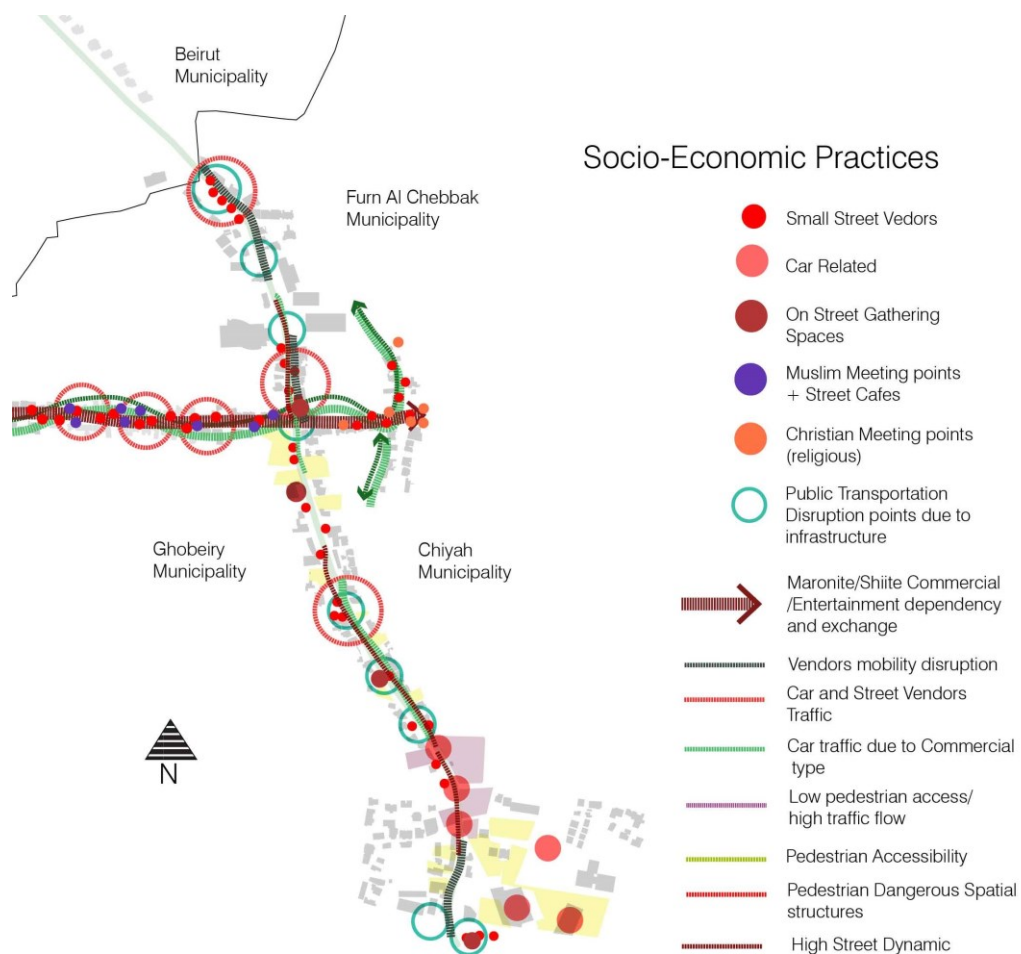
Figure 28: Social practices and economic activities concentrations along the border zone of Old Saida Road. (Author, 2020)

As emphasized above, socio-economic manifestations (Table 4&5) correspondingly reveal the type of sectarian reading along each of the border zone components in relation to the location of those concentrations. Socio-economic practices (Fig. 28) that have a non-sectarian reading encompass commercial services and small vendor businesses along the edge of the Old Saida Road and Assaad Al Assaad, with disrupted mobility due to the hard infrastructural edges and high traffic congestion. Practices that have inter-sectarian indicators include commercial/services and entertainment exchange along both edge zones of Old Saida Road (cross-sectarian catchment), Assaad Al Assaad, and Maroun Maroun streets. They also include car dealerships and exchange businesses renting vacant lots across the two religious groups (Shiaa and Maronites) accompanied by gatherings that serve those businesses and attract customers and buyers. Practices that display uni-sectarian indicators are located within the impact zones and at the neighborhoods, of which we can mention on-street gatherings and meeting points for various reasons such as religious-political group gatherings, social gatherings, and cafes. However, those practices can also be seen along the edge zone of Old Saida Road, indicating inter-sectarian practices.

3.4.2. Conclusion: A Discontinuity in the Fluidity Patterns at the Southern Segment
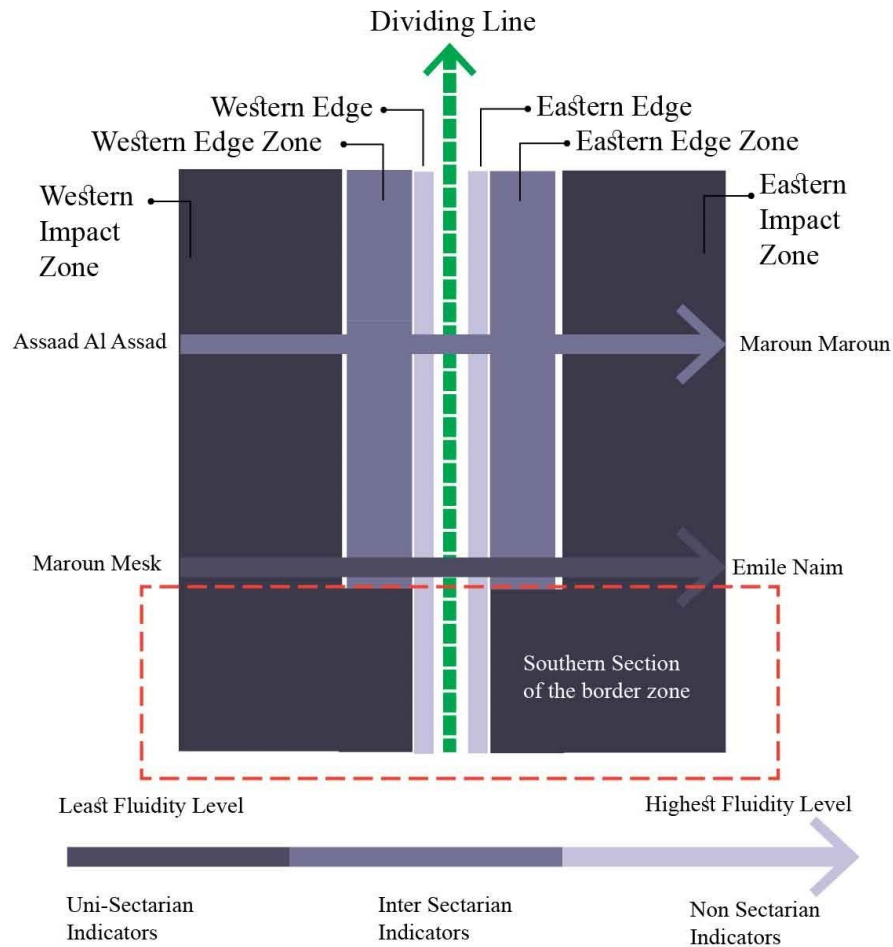
Figure 29: Level of socio-economic fluidity along the border zone of Old Saida Road, while highlighting the differentiated southern segment's patterns. (Author, 2020)

3.5. Community Markers and Governance Patterns

As mentioned earlier, this appraisal analyzes sectarian and communal markers and develops a critical understanding of the connection between local authorities and religious/political parties. It helps deduce the networks and models that shape the governance patterns in the study area to understand the legislative framework. It further articulates a provision and management scheme for the southern segment of the border zone (see chapter 4).

I will analyze the types of markers, both sectarian and communal, to reveal their spatial implications on the fluidity of the border zone. Those markers are classified using the semantic readings of communal/sectarian symbols (Table 6 and 7): material, iconic, behavioral, and discursive signifiers (Nas, 2011).

3.5.1. Sectarian Markers

Sectarian Markers	Spatial Manifestation	Symbols/ signifiers	Sectarian Implications / Fluidity
Domesticated Surveillance	Type of security maintenance: Military Checkpoints Religious-political parties checkpoints	-Iconic -Behavioral	Military: non-sectarian indicator RPP: inter and uni-sectarian indicators
Visual Representation	Type of marking territorial visually: Flags, banners, drawings, posters, and figurines of different party leaders and martyrs	-Material -Iconic -Behavioral -Discursive	Inter and uni-sectarian indicators
Political Affiliation	The declaration by inhabitants in advocating the associated party's spatial manifestations within the lived space	-Behavioral -Discursive	Uni-sectarian indicator (based on a collective memory and political advocacy)
Table 6: Types of Sectarian Markers and their corresponding spatial manifestations and implications on the border zone. (Author, 2020)			

Bou Akar (2018) describes how religious-political parties, in 1990, used the same governing framework to transform themselves from warring militias into organized religious-political groups capable of performing the act of "governing". Controlled by the two battling parties through sectarian practices, the 'Muslim' west continues to be politically affiliated predominantly to the Amal Movement and partly to Hezbollah, whereas the 'Christian' east is affiliated mostly to the Lebanese Forces and part to the Free Patriotic Movement. This configuration continues to spatially manifest

the edge zones through the year 2020 (Fig. 30). Bou Akar (2018) continues to discuss how these territories are intricately planned, providing evidence of the municipalities' efforts to stop Shiites' expansion from Ghobeiry to Chiyah precisely and from Al-Dahiya to Hadath generally.

Hafeda (2019) discusses 'domesticated surveillance' as a method of maintaining the transformative quality of sectarian borders (i.e., Old Saida Road). Domesticated surveillance is spatially manifested in the border zone on two levels (Fig. 30): (1) military surveillance as checkpoints for peace maintenance located at the edge and on the dividing line, the east and west edges, and (2) religious-political party checkpoints and gatherings as a sect-based form of peace maintenance technique, located at the edge zones and impact zones.

Other forms of sectarian markers include 'visual representations' and 'political affiliation' on the individual level. 'Visual representations' include flags, banners, drawings, posters, and figurines of different party leaders and martyrs (Fig. 30). Those representations are an embodiment of all four signifiers: iconic, behavioral, material and discursive; they aim at maintaining a collective memory of important icons and an intangible dimension of war and its transformation with time into a lived space. Visual representations are located mostly along the edge zones and impact zones of Old Saida Road, indicating inter and uni-sectarian attempts at peace maintenance.
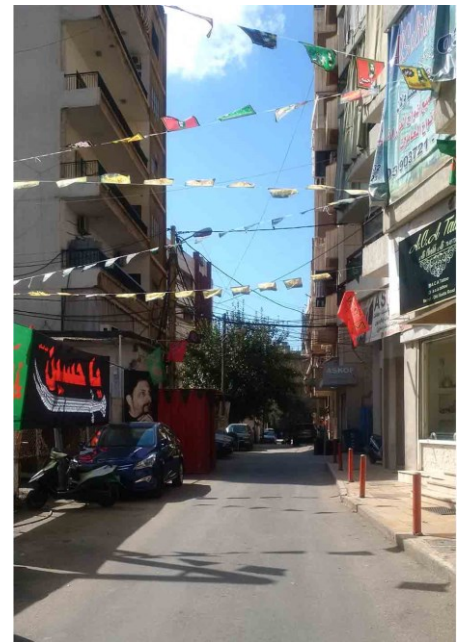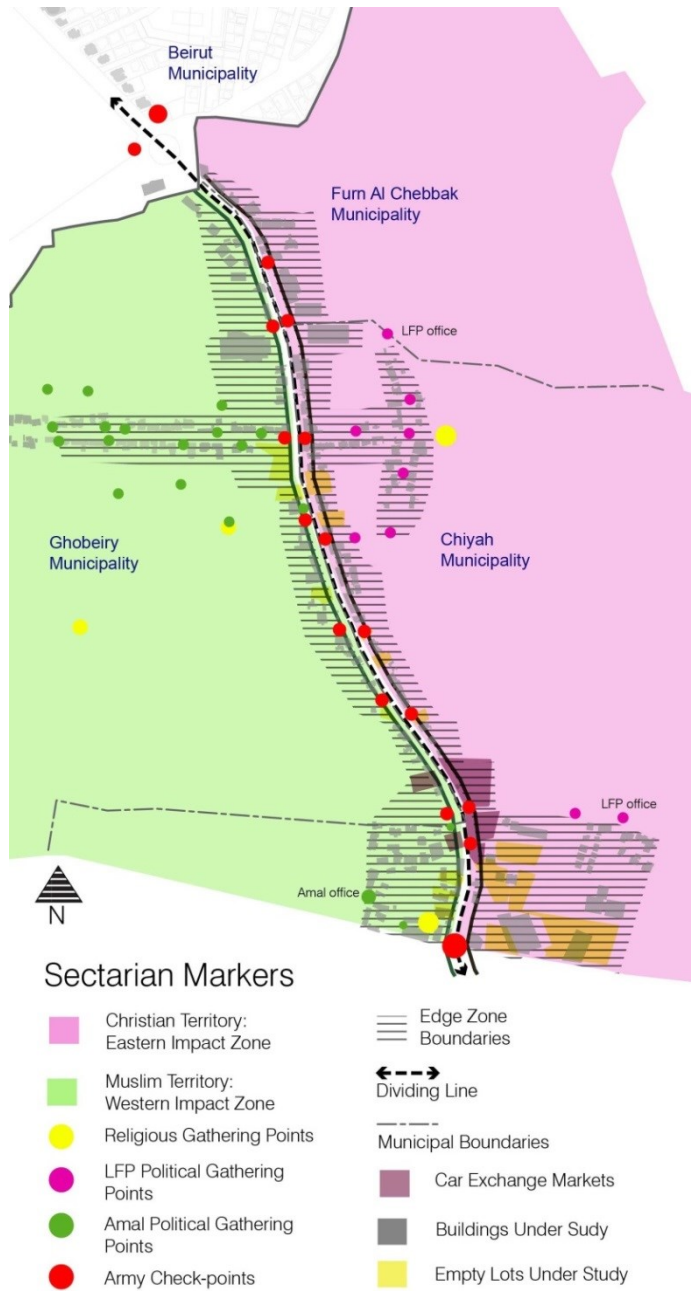
Figure 30: Sectarian markers along the border zone and impact zones of Old Saida Road, showing images of domesticated surveillance and visual representation. (Author, 2020)

3.5.2. Community Markers

Community Markers	Spatial Manifestation/ Affiliation	Symbols/ Signifiers	Sectarian Implications / Fluidity
Areas of sectarian Significance	Areas manifested by military and religious-political party check points and gathering points	-Iconic -Behavioral -Discursive	Military: non-sectarian indicator RPP: inter sectarian indicators
Areas of economic Significance	Economically important zones demanding cross-relations between the two communities	-Behavioral -Material	Non-sectarian indicator
Historical Landmarks	Civil war remains	-Material -Discursive	Inter-sectarian indicators
Social Landmarks	Schools, mosques, churches, green spaces	-Material -Behavioral	Uni-sectarian indicator
Spatially Prominent Structures	New development typologies in contrast with war remains	-Material	Non-sectarian indicator
Table 7: Types of Community Markers and their corresponding spatial manifestations and implications on the border zone. (Author, 2020)			

The two bordering communities have practiced their locality through different communal markers; it will be analyzed through Nas' semantic reading. Historical landmarks (Fig. 30) are represented through the civil war remains located at the edges of the Old Saida Road. Those landmarks are an embodiment of material and discursive signifiers due to their historical representation on both spatial and intangible dimensions, they are an inter-sectarian indicator.

Areas of sectarian significance (Fig. 30) are manifested by military and religious-political party checkpoints and watch areas, located at both the edge and edge zone of Old Saida Road. They are a representation of iconic, behavioral, and discursive signifiers and have both inter and non-sectarian implications.

Zones of economic importance and spatially prominent landmarks (Fig. 30) portray the essence of neutrality rather than division. These economically significant

zones demand cross-relations between the two communities of the border zone and are

concentrated along the edge zone of Old Saida Road as well as Assaad Al Assaad and

Maroun Maroun Streets.
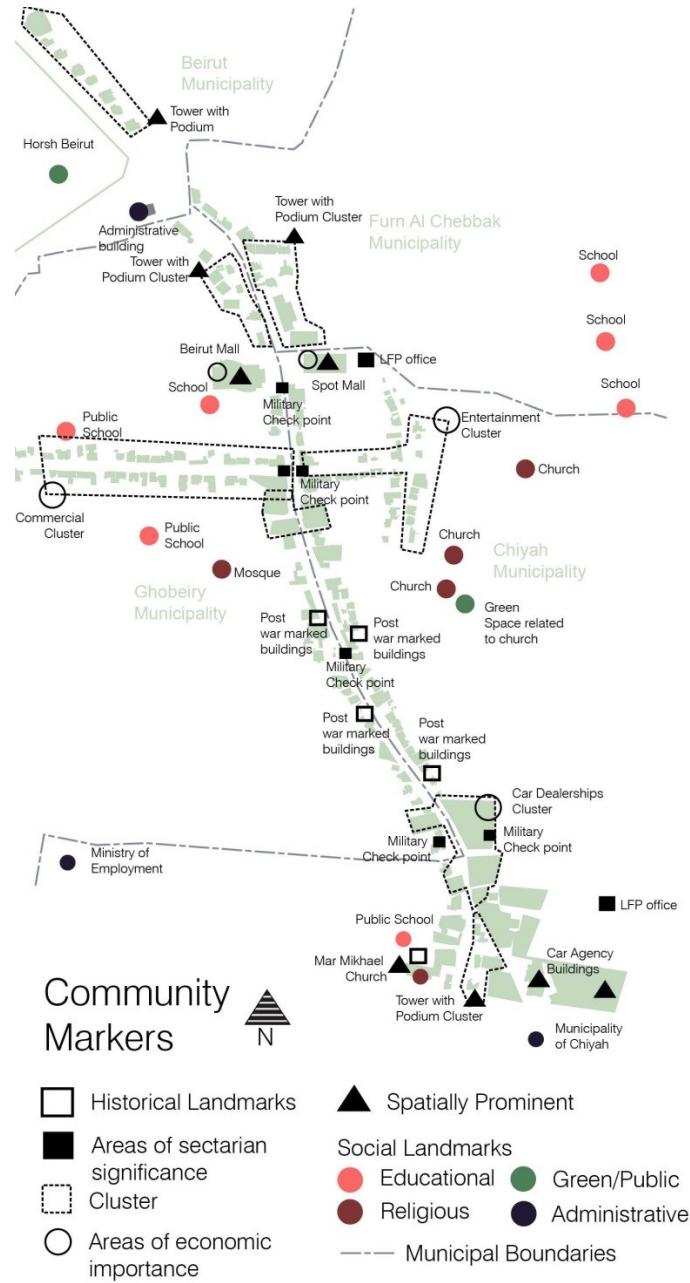
Figure 31: Community markers along the border zone and impact
zones of Old Saida Road. (Author, 2020)

Social landmarks are located within the impact zones, affecting the surrounding community as follows:

- Schools differ between the Eastern and Western zones through their names and regulations (one example given by UH Lead 2014 is banning the hijab in schools of the Eastern edge zone);
- Churches and Mosques are located within the respective Eastern and western territories;
- The majority of public/green spaces within the Chiyah municipality are provided to Maronite Church Wakf land.

Communitarian endorsement shapes community markers; without it, a landmark becomes a structure in space. This endorsement includes political affiliation, family allegiances, locality, origin, and social class (UH Lead, 2014). The UH Lead report compares the perspectives of the two communities, Chiyah and Ghobeiry, vis a vis the political parties to whom they are affiliated. Ghobeiry's inhabitants expressed belonging to the party caused by security provision, whereas Chiyah's residents felt vulnerable in their community.

3.5.3. Governance: Local Authorities or Religious/Political Parties

Area	Governance and Control Models	Discourse
Chiyah	**Governance:** Municipal Actor Networks: Family Clans and community parish	Family clans make up the municipal structuring through time
Ghobeiry	**Governance:** Municipal Actor Networks: Union of municipalities	Persistence and incubation
Border zone	**Control:** Case Specific: Religious-Political practicing direct control along the edge and edge zones of Old Saida Road	Postwar peace maintenance overpowering municipal governance
Table 8: Governance system models on different levels within the suburbs, while highlighting the case-specific model within the study area. (Author, 2020)		

In the postwar governance structure, Bou Akar (2018) describes the shift of religious-political parties from battle militias into powerful actors for the governing system in both Chiyah and Ghobeiry. The discourse of resistance, persistence to resist, and incubation (Farah and Teller, 2012) changed the status of religious-political parties as of the year 2005, into transformative governing powers aiming at "modernizing" the Ghobeiry municipality (Amal and Hezbollah). In contrast, Chiyah was facing destabilization and marginalization of the "family clan coalition" governing model by religious-political parties (LF and FPM).

Territorialization is posed as a major argument in this governance model, where Farah and Teller (2012) designate a new spatial perimeter for municipal action. In the southern suburbs - Ghobeiry being part of it – the Union of Municipalities defended a claim on their municipal perimeters and referred to it as the Suburb – الضاحية. On the other hand, the municipality of Chiyah was more defined when describing the territorial boundaries of its municipality.

When it comes to the electoral platform, local authorities in the form of municipalities have proven to be weak in facing the power of family clans and religious-political parties. Although I acknowledge the various models, governance is case-specific along the old Saida Road. On the ground, governance is practiced directly by the two parties Amal and LF along the western and eastern edge zones (Fig. 32) (Fig. 30, see sectarian markers).
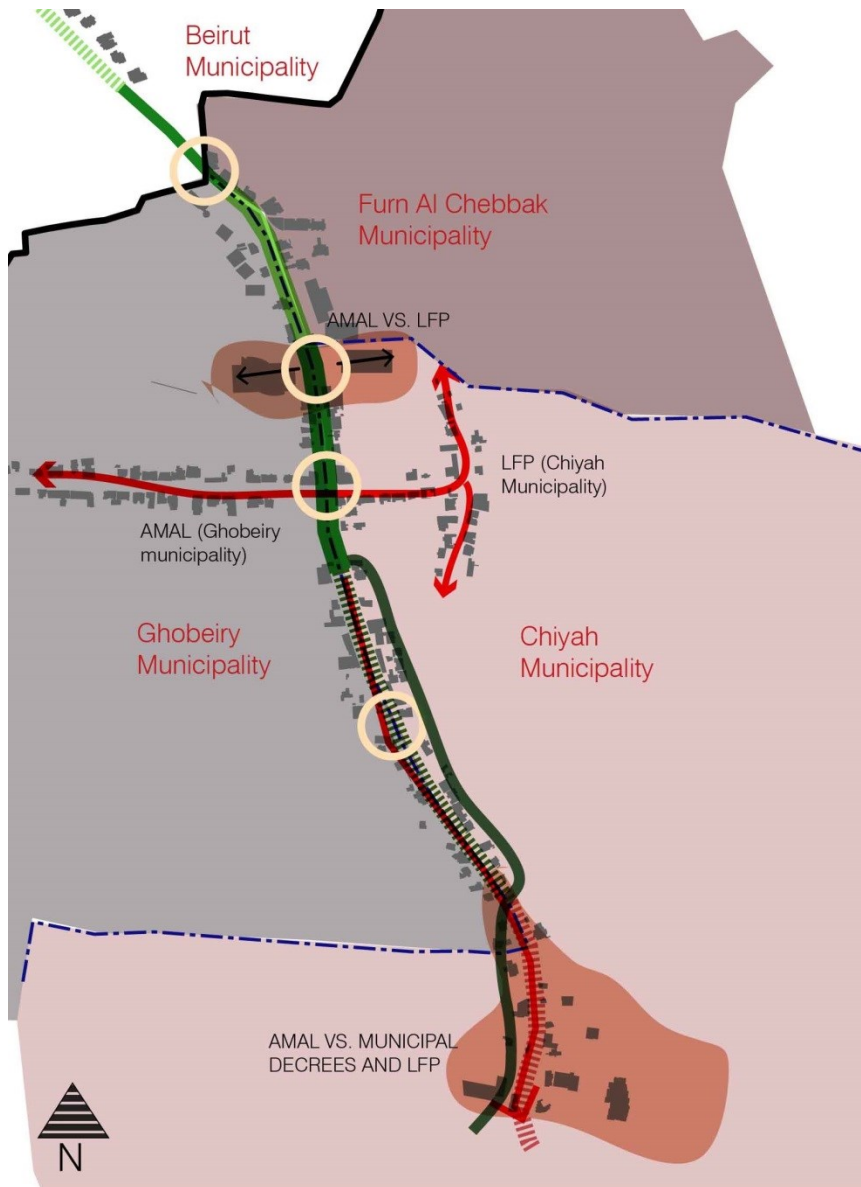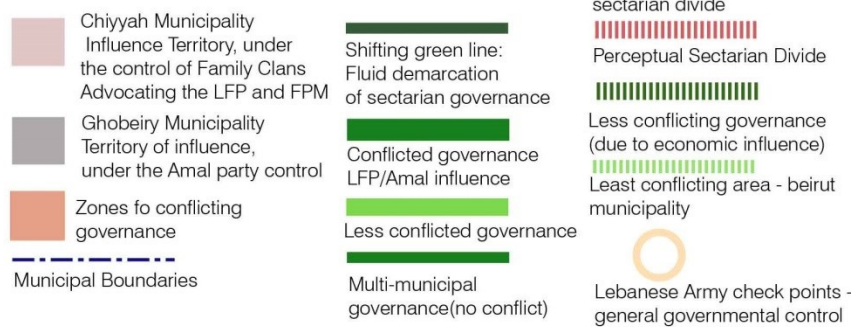
Figure 32: Governance patterns along Old Saida Road's Border and impact zone. (Author, 2020)

**Governance Implications on Housing Mobility**

Bou Akar (2018) mentions Farah's interview with the Chiyah municipality, where the mayor expresses how the municipality "benefited from a presidential decree allowing it to build and sell housing to the people of Chiyah who are registered in the community." The decree indirectly aims at prohibiting any property transactions with the non-registered Shiites living in Chiyah (western edge zone), and mentions 'registered' to specify the local Christian community. Congruently, the neighboring Hadath municipality had issued an "informal" edict in June 2010 prohibiting Christians from selling land or housing to non-Christians" while Boutros Harb "[…] a Christian member of the Lebanese Parliament, submitted a controversial draft for a nationwide law prohibiting land sales between Christians and Muslims for fifteen years […]" (Bou Akar, 2018). Now, Muslims only rent apartments/property from Christians located anywhere in Chiyah or Hadath municipal limits.

3.5.4. *Conclusion: Fluidity Patterns in Communal Practices*

When analyzed individually, sectarian and communal markers have various spatial implications according to their location within the border zone and their respective semantic reading. However, when studied as spatial concentrations, the level of fluidity within each component becomes clearer (Fig. 33). The edges' non-sectarian quality reads most fluid and shows continuous spatial reading. The edge zones' inter-sectarian quality shows lower fluidity patterns, whereas the impact zones' uni-sectarian reading indicated the least fluidity. We can read, yet again, a differentiated fluidity pattern at the southern segment of the border zone of Old Saida Road, where the uni-sectarian indicators attempt to integrate the edge zones with their respective impact zones.
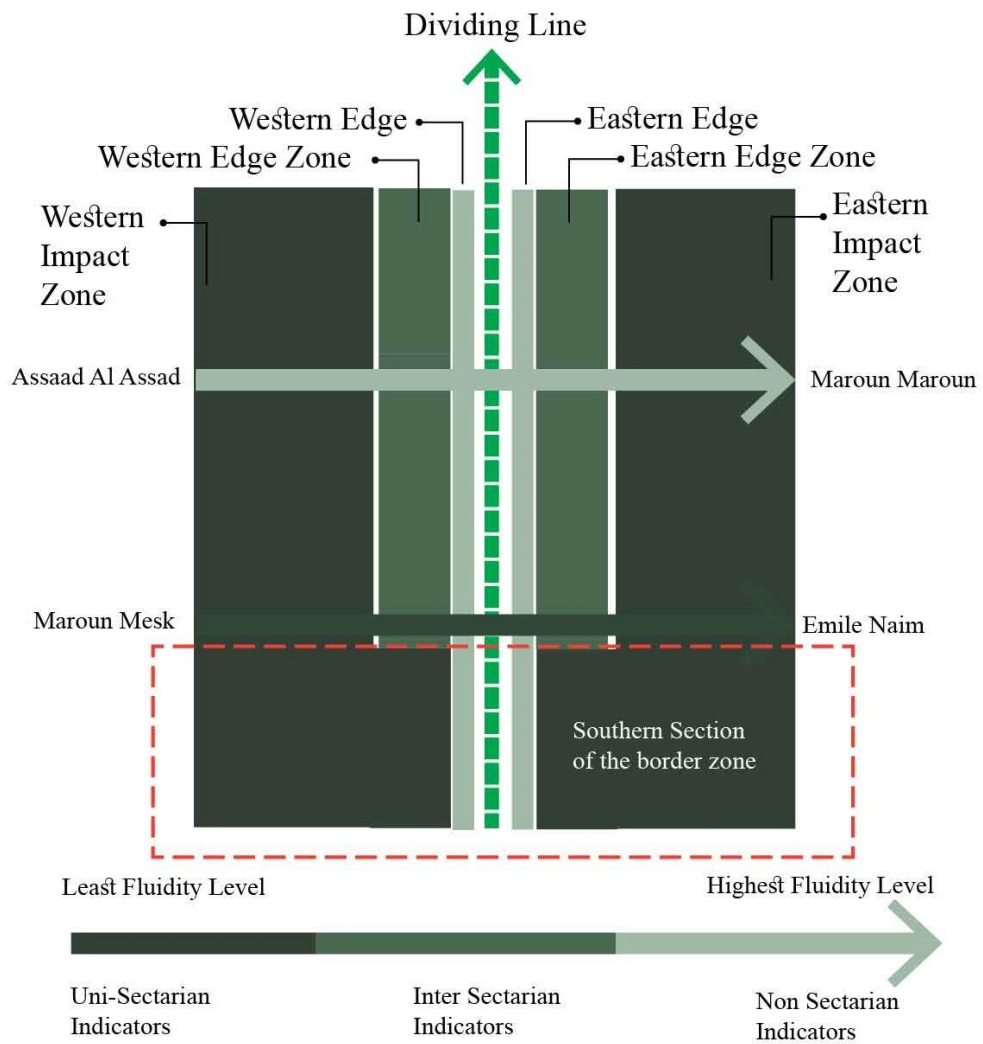
Figure 33: Level of fluidity along the border zone of Old Saida Road, due to the spatial manifestations of communal and sectarian markers. (Author, 2020)

3.6. Conclusion: Character Zone Analysis Highlighting the Unresolved Southern Segment

My aim in this conclusion is to show the resulting implications of the studied appraisals on building different character zones within the border zone of Old Saida Road (Table 8). I will then highlight the southern segment as my focused case study, and justify the motivation behind this choice.

Character Zone	*Main Transformative Dynamics*	*Existent Sectarian Indicators*
Mixed Use High-rise	Market dynamics and development patterns	Non-sectarian indicators
Mallification	Market dynamics and development patterns	Inter-sectarian indicators
Economic Exchange	Market and socio-economic dynamics	Non-sectarian dynamics
Economic Fluidity	Market and socio-economic dynamics	Non-sectarian dynamics
Unresolved Conflict (Limbo)	Governance patterns and communal practices	Uni-sectarian indicators along the edge zones, and non-sectarian indicators along the edge
Table 9: Character zone analysis, indicating the transformative dynamics and the existent sectarian implications along the border zone. (Author, 2020)		

Driving forces lead various transformations along the border zone of the Old Saida Road. The market dynamics and development patterns (activity and physical setting) affected the development and physical growth that we see prominently in the northern section of the border zone. Market dynamics and socio-economic patterns (activity) have led to the street frontage typologies we recognize in the middle section of the border zone. In contrast, ownership patterns (see chapter 4, focused analysis) and the territorialization through contested political management and control, have dictated the emerging and unresolved spatial manifestations and physical development patterns in the southern section of the border zone.
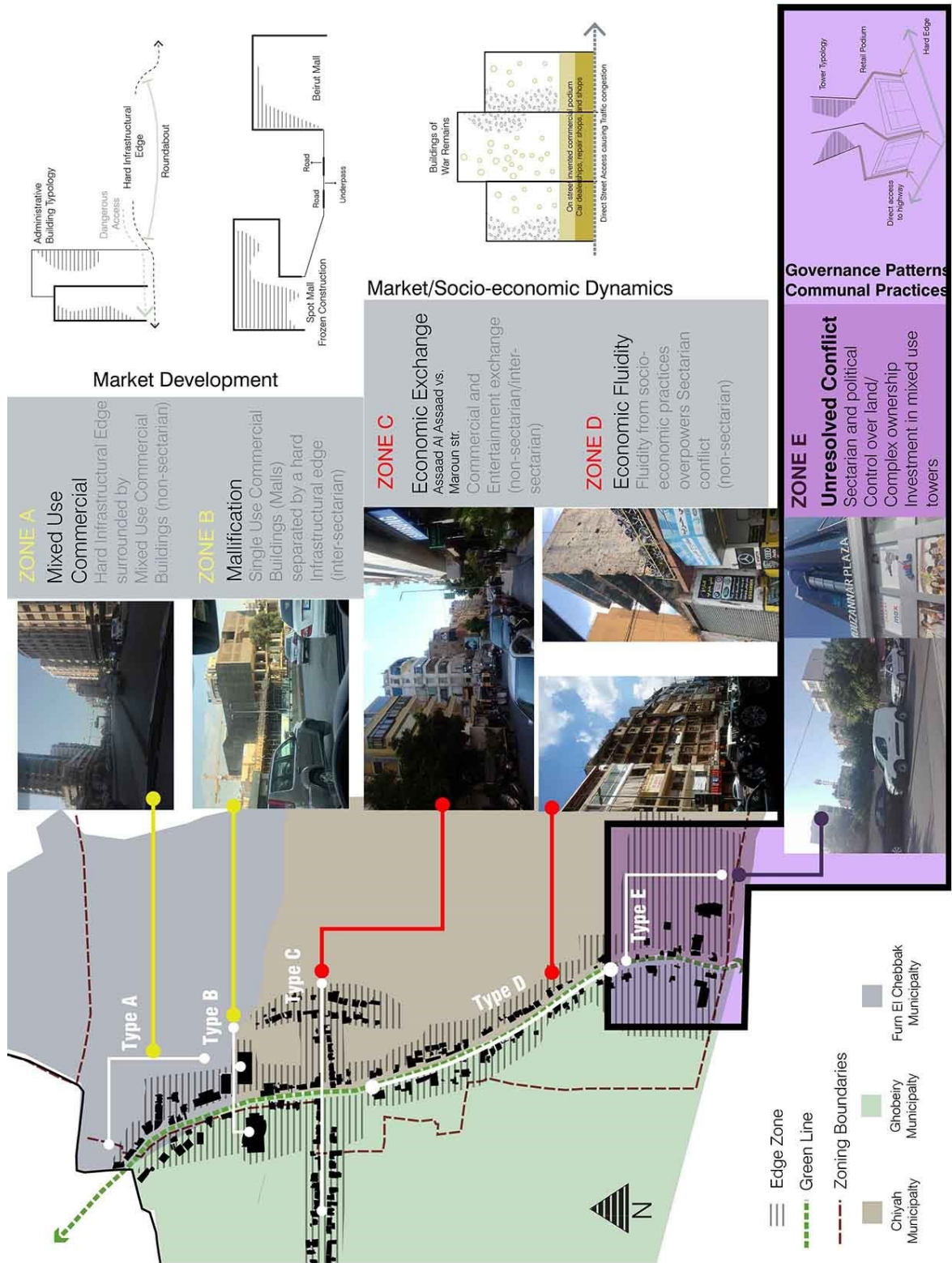
Figure 34: Character zone classification along the border zone of Old Saida Road. (Author, 2020)

Consequently, we can read five types of non-continuous character zones that outline variations in the manifestation of the three identities along the edge zones (east and west) (Table.9 and Fig. 34). Those transformations were happening despite the unified zoning ratios along the border zone, emphasizing that the physical fabric is an outcome of the overlapping social, economic and communal identities.

Zones A and B (northern section) were transformed through infrastructural implementations leading the built fabric into developing mixed-use commercial building typologies (zone A) and single-use commercial typologies (zone B). Zones C and D (middle section) are composed of (a) zones of economic exchange fueled by economic and entertainment street dynamics (zone C) and (b) patterns of economic fluidity along the edge of the Old Saida road overarching numbers of commercial and service businesses through single-use commercial building typologies (zone D).

Zone E constitutes the southern section of the border zone and is driven by conflicting spatial control patterns, communal practices, and ownership complexities (Fig. 29). This results in:

- Contradicting development patterns between mixed-use commercial towers and underdeveloped or vacant parcels;
- A contrast between ownership patterns and different stakeholders and sectarian practices dictating the spatial structure;
- Territorialization fueled by the spatial practices of religious-political parties.

Zone E portrays complex patterns of sectarian implications leading this area to be in a state of 'Limbo.' The non-sectarian reading of the edges and the uni-sectarian reading of the edge/impact zones shows an unresolved conflict in the southern segment

of the border with contrasting fluidity levels and high potential in susceptibility to

change due to land availability, location, and postwar development patterns.

CHAPTER 4

CONTEXT APPRAISAL OF THE SOUTHERN SEGMENT OF

OLD SAIDA ROAD

4.1. Analytical Framework

The framework of this section highlights complex ownership patterns and contested spatial management in the southern segment of the border zone, aiming to develop an understanding concerning the unresolved state of 'limbo land.' I chose this area as a strategic intervention zone due to the complexity it represents in terms of sectarian influence on development patterns. The data collection process displayed patterns that emphasize the characteristics of the 'limbo' state in the physical setting. I will develop this reading through the following lenses:

1) *Land use Patterns:* This section analyzes building land-use concentrations and patterns within the border zone and along the infrastructural edges. It identifies the growing land-use patterns shaped by the market forces at the edges of the different road hierarchies, and within the studied blocks. This section aims to highlight the preferable land-uses on the block level for the design intervention, while taking into consideration the spatial-temporal dimension of the resilient growth patterns.

2) *Activity Patterns:* This section highlights the effect of territorialization on communal practices and socio-economic manifestations. I will be exploring various edge conditions associated with the physical setting, socio-economic practices, and sectarian signifiers to acquire an explicit understanding of the overlapping dynamics in the study area. This section will help articulate place-making interventions that

target the city's tangible and intangible layers by analyzing the level of social

porosity, street-use composition, and connectivity/safety between the various uses in

this area.

3) *Connectivity:* This section analyzes permeability and accessibility in the

infrastructural system, affected by socio-economic practices and spatial

territorialization. I will identify the hierarchy and types of roads, along with their

control and security schemes. This will help build an understanding of the issues to

tackle while designing the accessibility and open spaces schemes while considering

the strategy's temporal framework.

4) *Development Patterns:* This section reads the physical setting by analyzing market

dynamics as forces impacting the generation of the fabric's development typologies.

After reading the market dynamics, I will build an understanding of the area's

resilient growth patterns, enabling me to propose preferable future development

guidelines that accommodate the generated open space framework.

5) *Ownership and Governance:* This section investigates different ownership patterns

across the East-West border zones, to understand the unresolved development issues

leading to the state of 'Limbo.' I will highlight the influence of territorialization over

the physical setting by analyzing the contested spatial management, the market

dynamics, and the sectarian-induced socio-economic practices regarding building

ownership and tenancy patterns. This section will help emphasize the importance of

safety, permeability, spatial management as a conflict moderator, and highlight the

stakeholders in mediating the design strategy in chapter 5.

4.2. Spatial Framework

While interpreting the different dynamics along the Old Saida Road, I applied the 'North/South' and 'East/West' reading as a spatial guide to identifying the different character zones and their classification. Focusing on the southern segment of the road, I will emphasize the 'East/West' analysis for a detailed understanding of the ownership, development, and activity patterns of the edge and impact zones (Fig. 35). This framework builds a critical understanding of the study area's susceptibility to change at the block and lot level.
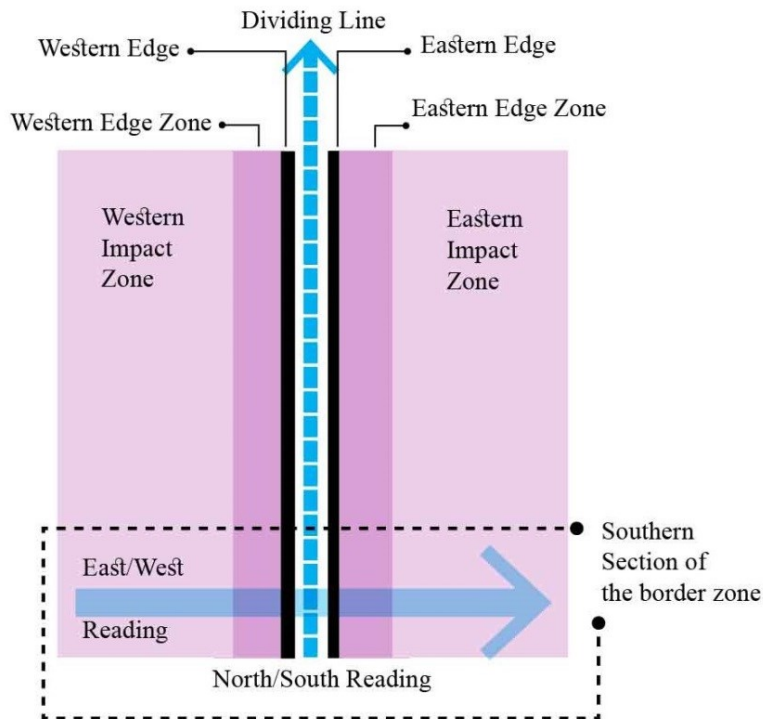
Figure 35: The spatial framework holding the three levels framing this study, and the east/west reading along the southern section of Old Saida Road. (Author, 2020)

4.2.1. Defining the Study Area Boundaries

The southern section of the Old Saida Road is known as the Mar Mikhael Church intersection and colloquially called K-*nee-seh*[1] referring to the church that is identified

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[1] Meaning "church" in spoken Lebanese but referred specifically to the Mar Mikhael Church, being the landmark of the southern segment of Old Saida Road.

as the most noticeable landmark in the area (Fig. 36, left). The entire section is under the jurisdiction of the Chiyah municipality and is spatially separated in the East/West direction by the Old Saida Road (i.e., the dividing line).

Michel Zakhour Highway and Underpass

Figure 36: Location of the study area at the southern border of Old Saida Road. (Author, 2020)

The study area boundaries were defined with reference to the following criteria:

1. Infrastructural divides (streets and highways);
2. Differentiation in physical development patterns;
3. Differing spatial management;
4. Evolving development typologies and market dynamics.

Accordingly, the study area is delineated (Fig.37):

Northward (boundary 1) by the two crossing streets of Maroun Misk/Emile Neim connecting the East and West border zones;

Eastward (boundary 2) by a secondary road separating large scale commercial businesses and industrial areas;

Westward (boundary 3) by a tertiary road separating areas of conflicting ownership patterns, contested management, and control from other areas;

Southward (boundary 4) by the Michel Zakhour highway and the underpass separates the study area from the Hay Madi District.
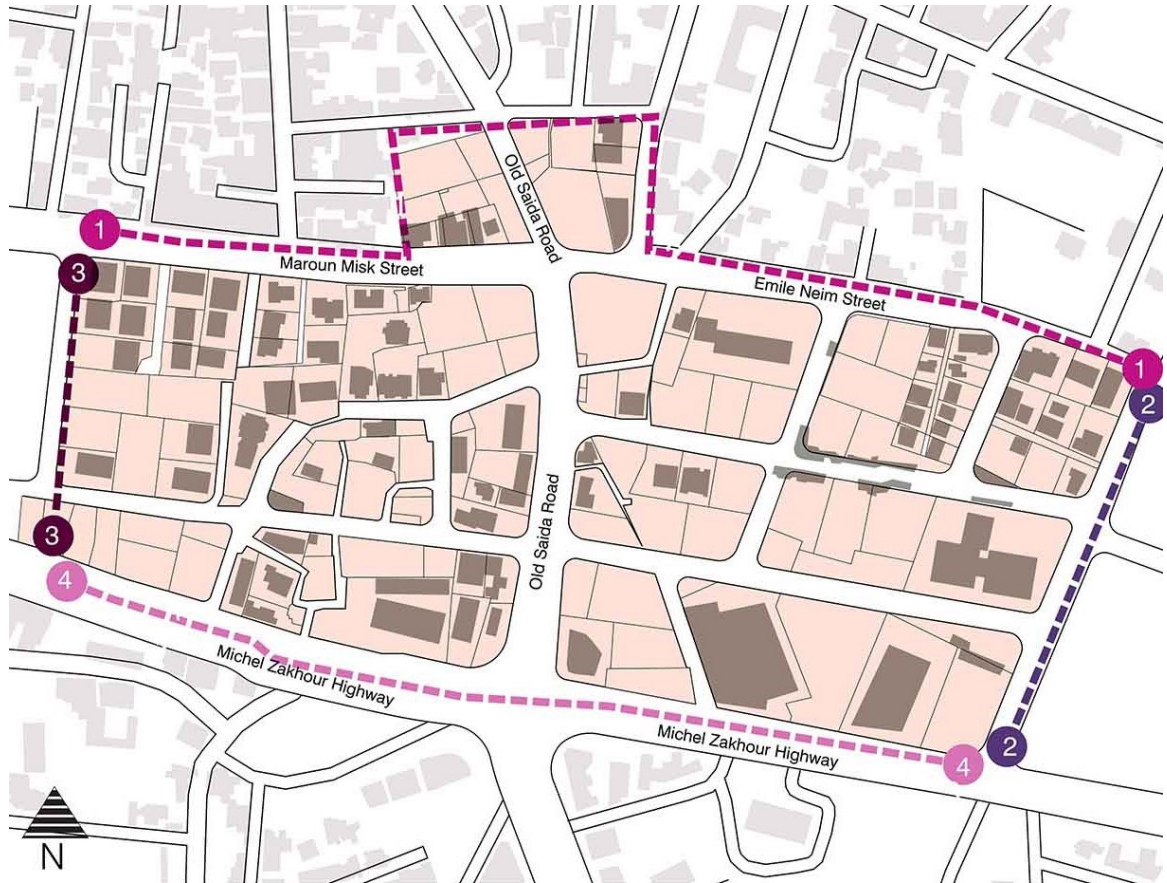
Figure 37: Study Area Boundaries Analysis (Up) with pictures (down) referring to the boundary from one till 4 respectively (left to right). (Author, 2020)

4.3. Street and Building Uses
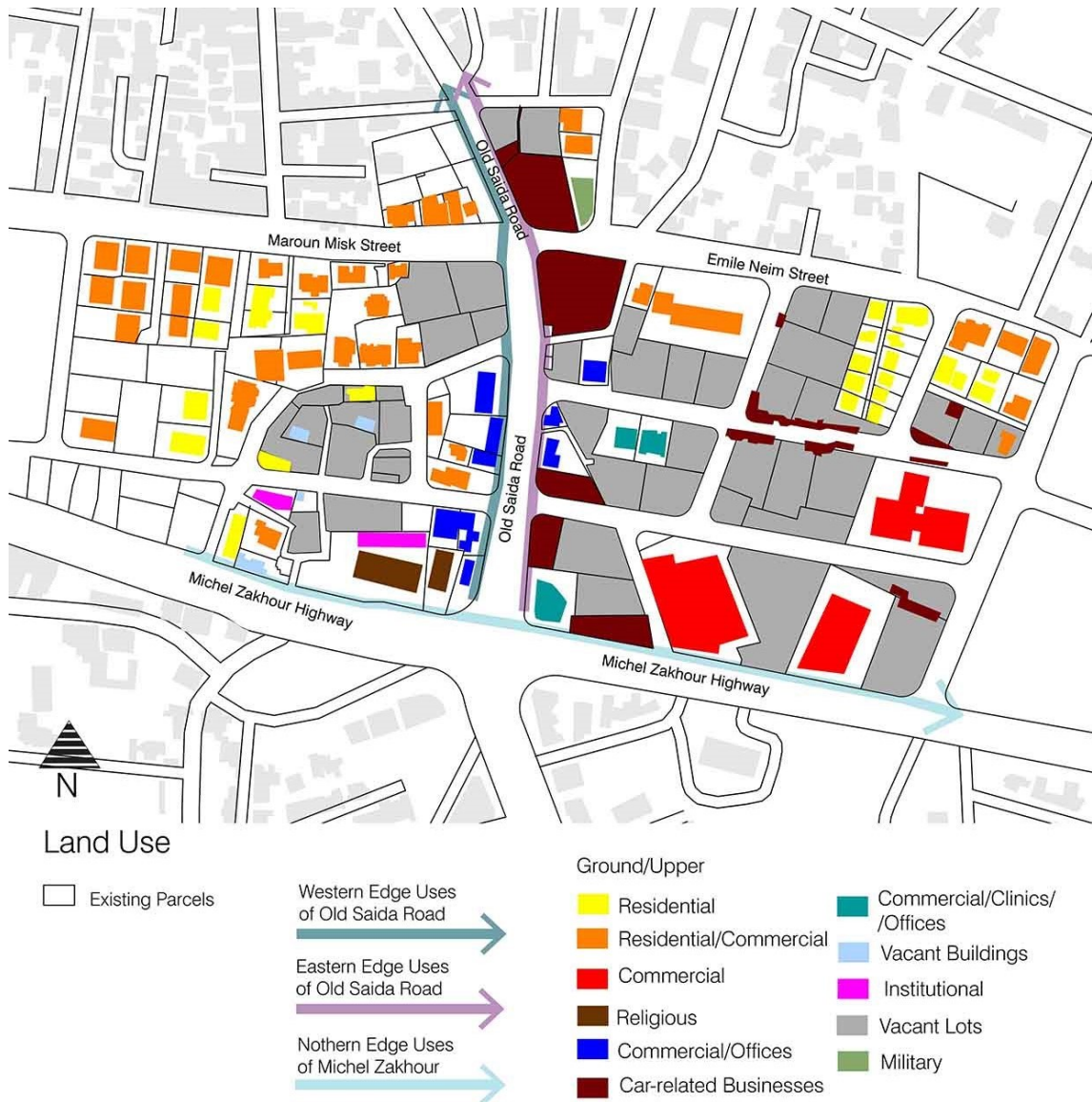
Figure 38: Southern segment's Land-use patterns. (Author, 2020)

We can differentiate between 'edge Land-use' and 'border zone land-use' patterns by reading the land-use dynamics of the study area.

- Concentration of commercial strip activities on large land parcels along Old Saida Road (mainly car dealerships) and the Eastern side of Michel Zakhour Highway.

- Concentration of residential buildings along the northern edge of the Maroun Misk and Emile Neim Streets
- High prevalence of vacant lots around the Mar Mikhael Church and within the Eastern impact zone, and covering a large surface area of the western impact zone.

The eastern and western edge zones display similar land-use patterns (Fig. 38); they encompass mixed-use residential/commercial complex projects and single-use residential buildings. However, the most prominent observation was the number of lots left vacant for various reasons including (1) clashes between the church as an owner of an entire block of parcels which the Amal movement manages, and (2) fear of development due to the perception of the zone as an unresolved postwar arena that is still being monitored by political parties and the Lebanese military.

Land-use includes dimensions other than the 'use of space'. What space represents, how space is perceived, and who owns this space are different dimensions that interfere with developing spaces/uses, before moving on to the practice of using this space. This problem poses a clear question by further interpreting the implications of ownership and spatial management on land-use and socio-economic practices.

4.4. Activity Patterns: Socio-Economic and Community Practices

I will be interpreting the southern segment's edge politics by assessing the five elements defining community practices: markers, pathways, edges, territories, and gatherings (Fig. 39). Hafeda (2019) differentiates between visible and invisible 'markers'; visible markers are abundant in the southern segment and display the attempt to mark territories spatially, visible markers are set up by the Lebanese Forces, the Amal Movement, and military including checkpoints/watchpoints (see chapter 3, section 3.5.1). They also encompass visual representations such as flags, banners, drawings,

posters, and figurines of different party leaders and martyrs (Fig.39). Invisible markers include the use of daily locations such as cafes and shops as 'watchpoints' over the area, which does not disrupt street mobility (Fig. 39).
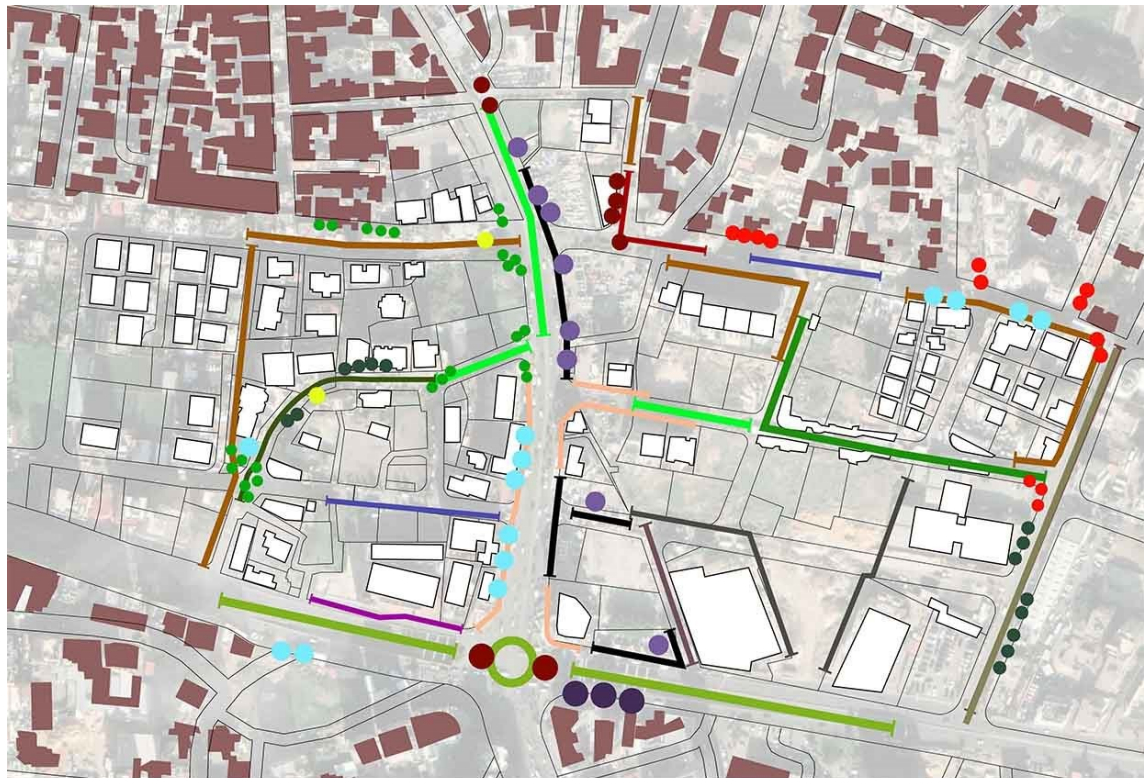
Edges Politics: Socio-Economic Practices

Edges
— Commercial Edge
— Industrial Edge
— Residential edge
— Institutional Edge
— Religious Edge
— Military Edge with watch areas and military structures

Pathways/Territories
— Closed road due to parties
— Closed road by shack structures
— Closed due to construction
— Hard Infrastructural edge
— Vacant Lots with fencing
— Vacant Lots containing car dealerships

Markers
● Amal Check Points
● LFP Check Points
● Military Check Points
● Police Check Points
● Cafes and small commmercial shopsused as invisible markers

Gatherings
● Street gathering for car dealerships
● Gatherings for bus stop
● Random Street gathering and constant presence for monitoring

Figure 39: Diagnosis of the Edge politics in terms of markers, pathways, edges, territories and gatherings. (Author, 2020)

'Pathways' are roads or pieces of infrastructure used for community practices, and in the case of the southern segment, are used for blocking passage to mark 'territories.' Abundant practices include blocking access by political parties so that they

can investigate suspicious passers-by. Means of blocking include gatherings at corners, in front of checkpoints, and the commercial use of vacant land and their edges as a camouflage (shacks for car repair) (Fig. 39).

'Gathering' is a visible communal practice; it expresses the presence of individuals who belong to a particular territory. We can identify some types of gatherings such as street-corner gatherings more clearly, or those related to a particular political party as an act of surveillance. Linking gatherings to a business or a socio-economic practice makes it harder to be defined as a community practice, thus remaining through observation as a socio-economic practice. Other forms of meeting points are linked to invisible markers such as the use of cafes and shops for surveillance making it a multi-dimensional community practice.

'Edges' are composite spaces that encompass all the discussed community practices; concentrated practices within a certain edge form its identity (Fig. 39). We can observe various edge typologies within the southern segment, including commercial, industrial, residential, institutional, religious, and military edges. Edges link to infrastructures directly; in this case, the mentioned edges grow adjacent to territories and the Old Saida Road (being a former dividing line).

The main observation concerning edges is that they convey the fluidity of the southern segment's east and west edges over its border zone. It is a clear indicator that the dynamics of change have been rapidly shifting the physical and social fabric edge growth over other areas in the segment. The resilient and shifting edge displays patterns that encompass dynamics to be enhanced during the strategic implementation process.

The edge politics show that growth happens at both the tangible and intangible layers. The edge is more permeable and accessible than the rest of the border zone

because it functions on both layers; however, connectivity and social porosity are reconfigured during the design strategy.

4.5. Connectivity and Roads Network

The road network is composed of a three-level system that both connects and hinders accessibility between the area and its context. As mentioned above, the southern segment is delimited by the Maroun Misk/Emile Neim Street at its northern edge, and the Michel Zakhour Highway at its southern edge, whereas the Old Saida Road, divides the area into two distinct edge zones.

The Old Saida Road and the Michel Zakhour Highway are city-scale vehicular arteries connecting the study area to the southern suburbs, Beirut's city center, and regional destinations, mainly the Bekaa and South Lebanon. The Old Saida Road meets the Michel Zakhour Highway at the main intersection point, with poorly defined pedestrian crossings lacking minimal safety measures.

The secondary road system functioning at the district scale comprises (1) the Maroun Misk/Emile Neim Street (Fig. 40). The Emile Neim Street is the physical extension of Maroun Misk; nonetheless, they display different street dynamics due to the political parties responsible for the territorialization practices along each section. The Amal Movement marks its turf along the Maroun Misk street with various sectarian markers (see ch.3, Fig. 30), whereas the Lebanese Forces party has offices along the edge of the Emile Neim street. Both intersect along the Old Saida Road with a military and police checkpoint.
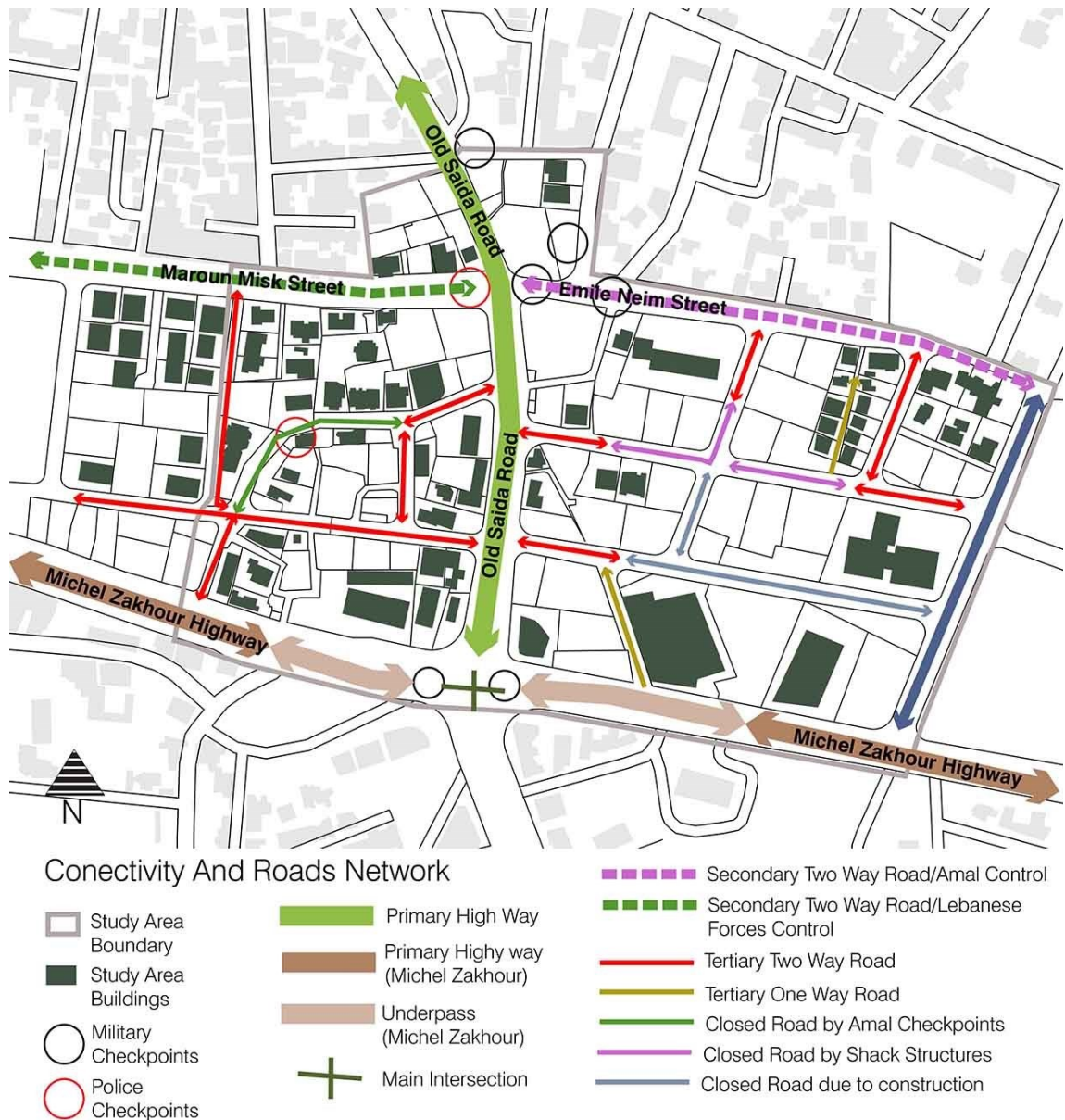
Figure 40: Analysis of the connectivity and roads network in the southern segment of Old Saida Road. (Author, 2020)

The tertiary network is underdeveloped regarding the physical setting (Fig. 40) and serves as an inter-district distributor with three types of roads:

(1) **Interblock** access streets with no sectarian markers connecting Old Saida Road to the East and West border zones;

(2) **Inner-block** access roads distributing newly developed residential and commercial projects;

(3) **Closed roads** (Fig. 40) controlled by rival political parties through on-street checkpoints, gatherings, open cafes, and socio-economic practices aiming at marking political territories.

Overall, the circulation system serves both as a connection and segregation network; closed roads by rival political parties disrupt vehicular and pedestrian permeability in the area and have a direct impact on the development dynamics and the prevalence of 'limbo land'.

4.6. Development Patterns

This southern segment displays four distinctive development typologies linked to parcel size, configuration, and location:

(1) Parcels between 2000 and 5600 square meters used for large-scale construction/commercial projects and complexes;
(2) Parcels between 1000 and 2000 square meters in areas mobilizing mixed-use developments/towers;
(3) Parcels between 500 to 1000 square meter parcels containing mixed-use residential/commercial buildings;
(4) Parcels below 500 square meters in areas either containing residential buildings or a group of parcels with residential complex buildings (Fig. 41, up).

We can observe that the area generally has good building conditions (Fig. 41), except for some dilapidated war remains around the Mar Mikhael church area. We can detect an increase in height (Fig. 40) as we approach the Old Saida Road's edge zone due to mixed-use typologies (e.g., towers, high rises). As we move further towards the impact zone, we can see a decrease in heights, specifically at the northern edge of the Michel Zakhour highway. This is due to the single-use large scale construction typology and the institutional building typologies (e.g., church, school, educational institutions).

Figure 41: Footprint, Parcellation, as well as the heights and conditions of the built fabric in the southern segment of Old Saida Road. (Author, 2020)

Vacant lots play a significant role in illustrating ownership problems in the context of the study area. Inner block dynamics display different growth patterns adjacent to primary and secondary infrastructures; this aspect highlights the rapid physical growth along the edges and the dormant growth patterns of the parcels located within the edge zones and impact zone. The lack of a fully functioning infrastructural system, the overlapping sectarian practices, and the perception of the area as a postwar frontier created a territorialization issue in terms of investment and project development. It has also led to the utilization of vacant parcels through car-related businesses (e.g., dealerships, repair structures, exchange markets) because this sector does not require buildings to function, and is achieved through short-term/long-term rent contracts. In other cases, parcels are left vacant and used as temporary parking spots due to contested spatial management and development dynamics.

The solid/void reading of the fabric indicates that territorialization hinders physical permeability and accessibility at the level of the fabric through sectarian occupation and practices.

4.6.1. Conclusion: Existing Development Typologies
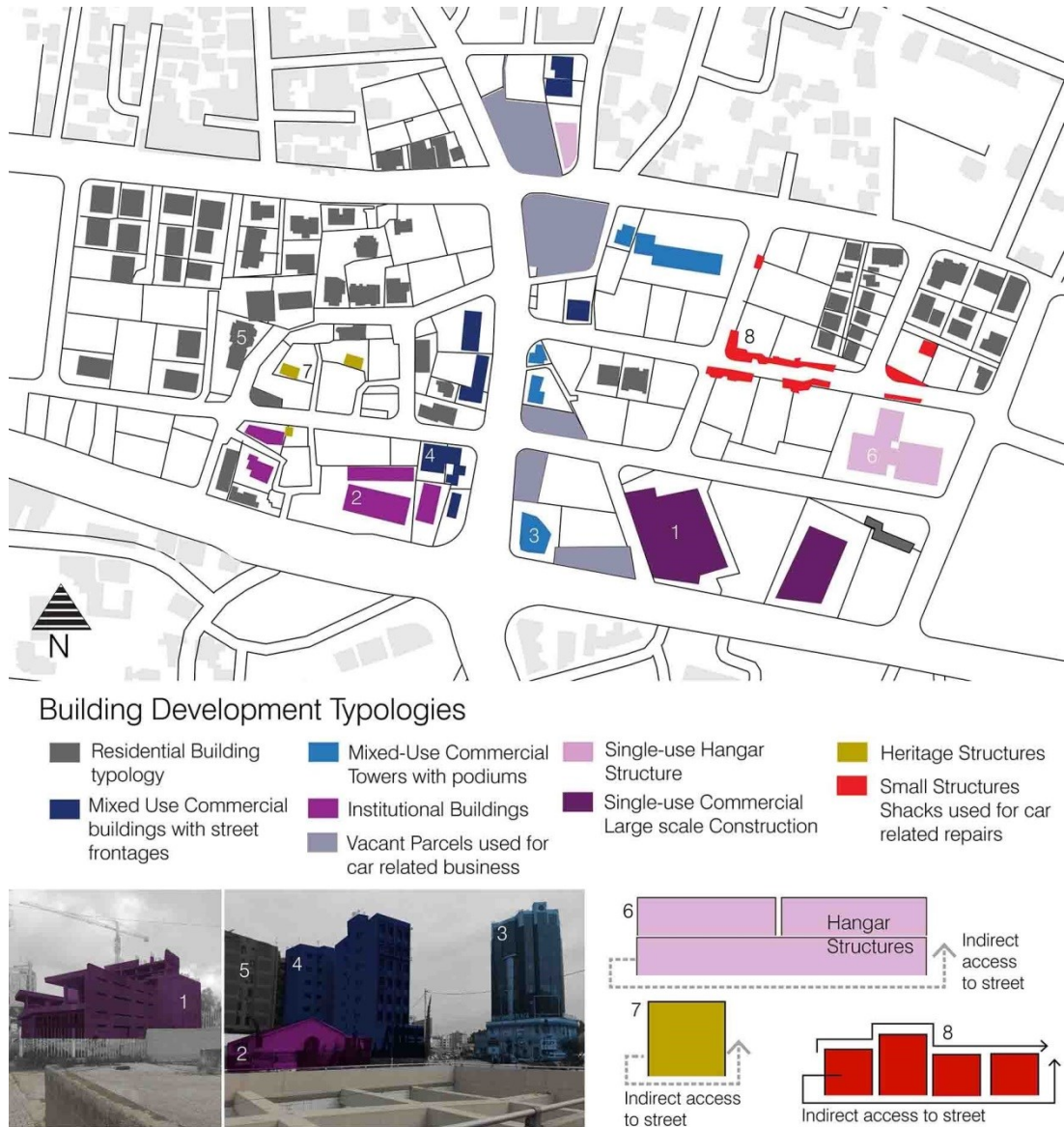
Figure 42: Existing Building development typologies as a conclusion to analyzing the market and development dynamics. (Author, 2020)

Studying the market dynamics, development, and use patterns, eight development typologies were notable (Fig. 42). A dominant commercial pattern is observed with a set of differentiated typologies along the edges of the Old Saida Road and the Michel Zakhour Highway:

(1) Single-use commercial mass structures;

(2) Hangar structures used for car-related businesses (see type 1 and 6);

(3) Mixed-use commercial towers with podium frontages used for retail businesses (e.g., Max stores) and food chains (see type 3);

(4) Mixed-use commercial buildings with street frontages used for cafes, car repair shops, and other small businesses (see type 4).

The edge also exhibits repetitive patterns of mobilizing vacant parcels with car-related businesses (see Fig. 42). The edge zones display a variety of development patterns, but the residential typology is dominant over other types. Four types are observed:

(1) Single-use residential buildings with no commercial frontages or mixed-use residential buildings with commercial frontages (see type 5, Fig. 42);

(2) Single-use institutional buildings including Mar Mikhael Church and related educational institutions (see type 2, Fig. 42);

(3) Heritage structures from war ruins remain intact and vacant; the structures stand in an empty block of parcels within the western edge zone;

(4) Shacks or small structures used as car-repair units along the edges of vacant lots within the eastern edge zone.

Across the different patterns, it is clear that the edges along primary circulation arteries have developed into resilient commercial edges, unlike the adjoining edge zones and impact zones, which remain unresolved and slow to develop resilient growth patterns. This phenomenon raises the question of how to deal with resiliency at the spatial level, and how can urban design reconfigure development patterns to help build spaces that tackle the different overlapping dynamics through one unifying framework.

4.7. Ownership vs. Governance Patterns
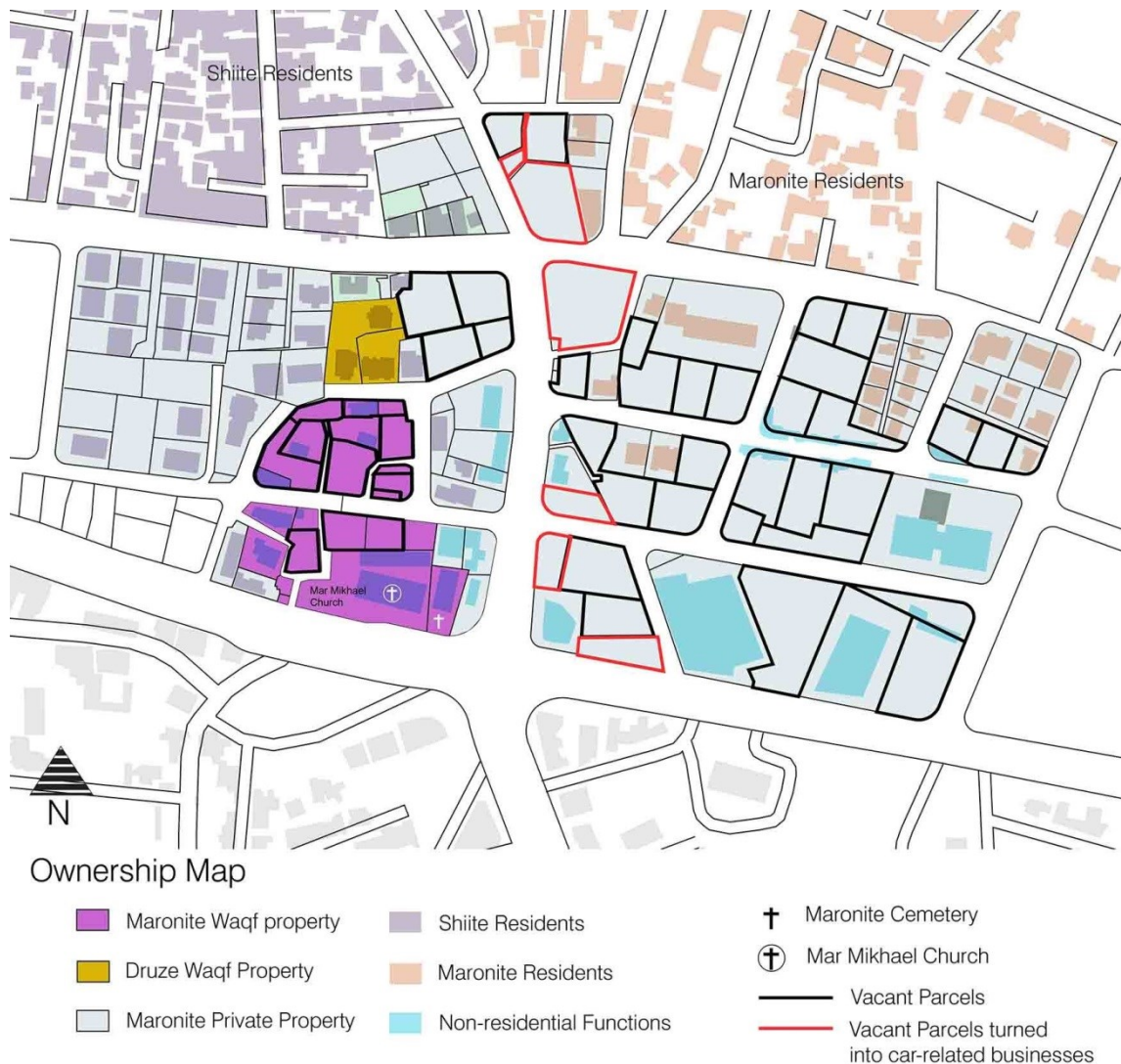
Figure 43: Ownership map showing the areas of underdeveloped parcels due to conflicting governance. (Author, 2020) Title: "Ownership and Tenancy'

Historically, the western border zone was part of a Christian village (Bou Akar, 2018), and due to the transformation of the Old Saida Road into a dividing line and then into a sectarian edge, those parts of the southern segment did not grow (Fig. 43). The Church and the Chiyah Municipality played a significant role in attempting to maintain the land under Christian ownership. To this end, the municipality benefited from a presidential decree (see chapter 3, section 3.5.3, *Governance Implications on Housing*

Mobility) that only allowed real estate transactions between the registered community (i.e., the area's original Christian residents), automatically excluding the Shiite population from participation (Bou Akar, 2018).

Bou Akar (2018), states that the central role of the Mar Mikhael Church, before the civil war, was to build a tight-knit community for Christians of Chiyah. The church is now closed, and a private school rents the building the church school building, catering only to Shiite students.

Land ownership in the study area is currently distributed between the Christian community and the Maronite and Druze Wakf (mainly in the Western border zone) (Fig. 43). The Maronite Wakf is investing in institutional and residential projects with large parcels of land still vacant. The Druze Wakf has developed mixed-use residential/commercial buildings on its land. However, the Amal Movement controls this area through direct and indirect surveillance, and the roads surrounding the Wakf land are inaccessible by vehicle.

Christian owners perceive their land in the southern section as a war frontier (Bou Akar, 2018). This explains the unresolved aspect of land vacancy. During an informal interview I conducted with the municipality, a member discussed the municipality's effort to provide quality control for developers/landlords to feel secure in the development process. However, it has shifted development, especially in the eastern edge and edge zone, into a commercially-targeted investment aligned with upgrading the infrastructure.

Addressing vacant land occurs at two levels:

(1) The land is kept vacant and monitored by the Lebanese Forces responsible for control over the eastern side of the Old Saida Road;

(2) Vacant land is provisionally rented to car dealerships.

Ownership and governance patterns define the problem of unresolved land and expose the primary stakeholders responsible for the southern segment's state of "limbo." Hence, all stakeholders, starting with the municipality, should mediate spatial management decisions, moderate conflict in the tangible and intangible dimensions, and tackle permeability and social porosity in an area with contested governance.

4.8. Conclusion: Susceptibility to Change and Identifying Limbo Land

Diagnosis and Assessment of Critical Issues
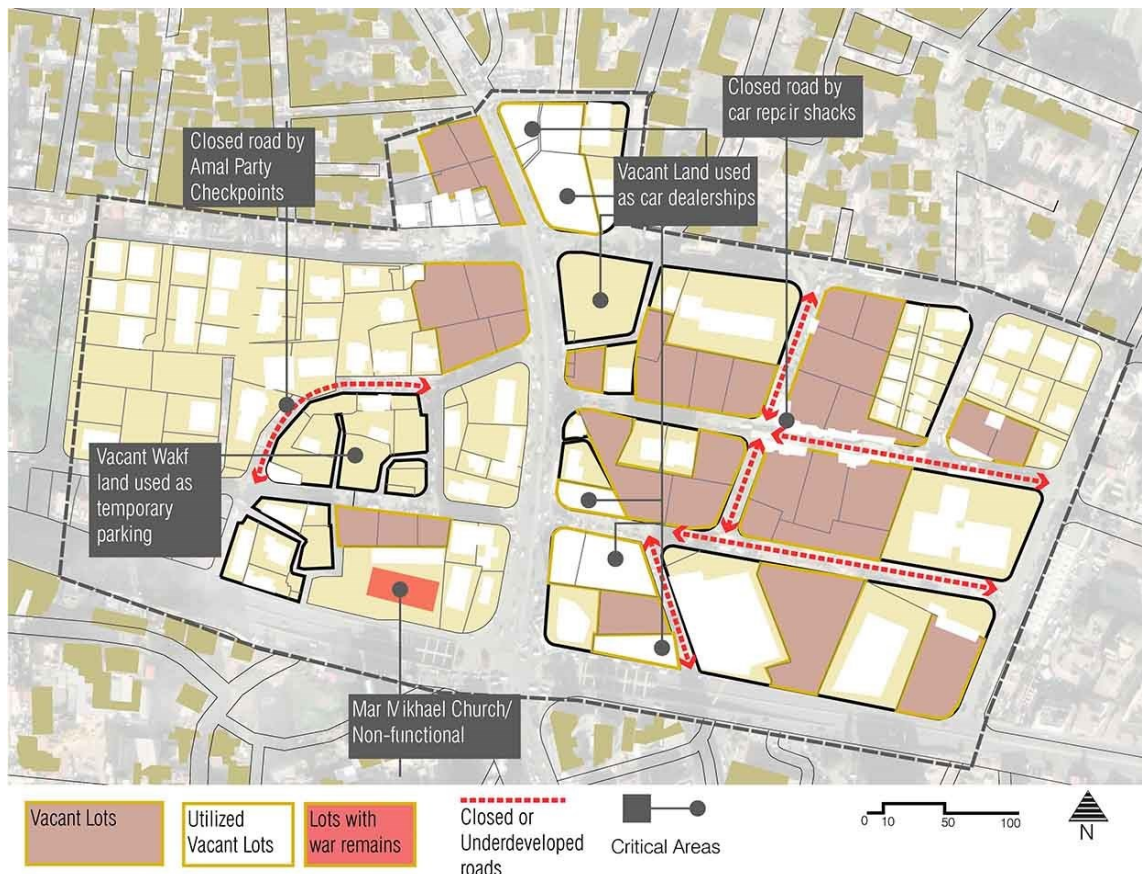
Figure 44: An illustration of the intervention area, including critical areas to assess during the design strategy. (Author, 2020)

The study area's diagnosis displays critical areas of contestation (Fig. 44) triggered by political/ sectarian territorialization and land ownership patterns leading to development paralysis, i.e., the high prevalence of vacant undeveloped land (Limbo Land) and its temporary use for car-related businesses. These critical zones (Fig. 44) are a result of the overlap of the dynamics generated by different stakeholders. The critical points include:

1. A vacant block owned by the Maronite Wakf kept empty due to governance problems discussed earlier;
2. Closed roads due to party checkpoints or camouflaged party gatherings;
3. Lots with war-impacted structures;
4. Underdeveloped street networks.

Stakeholder Analysis

The study area's different stakeholders are involved as follows (Table.10):

(1) **Direct actors** such as Christian residents/landlords, Shiite residents, Maronite Wakf and Church, political parties (Amal and Lebanese Forces Movement), developers and the Chiyah municipality. These actors determine the dynamics of change of the southern segment and later the primary actions towards the revitalization scheme.

(2) **Indirect actors** include business owners, land tenants, and the Lebanese military; the dynamics of change influence those actors, although they do not participate in the primary design thinking process. Nevertheless, direct and indirect stakeholders are part of the design intervention (Table.10).

Stakeholder	*Interests*	*Concerns and impacts*	*Needs and Expectations*
Christian Residents/Landlords	(1) Developing their land	(1) Scared to develop limbo land (2) Creating massive areas of vacancy	(1) Introducing life quality measures (2) Ensuring security without the intervention of religious/political parties

Muslim Residents (Druze and Shi'a)	(1) Staying in place and creating more living spaces (2) Developing land and introducing commercial businesses	(1) Developing land rapidly across the edge for commercial mobilization (2) Economic Resiliency	(1) Introducing life quality measures (2) Ensuring Security with the presence of religious/political parties (3) Business improvement
Lebanese Forces Political Party	(1) Maintaining their zone of influence (2) Controlling their territories	(1)Security maintenance / closed roads / checkpoints (2) Defining territories	(1) Maintaining Christian representation in the eastern edge zone (2) Maintaining territorial influence of the party
Amal Political Party	(1) Maintaining their zone of influence (2) Intervening in the security of their territories	(1)Security maintenance / closed roads / checkpoints (2) Defining territories	(1) Maintaining Shiite representation in the eastern edge zone (2) Maintaining territorial influence of the party
Business Owners	Staying in place and widening their market capture area	Creating economic resiliency along Old Saida Road's edge	Stable political conditions and city wide connectivity
Maronite Religious Wakf	(1) Developing their land (2) Maintaining Christian presence	(1) Developing new educational institutions and residential buildings (2) stagnating owned land due to /ownership governance conflict	(1) Safety through municipal and church intervention, and not through political parties (2) Investment in social or institutional projects for the local residents
Druze Religious Wakf	Ongoing market profit	Developed residential projects	(1) Introducing life quality measures (2) Insuring Security without the intervention of religious/political parties
Lebanese Army	Maintaining security over the edge	Military Checkpoint and security maintenance for 30 years	Improving the quality of their checkpoints as well as new measures to be taken in terms of security control over the zone
Car-related business owners (renters)	Staying in place and widening their market capture area	(1) Creating business concentrations along Old Saida Road's edge	(1)Improving accessibility to their businesses

		(2) Engaging in a wider market dynamic	
Chiyah Municipality	(1) Maintaining Christian locality (2) Improving the quality of streets and open spaces (3) Promoting land development	(1) Encouraging land investment and property selling between Christians	(1) Ensure security through municipal and church intervention, and not the political parties (2) Investment in social or institutional projects for the local residents
Developers	(1) Developing commercial projects and residential complexes (2) Benefitting from the infrastructural upgrade	(1) Creating a developed edge (2) Developing large scale construction projects, towers and residential complexes	(1) Infrastructural upgrading of the southern segment for better investment (2) Municipal support through quality control
Table 10: Stakeholder Analysis of the southern segment of Old Saida Road. (Author, 2020)			

Southern Segment's Susceptibility to Change and Limbo Land Assessment

Building on the previous analysis, the southern segment's susceptibility to change was measured through: (1) building and street conditions, (2) market dynamics, (3) land vacancy, (4) the impact of political parties and social and communal practices on the lived space, and (5) existing and potential development under zoning (Fig.45,up).

The criteria used to assess the land's susceptibility to change are ones used in general land assessment and are based on the physical conditions and market forces shaping those conditions. However, the criteria used to assess Limbo Land are based on the land's susceptibility to change framed within their territorialized context. Hence, the criteria used to allocate Limbo Land reads as follows:

- Territorialization techniques;
- Territorialized cope of influence;
- Levels of vacancy: utilized or completely vacant;
- Location of Land along the edge or inside the border zone.
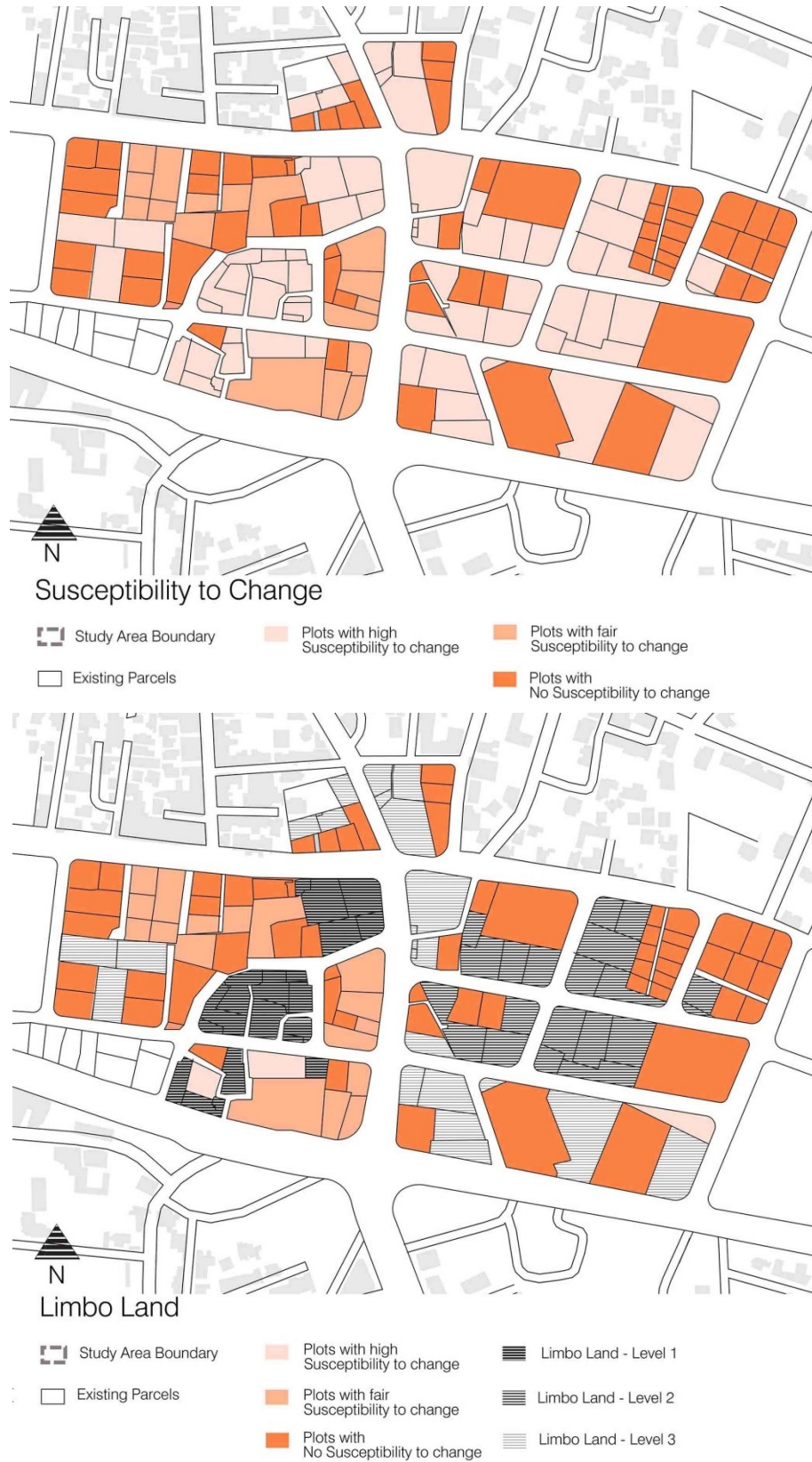
Figure 45: Conclusion of the level of land susceptibility for future intervention in comparison to the territorialized land locations and assessment. (Author,2020)

After allocating Limbo Land (Fig.45, down), I identified three levels of Limbo Land defined as follows:

1. Level 1 Limbo: Wakf land kept vacant under the control of Amal Party;
2. Level 2 Limbo: Private land within the border zone kept vacant while utilizing edges for car shacks;
3. Level 3 Limbo: Private property along the edges rented by car dealership businesses.

Development patterns reveal the need to tackle development using a resilient framework that considers the dynamics of change in the area, aiming for revitalization. Analyzing the ownership/governance patterns emphasizes the stakeholders' responsibility to take an active role in the implementation strategy. 'Mediation' will introduce resilient ways for building a framework that connects development, governance, and social representation by introducing a time-frame on the proposed actions and actors.

CHAPTER 5

DEVISING A MEDIATING URBAN DESIGN STRATEGY

The Old Saida Road's fluidity assessment, covered in the previous chapter, revealed the study area's susceptibility to change, through the analyses of market forces, ownership patterns, territorialization, and socio-political spatial dynamics, as well as the stakeholder's interests and visions.

Bou Akar (2018) questions the need for an integrative strategy and whether the inhabitants of Chiyah and Ghobeiry should segregate if they wanted to; adding that there is a lack of 'transparent mechanism' behind the idea that "people have the choice not to integrate if they preferred that setting." Farah and Teller (2012) mention a proposal for a large-scale development project to revive the economic functionality of Old Saida road; however, the integrative stakeholder efforts led to ending the proposal due to the unresolved squatter issue within the 'limbo' land area (see chapter 2). We deduce from the above that the attempts at integrating the two communities without a flexible and time-framed action plan at the community level and the actor-network (stakeholders) bring all efforts to a halt.

Building on the previous chapters' analyses, the primary goal is devising a *resilient strategy* that accommodates the southern segment's fluid dynamics. Permeability of the physical setting, stakeholder involvement, and learning from the resiliency of the southern segment's edge opened the door for a flexible mindset while creating a revitalizing framework for the intervention area.

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5.1. Goals and Objectives: Mediation as A Place-Making Approach

Mediation, by definition, means the intervention to resolve a dispute; in urban design, mediation means negotiating conflict resolution through planning/design for building an intervention while taking into consideration all the competing actors. Bollens (2012) argues that multi-ethnic urban governance that includes mutually supported intergroup 'compromises' can be an essential supplement to a political agreement.

Negotiation is a critical procedure when all actors have different visions of what the area "should be." However, my analysis of the southern segment indicates that the different actors envision the area from different perspectives and can contribute through different sectors. The compromise starts with acknowledging their potential as contributors to the envisioned strategy, and their ability and readiness to coordinate their efforts under the supervision of the municipality. Pinpointing critical zones of political party control with respect to limbo land (see chapter 4) along with the general appraisal and diagnosis helped me allocate the goals and objectives in line with the expected stakeholders' contributions (Table 11).

Goals	*Objectives*	*Stakeholders Involved*
A. Enhancing Livability	(1)Reconfiguring Connectivity and networking (2)Safety and social porosity through accessibility and permeability measures (3)Integrating an open space network composed of public spaces at different scales of the city (city, district, neighborhood) (4)Spatial management as a conflict moderator through	**Moderator and Judge (Main Decision Maker):** Chiyah Municipality **Internal Stakeholder and Judges who can critique procedure and formulate various scenarios:** Amal Movement Lebanese Forces Movement Shiite Residents Maronite Land owners Maronite Wakf

	introducing new open spaces dedicated to case-specific socio-economic practices (3)Spatial availability and affordability (housing and social housing)	**External stakeholders provided with a frameworks to work by:** Developers Lebanese Army
B. Enhancing Economic Viability	(1)Neutralizing Old Saida Road as an economic strip serving at the city scale (1)A flexible land-use strategy permitting the area to grow through its needs using a non-imposed land-use approach (flexible spatial re-configuration) (2)Direct access to the commercial uses along the edges (3)Hierarchal distribution of uses in terms of their location/connection to residential blocks	**Moderator and Judge (Main Decision Maker):** Chiyah Municipality **Judges who can critique procedure and formulate various scenarios:** Business owners Car-related business owners **External stakeholders provided with a frameworks to work by:** Shiite Residents Maronite Land owners Developers
C. Improving development patterns	(1)Spatial quality and safety measures for encouraging development (2)Development as an integrated fragment of the open space and land-use schemes (3)Development guidelines encouraging a managed urban space following a general land-use framework	**Moderator and Judge (Main Decision Maker):** Chiyah Municipality **Judges who can critique procedure and formulate various scenarios:** Lebanese Forces Movement Maronite Land owners Maronite Wakf **External stakeholders provided with a framework to follow:** Developers
Table 11: Social, economic and spatial goals and objectives of the design strategy including proposed stakeholder contributions. (Author, 2020)		

5.2. Strategic Vision: Regenerating Limbo Land

'Process then product' is the key to illustrating a regenerative model that works through creating phasing scenarios and a spatial-temporal framework. It is essential to point out the flexible mindset discussed above is represented in a "scenario building" approach, where expected outcomes are put to question within the implementation framework (see section 5.3), creating a negotiated action plan with an inclusive stakeholder body. The three schemes and their expected temporal scenarios are represented below (Table.12):

Spatial/Temporal Schemes	Short Term	Medium Term	Long Term
Open Spaces and Connectivity	Catalytic framework that fluidifies the open space network and introduces case Specific type of open spaces on private and Wakf land	Might/Might not be disrupted by political control	Scenario: Leads to catalytic development in private land (housing)
Vehicular Accessibility and Infrastructure	Complete "Fluidification" through public upgrading	Might/Might not be disrupted by political control	Scenario: Opens for a completely fluid flux and connectivity
Development	None	Catalytic social housing project on Wakf land in attempt empower identity, Economic neutralizing strip through city scale uses	Opened for (Scenarios)^n
Table 12: Spatial Temporal Framework revealing the expected scenarios. (Author, 2020)			

5.2.1. Long Term vs. Short Term Approaches
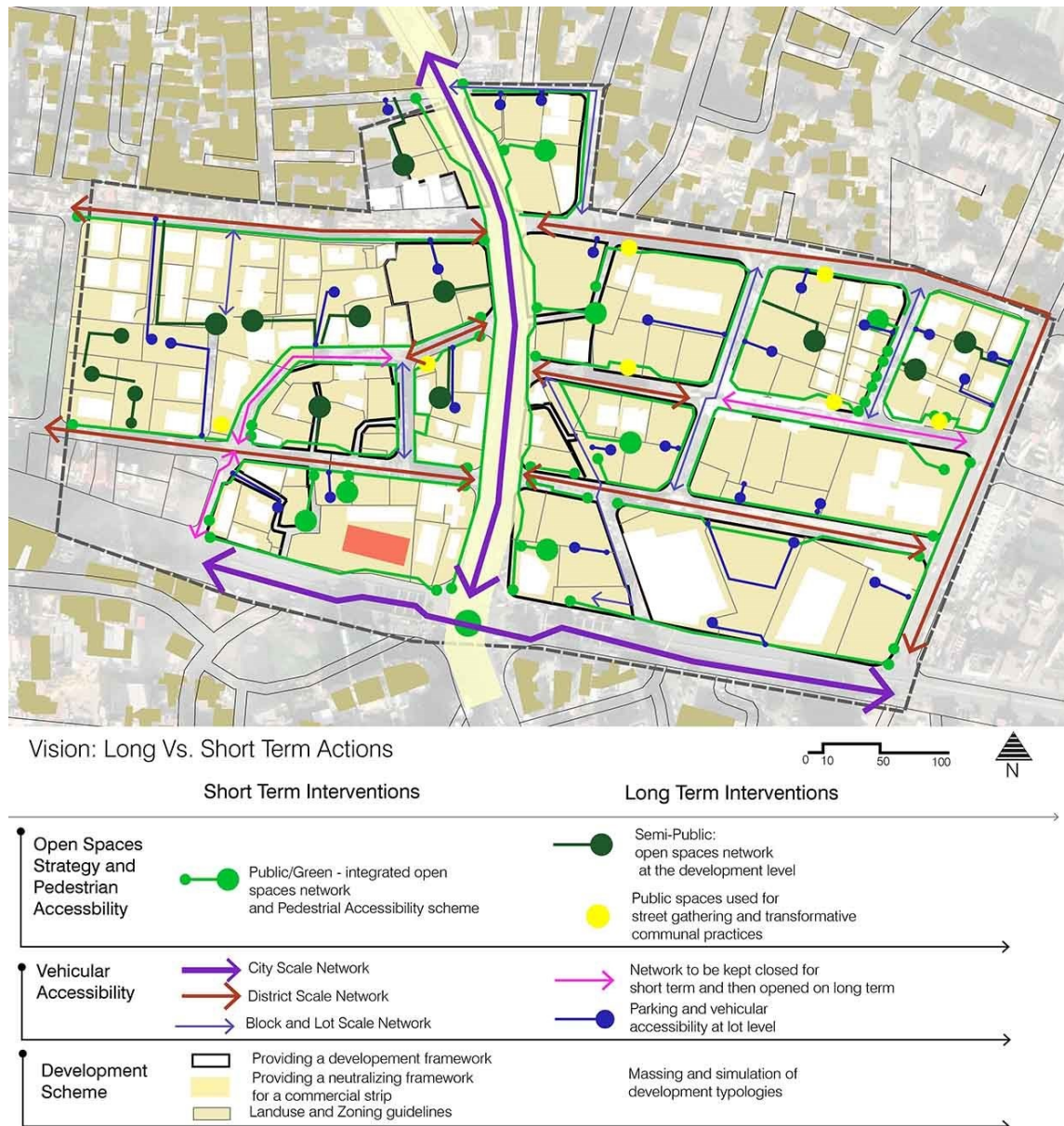
Figure 46: Overall short-term and long-term strategic approaches on the level of open spaces, accessibility and development, and the approach used for implementation. (Author, 2020)

The vision aims to address the factors underlying the unresolved conflict over land, ownership, and governance. It reconfigures the socio-economic layer by prioritizing its dynamics over those dictated by sectarianism, to build a resilient and functional three-layered framework (Fig. 46) including (1) an open spaces framework with pedestrian accessibility, (2) a street network strategy, and (3) a development scheme.

Open Spaces Framework and Pedestrian Accessibility
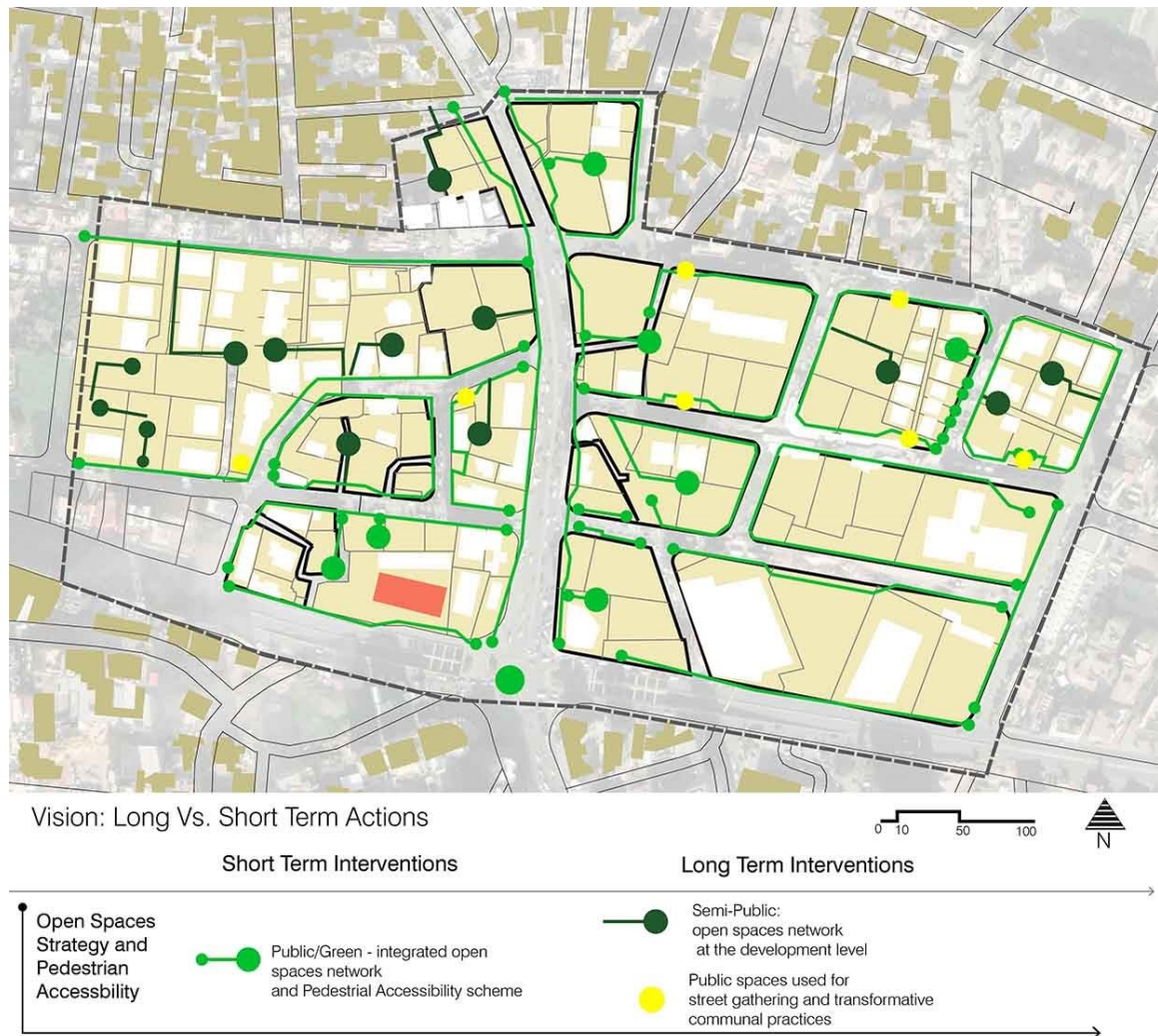
Figure 47: Short and long-term actions in the open spaces strategy and pedestrian accessibility. (Author, 2020)

The intervention area shows a lack of open spaces, green spaces, and meeting points. The open spaces strategy aims at implementing a new framework to mediate the area's long-lived divide, and provide catalytic actions on the short term to recover the social fabric on the long term. This strategic layer will frame the development and land-use scheme, mediating different types of open spaces ranging from public to private. This includes case-specific public spaces that tackle sectarian imposition and surveillance, to build a flexible social infrastructure. Open spaces to be further developed (Fig.47) incorporate:

1. Pedestrian spaces along main arteries aim to revitalize the economic strip and create safe access to street frontage uses;
2. Inter-block connecting spaces acting as social integrators including various open space functions serving blocks of specific land-uses;
3. Inner-block open spaces (semi-public) meant to introduce a safe open space for residential development between lots;
4. Area-specific public spaces meant to tackle street gatherings as practices of surveillance.

Vehicular Accessibility Framework

The southern segment's lack of proper street connectivity due to underdeveloped and closed roads brings forward the necessity to articulate a flexible framework and a phased strategy in time and space that accommodates sectarian territorialization and impermeability on the short term, and a fully functional circulation system and complete permeability on the long term (Fig.48). Considering the hierarchy of roads, I categorize the street interventions into city, district, and neighborhood-scale networks.

The city-scale network is an intervention on the Old Saida Road and the Michel Zakhour Highway; it is an action taken in the short term due to its importance on economic viability. The district-scale network tackles two main problems, the quality of the streets and the issue of closed roads. In the short-term, I suggest enhancing the street quality and safety while keeping the three problematic secondary roads (shown in pink in Fig.48) as 'pedestrian access only,' and working long-term to integrate them in the district-scale scheme. As for the block-scale tertiary roads, I propose opening it all for better access. The proposed parking and individual lot accesses offer accessibility guidelines for long-term development. This network is complemented by the open space strategy, pedestrian accessibility, and the development scheme.
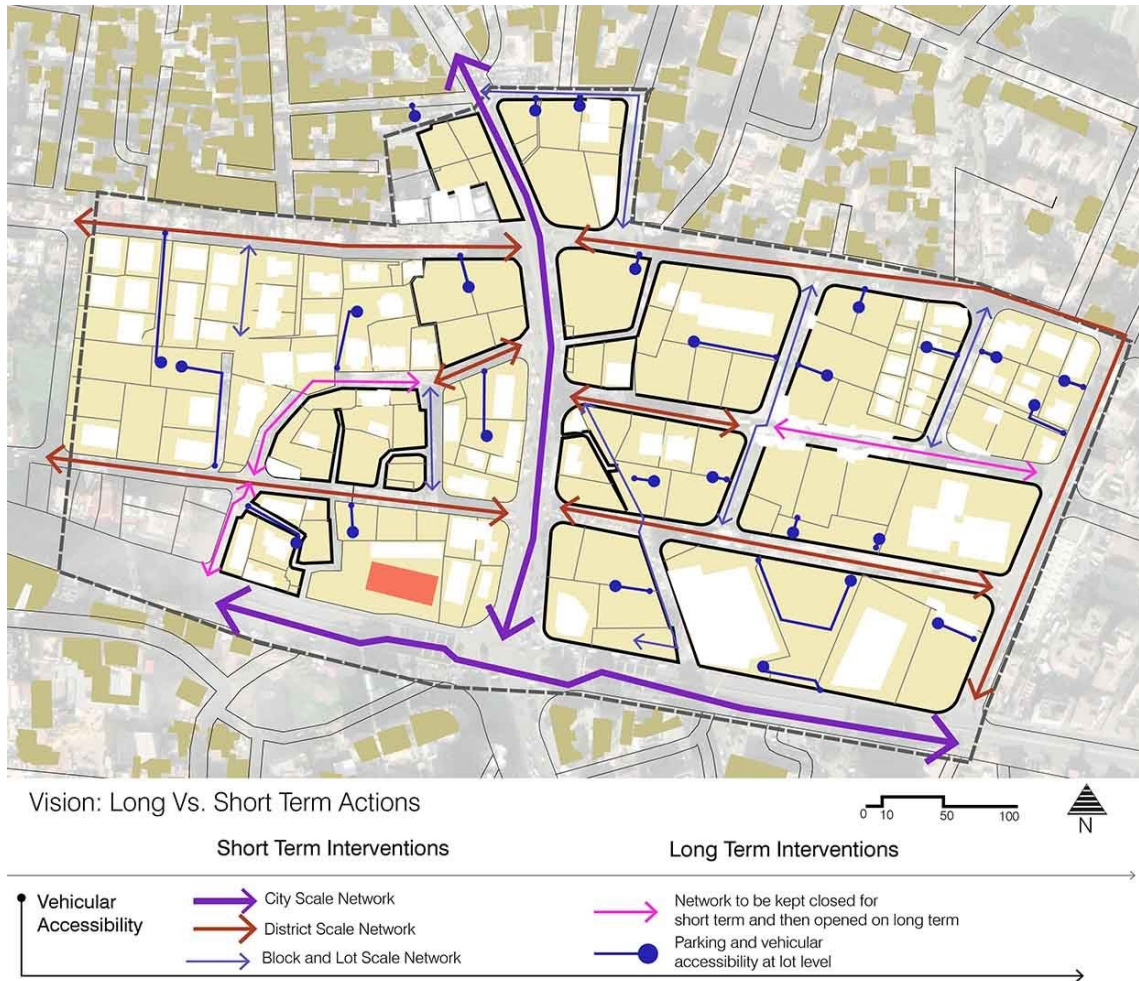
Figure 48: Vehicular accessibility and street network presented through a short/ long term intervention scheme. (Author, 2020)

Development and Land-use Scheme

The development framework deals with building guidelines and land-use layers (Fig. 49). It is critical to propose a flexible simulation of the fabric driven by its needs and growth capacity; the aim is to create porosity at the social and economic level through the spatial syntax. As per the analysis of the development patterns at the level of the physical fabric and uses, the findings question the growth of edges only; in return, the proposed framework expects the resilient growth of the border zone mobilizing the same patterns manifested at the edge of the study area.
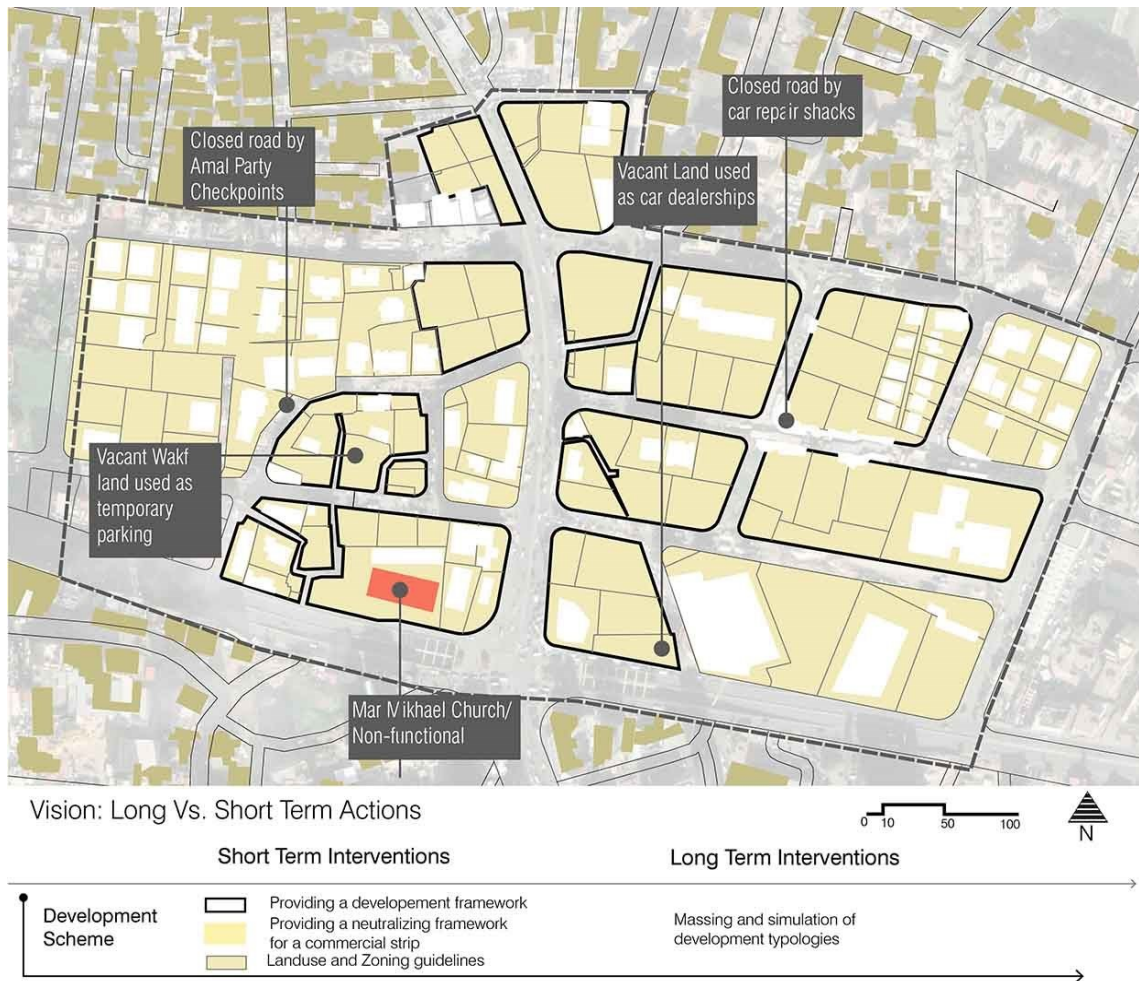
Figure 49: Illustration showing the long and short-term development and land-use actions to be taken in the southern segment. (Author, 2020).

In the short term, the strategy proposes the edges' commercial pattern to expand into a continuous neutralized strip, employed through city-scale commercial functions. This complements the border's needs for a viable economy and a livable environment. It proposes keeping all productive uses as is and predicts a 'preferred' land-use at the block level in an attempt to eliminate the obligation of a lot-specific land-use. It also proposes building guidelines that complement the land-use proposal forming a revitalization scheme for the unresolved border. Those guidelines adjust the land parcellation patterns, FAR, and purposefully integrate the built fabric with the open space framework, forming a structured use of space.

5.3. Implementation Scheme

Implementation within a politically complex framework becomes interesting in the case of 'mediation' when linking the hierarchical stakeholder contribution to the stages of implementation. At all stages of the strategy, the Chiyah municipality plays the role of mediator, managing the different cross-contributions of the involved stakeholders. Other stakeholders are placed at different contribution ranks throughout the (1) infrastructure and accessibility, (2) open space, and (3) development stages (Table.13).

Stakeholder/ Scheme	Infrastructure and Vehicular Accessibility	Open Spaces	Land-use and Development
Chiyah Municipality	Primary '**Mediator**' and responsible for the strategic envisioning, design framework and guidelines, and '**moderator**' of proposed scenarios by other judging stakeholders.		
Christian Landlords(Private owners)	-	Encouraged to develop their land according to building guidelines and open space framework. **As an internal stakeholder and Judge**: invited to propose scenarios open for negotiation and integration within the proposed framework.	
Muslim Residents	-	**As an internal stakeholder and Judge:** Encouraged by the municipality to rent and take part in using the development through related incentives, to help open up businesses within concentrated hubs (e.g. car business hubs offered in land-use) and reside in the area. They are invited to propose alternative business operation schemes to be negotiated and integrated within the scheme.	
Lebanese Forces Political Party Amal Political Party	**Internal Stakeholder:** Takes part in the negotiations over the long-term presence on ground	**Internal Stakeholder:** (see Model A and B) encouraged the gradually transform their practices from direct on ground surveillance into managed communal practices	
Business Owners	**Internal Stakeholder:** negotiates sections of the short and long term strategy design	-	**Internal Stakeholder:** negotiates sections of the short and long term strategy design that affect their business, and are invited to

	that affect their business, and are invited to propose short and long term business expansion schemes.		propose short and long term business expansion schemes.
Maronite Religious Wakf	-		Primary Stakeholder: Encouraged to develop their land according to building guidelines and open space framework
Druze Religious Wakf	-		
Lebanese Army	**Secondary/External Stakeholder**: maintaining safe ground and working with the municipality for a better long term representation on the ground		
Car-related business owners (renters)	**Internal Stakeholder:** negotiates sections of the short and long term strategy design that affect their business, and are invited to propose short and long term business expansion schemes.		**Secondary/External stakeholder:** on the long-term, the presence of such businesses is important for the resilient growth of the area.
Developers	Secondary/External Stakeholder: Expected to follow the municipality's design strategy and guidelines, and is invited to negotiate any views on case-specific guideline adjustments		
Table 13: The stakeholder's actions/roles within the implementation scheme. (Author, 2020)			

The implementation tools used are (1) "Master Plan and Detailed Master Plan" and (2) "Land pooling and readjustments." By definition, the first tool involves defining land uses, building densities, heights, and lot areas. However, the primary purpose of the case-specific design is to introduce an insightful and progressive version of this tool that takes into consideration the intangible layers of the city, as a modifying force in action. It also includes negotiations by different stakeholders for improving the understanding of a master plan's function through a spatial-temporal framework. Hence, I categorized the open space framework, accessibility framework, development guidelines, and

proposed land-use, into phases and according to action priorities, as seen above. The second tool, "land pooling and re-subdivision," is integrated within the first tool due to the necessity of several place-making decisions distributed over the southern segment. The municipality uses the opportunity to reconfigure the efficiency of space by transforming the (25%) acquired area after parcel readjustments to allocate interventions at the block and lot level in the open space and accessibility framework while keeping the 'preferred' development and land-use proposals at the block/zone levels (see Models A and B).

5.4. The Proposed Master Plan
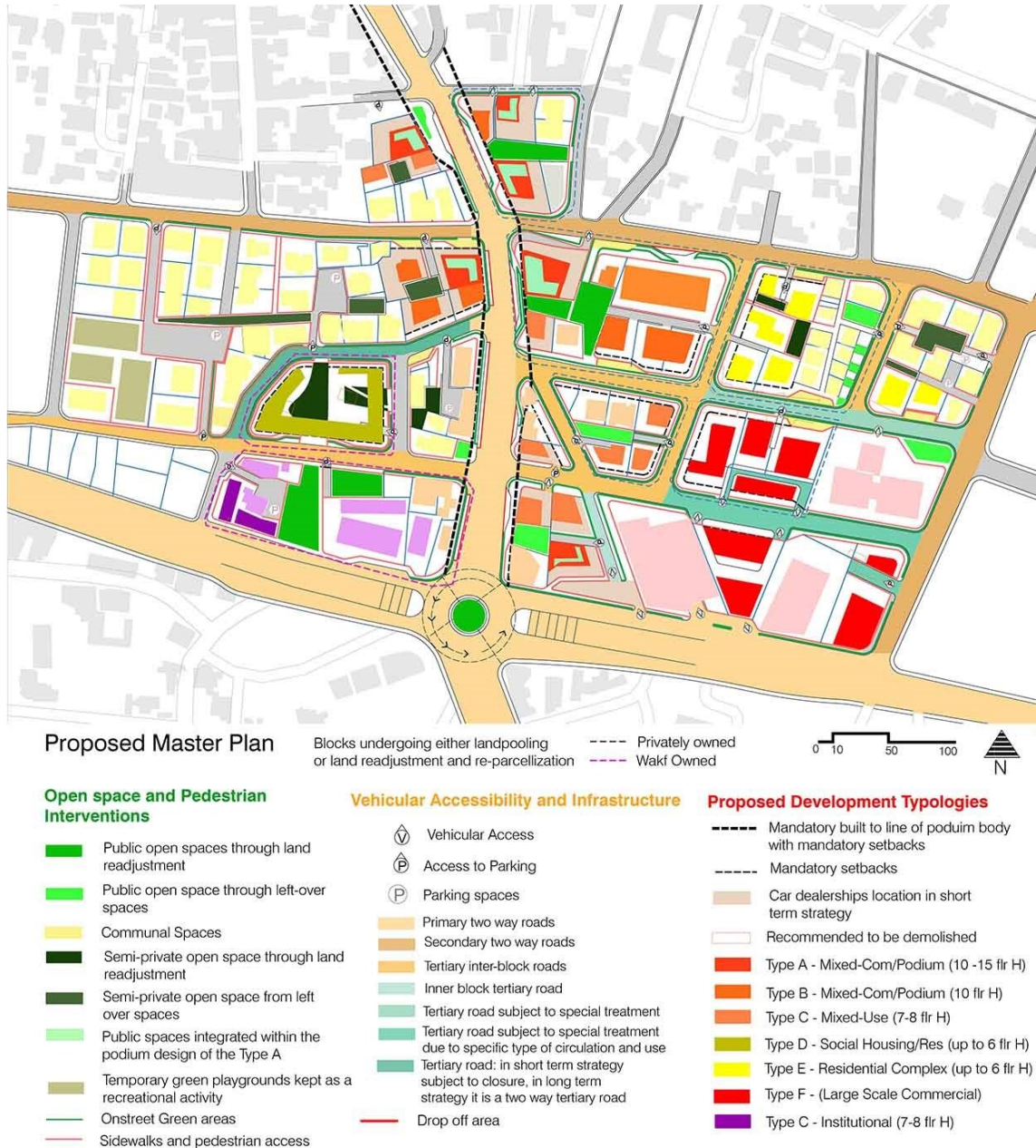
Figure 50: Proposed master plan of the southern segment following the three strategies. (Author, 2020)

The proposed master plan follows the three discussed strategies: (1) open spaces and pedestrian accessibility, (2) infrastructure and vehicular accessibility, (3) development and land-use scheme. The goal is to mediate a synchronized overall scheme that produces resilient spatial growth guidelines (Fig.50).

5.4.1. Open Spaces Strategy and Connections: Public and Green Networks

Open Spaces and Connections

Public open spaces

Public open spaces introduced by the municipality through land readjustment and re-parcellization
(1) is a reparcellized block owned by the maronite wakf
(2) Privately owned land

Public open space introduced by the municipality in left-over spaces resulting from adjoining privately owned parcels

Temporary Communal Spaces introduced for managed onstreet gathering purposes

Semi-Public Open Spaces

Semi-private open space through land readjustment and re-parcellization
(3) is a landpooled block owned by the maronite wakf

Semi-private open space from left over spaces between buildings

Public spaces integrated within the podium design of the Type A proposed buildings

Temporary green playgrounds kept as a recreational activity on privately owned land, maintaining the existing use

Open Space Connections and Acess

Onstreet Green areas subject to special treatment

Sidewalks and pedestrian access subject to special treatment

Drop off area

Street Crossings

(P) Access to Parking

(V) Vehicular Access

(P) Parking spaces

Blocks undergoing either landpooling or land readjustment and re-parcellization

- - - - Privately owned
- - - - Wakf Owned

Figure 51: Open spaces strategy and pedestrian accessibility in the intervention area. (Author, 2020)

As an integrator, the open space strategy and pedestrian accessibility scheme join both sides of Old Saida Road (East and West segments) into one framework to provide an accessible and permeable environment, catalyzing the entire implementation scheme. The objectives through this scheme encompass:

1. Introducing social/green porosity and permeability through an open spaces network serving at the district level, and penetrating its blocks as semi-public spaces for maintaining a segregative approach to inner block environments;
2. Upgrading the walkable environment of the segment through a pedestrian access scheme that enhances the accessibility of all uses, including the commercial edge and the primary infrastructures;
3. Proposing a quality upgrade through public greening strategies complementary and adjacent to pedestrian connections;
4. Proposing new types of open spaces integrated within the podiums of the proposed development typologies creating a three-dimensional open space treatment, and new communal space of identity expression.

The scheme proposes public spaces in the blocks with mixed land-use containing no residential uses, and proposes semi-public spaces with residential blocks aiming to give a managed block-specific segregative syntax.

The second and third objectives discuss the pedestrian connectivity and safety measures between infrastructures and the built environment (Fig.51). The system includes pedestrian lanes, green separators adjacent to the infrastructure, and bike lanes along the edges of the blocks, working separately but simultaneously. The scheme includes new types of integrated space serving communal purposes, such as gathering spaces (Fig.51), as an attempt to manage random public gatherings, and provide areas for social meetings. The fourth objective also introduces green spaces within the type A building (podium towers) (see Fig. 51 and 54) as part of the building guidelines. The proposed scheme gives the open space network several spatial and communal dimensions, allowing the network to shape new development and provide social, communal, and environmental platforms.

5.4.2. Infrastructure and Vehicular Accessibility: Parking, Circulation and Public Transportation Scheme

Figure 52: Infrastructure and vehicular accessibility scheme of the southern segment. (Author, 2020)

The road network functions on two levels, opening new roads and upgrading the existing system. According to the master plan (Fig. 52), the roads range from type A to G, each having specific spatial qualities. The strategy upgrades the primary and secondary road networks (types A and B) with a two-way direction, whereas it proposes

different types of tertiary roads (C through G), each treated as a case-specific type of road (Fig.52). Prominent tertiary road types are the ones treated to (1) bear large scale commercial blocks with a change in the pavement and access to blocks (type D, E), and (2) roads subject to short-term closure due to territorialization while being accessible in the long-term.

This network incorporates drop off areas at every block, 1-minute (temporary) parking for street frontage commercial uses, and an integrated bus stop system. Those minor details create safe pedestrian accessibility and vehicular movement, qualities that the infrastructure lacks.

As pertains to the layer of public parking, I proposed joint parking spaces at the block-level in built-up areas, making use of the leftover spaces between buildings and adjacent parcels. As for the non-built blocks, I proposed joint underground parking spaces for several adjacent parcels that feed into different buildings with in/out underground access, in an attempt to preserve open/green spaces rather than open space parking.

5.4.3. Preferred Land use Scheme on Block Scale

The preferred land-use scheme aims at revitalizing the area's economic viability through the following guidelines:

1. Proposing a flexible land-use strategy permitting the area to grow through its needs using a non-imposed land-use approach;
2. Land-uses that compliment both the open space network and the accessibility schemes, in terms of location, access, and circulation;
3. Managing the hierarchy and compatibility of land-uses, by separating specific types of commercial uses from residence, and respecting social porosity and the residential environment.

4. Neutralizing the edges of the Old Saida Road, through proposing a commercial strip that functions alongside the open space and accessibility frameworks.

Preferred Landuse Scheme on Block Scale

- Public open spaces through land readjustment
- Public open space through left-over spaces
- Communal Spaces
- Semi-private open space through land readjustment
- Semi-private open space from left over spaces
- Public spaces integrated within the podium design of the Type A
- Temporary green playgrounds kept as a recreational activity

- Existing Residential zone
- Proposed Residential zone
- Residential/Office buildings
- Proposed Mixed Use Office/Residential
- Proposed Institutional zone
- Proposed Mixed Use Commercial
- Proposed Car related trade and commercial businesses
- Car dealership businesses

Blocks undergoing either landpooling or land readjustment and re-parcellization

- Privately owned
- Wakf Owned

(P) Access to Parking

(V) Vehicular Access

0 10   50   100   N

Figure 53: Preferred land-use scheme at block-level in the intervention area. (Author, 2020)

I propose the following block-uses (Fig.53) based on existing use-patterns and concentrations. Allocating city-scale commercial uses along the infrastructural edges creates better accessibility to functions and street frontages, and emphasizes the sectarian neutrality of main vehicular arteries. As such, the large-scale commercial development zone along Michel Zakhour Highway constitutes a buffer between the highway and the inner district residential uses. The scheme assigns a preferred

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institutional land-use to the block at the Eastern edge (Fig.53) due to the educational

institution under construction and the possibility of turning the block into an educational

hub. In the short term, the intervention maintains the location of the car-related

businesses along the edges of the Old Saida Road, as a part of the resilient approach that

the strategy follows. However, due to traffic disruption, those businesses will be

reallocated as part of the large-scale commercial uses block on the long term, and opens

up the opportunity for a neutralizing commercial strip scheme.

5.4.4. *Preferred Buildings Development Typologies and Guidelines*

As part of the development and land-use scheme, proposing preferred

development typologies complements the preferred land-use proposal and open space

scheme, as well as vehicular accessibility strategies to configure a resilient and flexible

spatial growth.

The strategy reconfigures the building development guidelines as follows (Fig. 54, 55):

- Associating types (A to F) with parcel surface area and block land-use;

- Zoning ratios (B2-2) modified by adjusting the surface exploitation percentage
  and total exploitation ratios according to the associated types;

- Introducing building height controls on each type;

- Adjusting setbacks according to location, land-use, and height, to manage street
  frontages, limits between different block land-uses and manage porosity and
  accessibility between types.

Preferred Buidings Development Typologies and Buildings Guidelines

▮ Type A	▮ Type B	▮ Type C
▮ Type D	▮ Type E	▮ Type F

- - - - Mandatory setbacks
━ ━ ━ Mandatory built to line of poduim body with mandatory setbacks

▮ Existing buildings
▢ Car dealerships location in short term strategy

▮ Public spaces within the podium design of the Type A proposed buildings
▮ Open Spaces

	Proposed Guidelines	Zoning	Surface Exploitation		Total Exploitation	Height Conrol	Set Backs Based on Given: Location/Landuse/Height	
	Typologies		Podium	Upper Floors			Old Saida Road	Inner Block
900-1200 msq (Commercial/Offices /Institutional)	A	B2-2	50% (450-600)	40%-50% of P	2.4(2,160 - 2,880)	10 -15 flrs 2flrs P	Built to line with 10-14m setback from the face of the Podium	---
600-900 msq (Commercial/Offices /Institutional)	B	B2-2	50%-60% (360-450)	60% of P	2.4(1,440-2,160)	10 flrs 2flrs P	Built to line with 6-10m setback from the face of the Podium	4m podium setback with 6m setback from the face of the Podium
350-600 msq (Commercial/Offices /Institutional)	C	B2-2	---	40% (270-240)	2.4(2,160 - 2,880)	7-8 flrs	Built to line	6m setback
Residential Complex	D	B2-2	---	40%	2.4	Up to 6 flrs	---	4m setback
Residential Building	E	B2-2	---	45%	2.4	Up to 6 flrs	---	6m setback
Car dealership and Trade Building	F	B2-2	50%-60%	45%-50% (270-360)	C	Height of 6 flrs	---	6m setback

Figure 54: Preferred building development typologies and building guidelines in the intervention area. (Author, 2020)

The simulation of the expected developed fabric, according to the proposed guidelines (Fig.55) results in different street wall controls (Fig. 56). Street wall sections (1 through 6) display the proposed street environment in different areas of the segment (see the location of each section in Fig.54).

Existing	Zoning	Surface Exploitation		Total Exploitation
Ratio	B2-2	40% surface		2.4 Total
Proposed Guidelines	Zoning	Surface Exploitation		Total Exploitation
Typologies		Podium	Upper Floors	
900-1200 msq (Commercial/Offices /Institutional) — A	B2-2	50% (450-600)	40%-50% of P	2.4(2,160 - 2,880)
600-900 msq (Commercial/Offices /Institutional) — B	B2-2	50%-60% (360-450)	60% of P	2.4(1,440-2,160)
350-600 msq (Commercial/Offices /Institutional) — C	B2-2	---	40% (270-240)	2.4(2,160 - 2,880)
Residential Complex — D	B2-2	---	40%	2.4
Residential Building — E	B2-2	---	45%	2.4
Car dealership and Trade Building — F	B2-2	50%-60%	45%-50%(270-360)	C

Existing	Height Control	Setbacks	
Ratio	No	No	
Proposed Guidelines	Height Conrol	Set Backs Based on Given: Location/Landuse/Height	
Typologies		Old Saida Road	Inner Block
900-1200 msq (Commercial/Offices /Institutional) — A	10 -15 flrs 2flrs P	Built to line with 10-14m setback from the face of the Podium	---
600-900 msq (Commercial/Offices /Institutional) — B	10 flrs 2flrs P	Built to line with 6-10m setback from the face of the Podium	4m podium setback with 6m setback from the face of the Podium
350-600 msq (Commercial/Offices /Institutional) — C	7-8 flrs	Built to line	6m setback
Residential Complex — D	Up to 6 flrs	---	4m setback
Residential Building — E	Up to 6 flrs	---	6m setback
Car dealership and Trade Building — F	Height of 6 flrs	---	6m setback

Figure 55: Comparison between existing zoning ratios and the proposed development guidelines. (Author, 2020)

Street Wall Section 1 · Street Wall Section 2 · Street Wall Section 3
Street Wall Section 4 · Street Wall Section 5 · Street Wall Section 6

Legend: Type A · Type B · Type C · Type D · Type E · Type F · Existing

Proposed Guidelines (Typologies)	Zoning	Surface Exploitation		Total Exploitation	Height Control	Set Backs Based on Given: Location/Landuse/Height	
		Podium	Upper Floors			Old Saida Road	Inner Block
A — 900-1200 msq (Commercial/Offices/Institutional)	B2-2	50% (450-600)	40%-50% of P	2.4 (2,160 - 2,880)	10 -15 flrs 2flrs P	Built to line with 10-14m setback from the face of the Podium	
B — 600-900 msq (Commercial/Offices/Institutional)	B2-2	50%-60% (360-450)	60% of P	2.4 (1,440-2,160)	10 flrs 2flrs P	Built to line with 6-10m setback from the face of the Podium	4m podium setback with 6m setback from the face of the Podium
C — 350-600 msq (Commercial/Offices/Institutional)	B2-2	...	40% (270-240)	2.4 (2,160 - 2,880)	7-8 flrs	Built to line	6m setback
D — Residential Complex	B2-2	...	40%	2.4	Up to 6 flrs	...	4m setback
E — Residential Building	B2-2	...	45%	2.4	Up to 6 flrs	...	6m setback
F — Car dealership and Trade Building	B2-2	50%-60%	45%-50% (270-360)	C	Height of 6 flrs	...	6m setback

Figure 56: Street wall controls and street section s according to the proposed buildings guidelines in the intervention area. (Author, 2020)

Street Wall Section 1

Street Wall Section 2
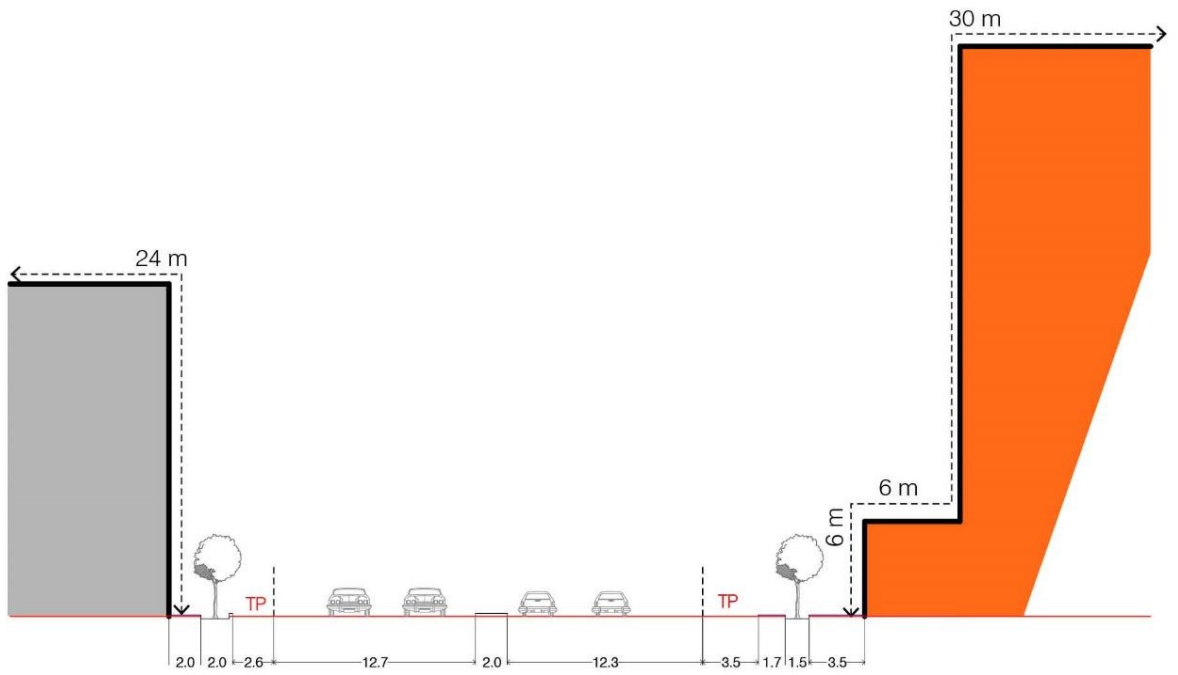
Street Wall Section 3

Street Wall Section 4
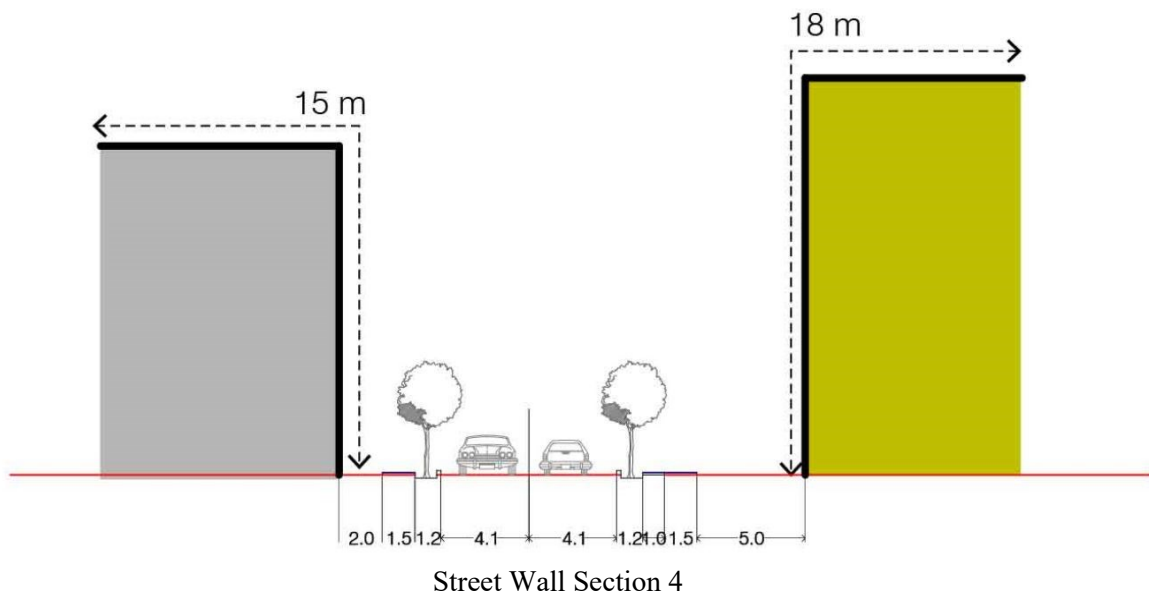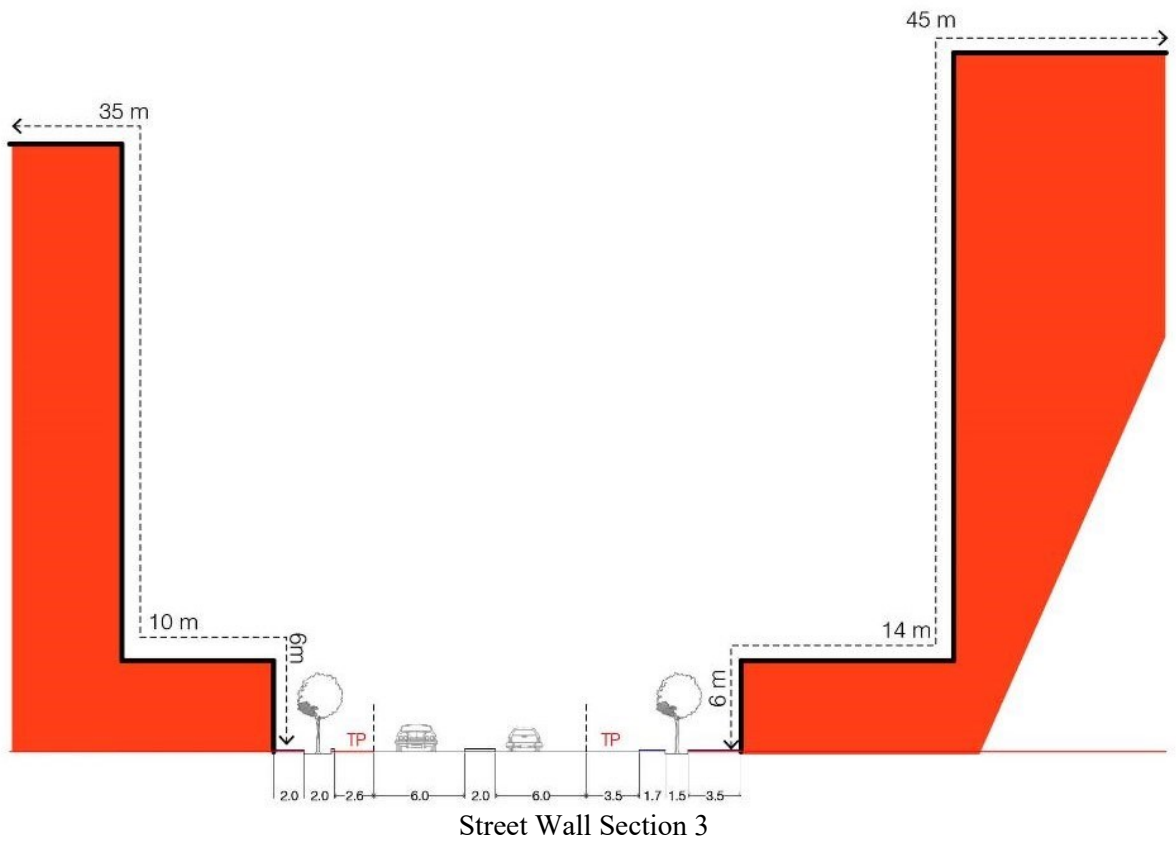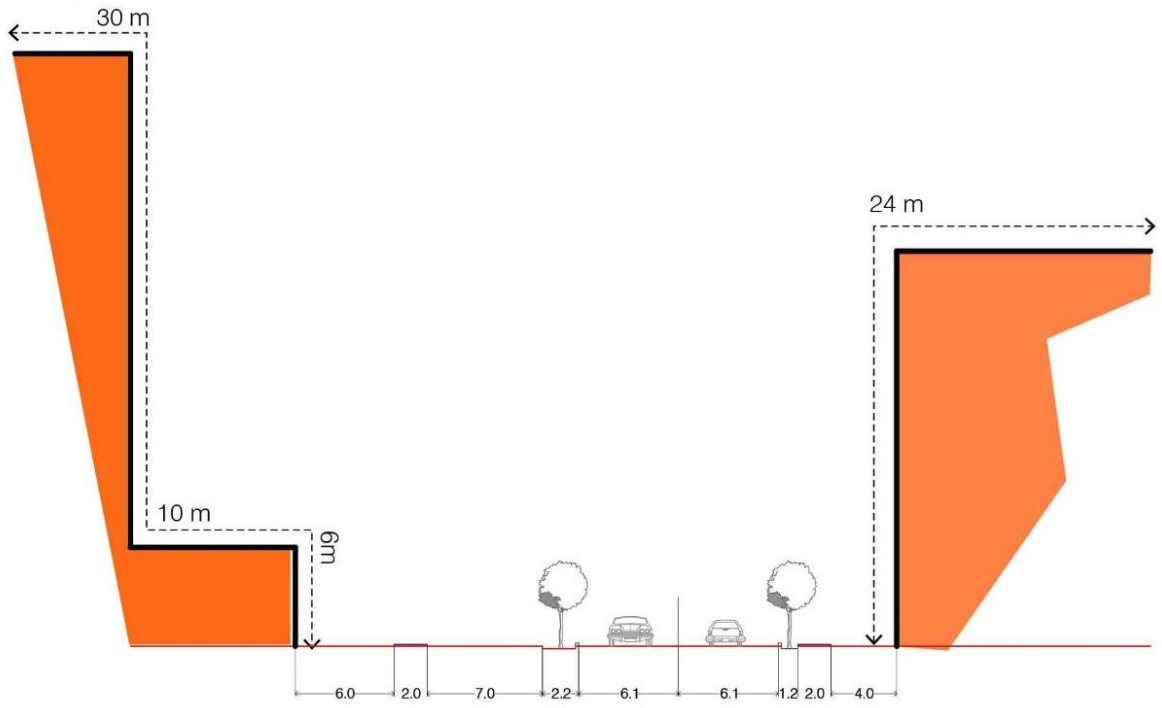
Street Wall Section 5
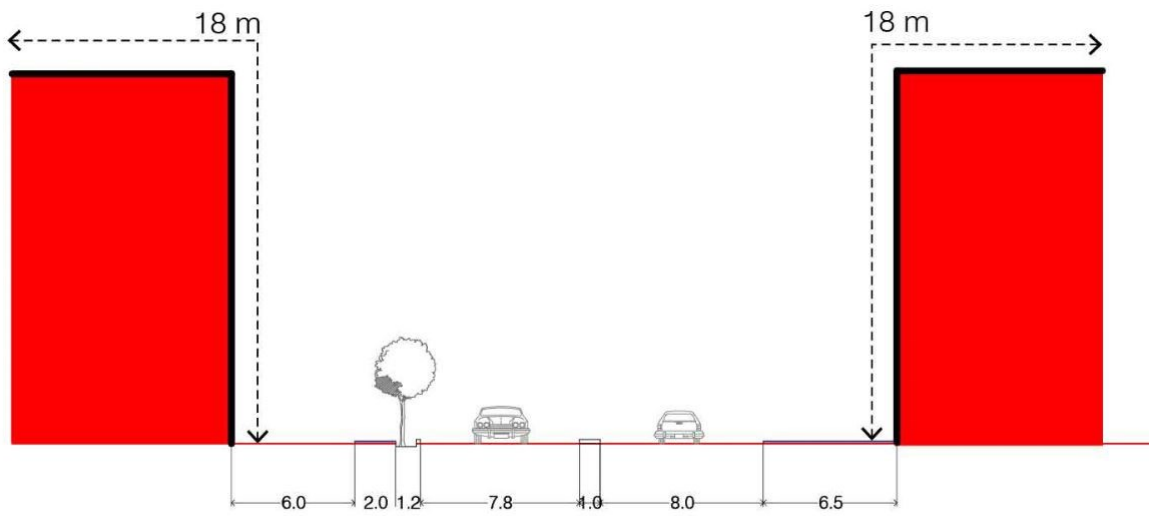
Street Wall Section 6

5.5. The Visualized Southern Segment: Representation and Volumetric Simulation

Figure 57: Envisioned master plan in its developed stages. (Author, 2020)

Place-making
Model A

Place-making
Model B

Integrating a public and green
network

Quality and Safety Controls

Accessibility/Permeability

Landuse as a spatial configurator

Spatial Quality Control

Spatial management as conflict
moderator

Introducing social Infrastructure

Social Porosity measures
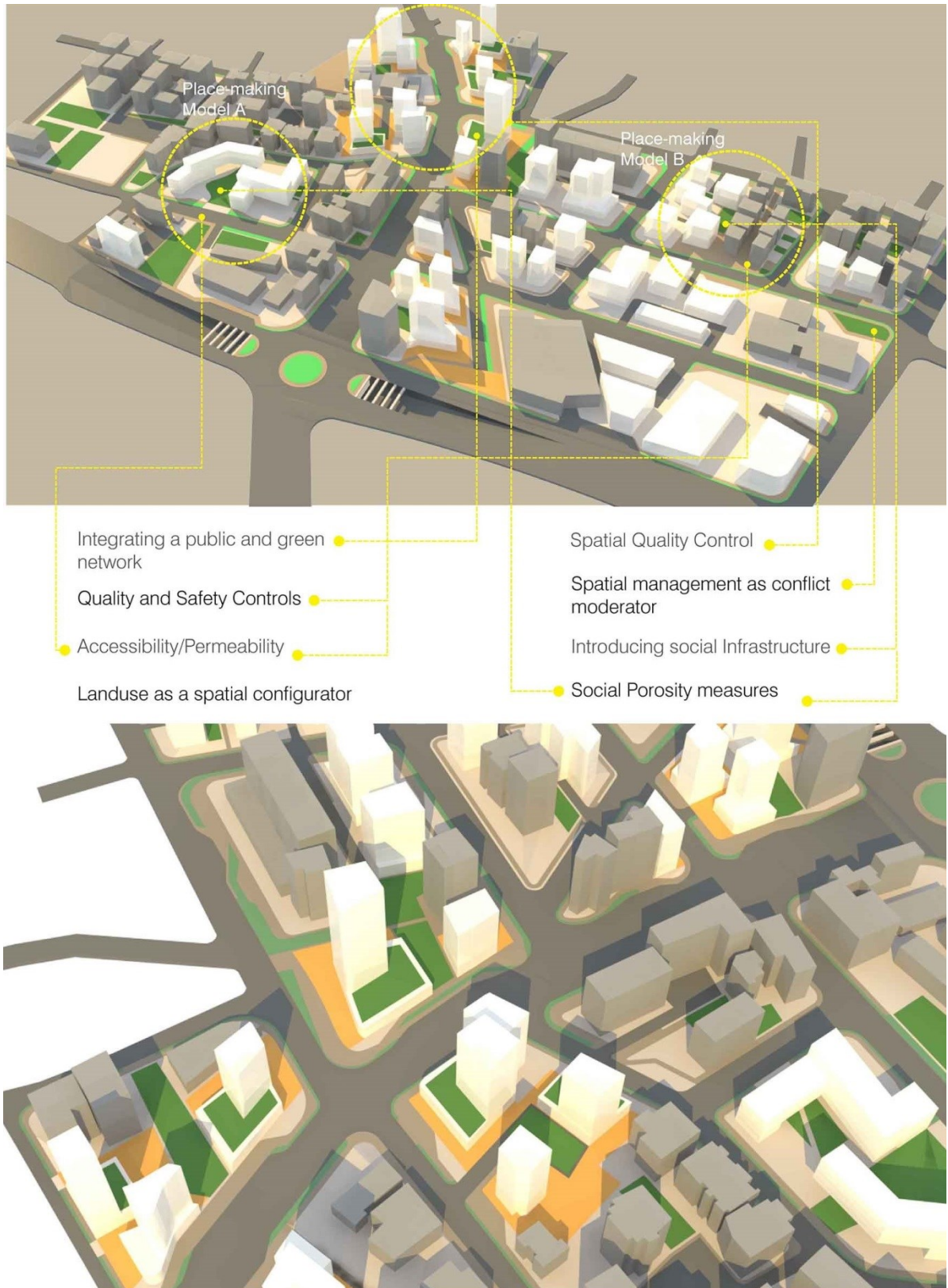
Figure 58: Simulated built environment showing provided objectives. (Author, 2020)
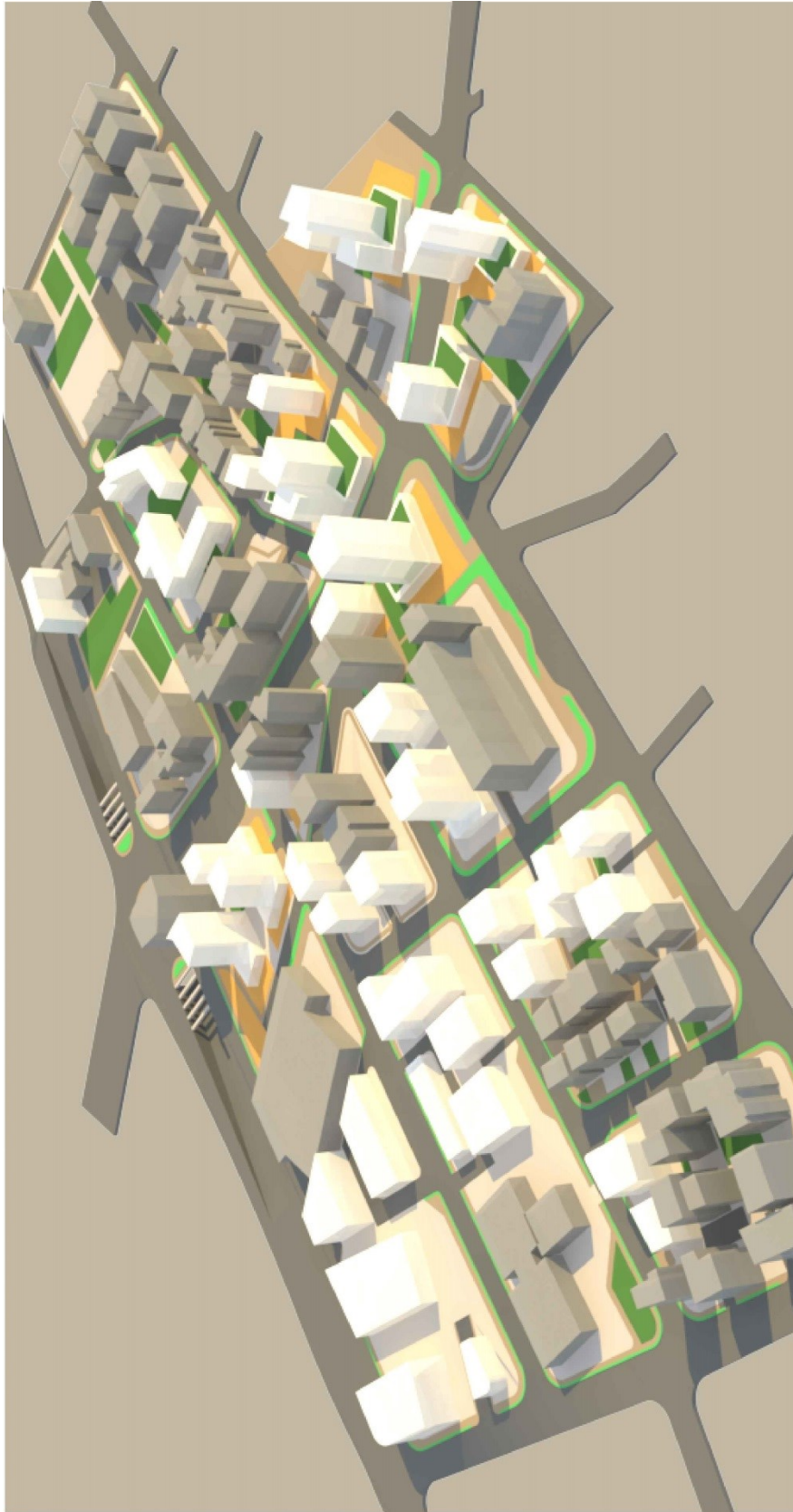
Figure 59: Simulated environment in the intervention area.

5.6. Place-making Models: Land-pooling, re-parcellation and infill blocks

Highlighting two types of residential blocks, I chose to focus on Model A as a social housing model, and Model B for a proposed residential block. By focusing on the goals discussed in the analysis of the strategy's elements, I show how the different objectives bring to life the open space treatments, accessibility, and simulated development at block and lot scale.
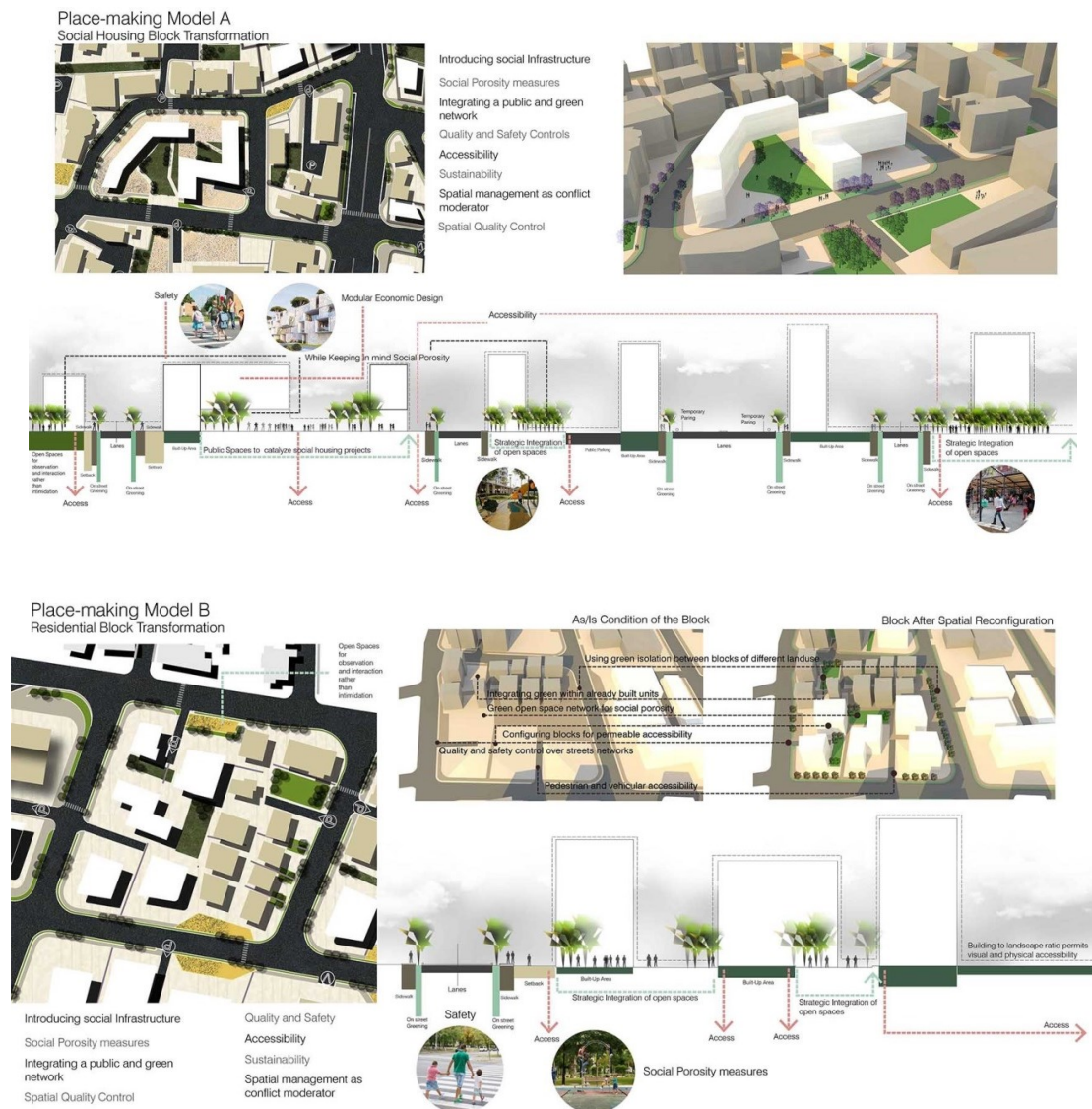
Figure 60: Diagram showing the two developed place making models on both sides of the intervention area, model (A) to the west and model (B) to the east of Old Saida Road. (Author, 2020)

5.6.1. Place-making Model A: Social Housing Block Transformation
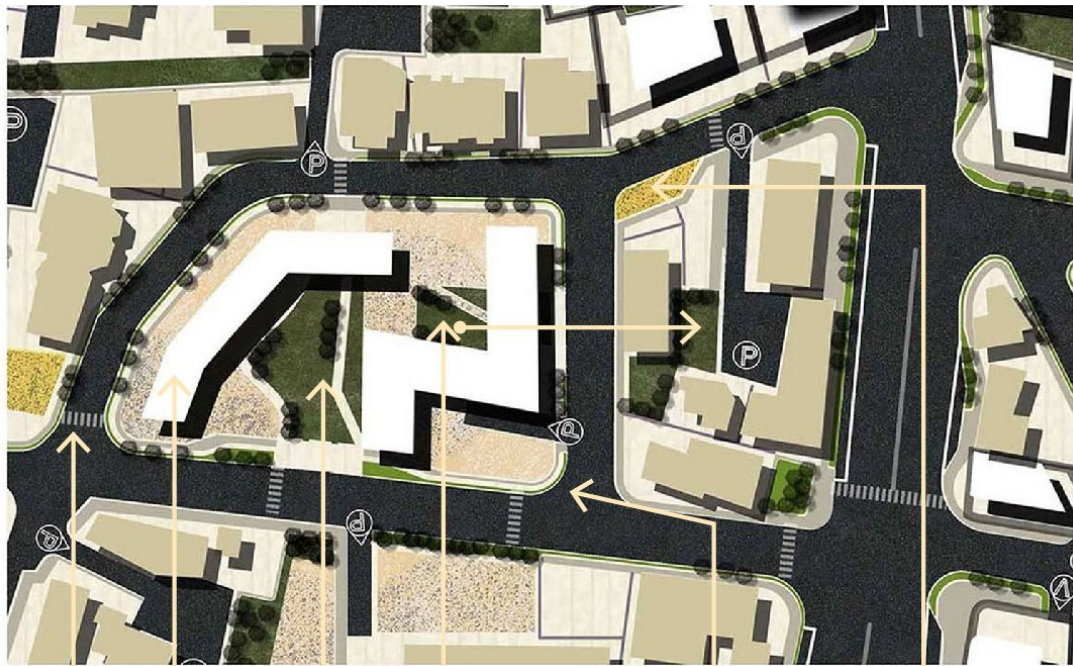
Safe and Accessible Environment

Landpooling and resubdivision used to form a social housing block

Green and Public networks as for spatial management Social Porosity measures

Development guidelines serving a sustainable and permeable enviroment

Studied pedestrian and vehicular accessibility

Spatial management as a conflict moderator

Figure 61: Master plan and 3D model of the social housing transformation, model (A), on the land owned by Maronite Church, showing the place making actions on the built environment. (Author, 2020)

Figure 62: Explanatory sections of place making model (A). (Author, 2020)
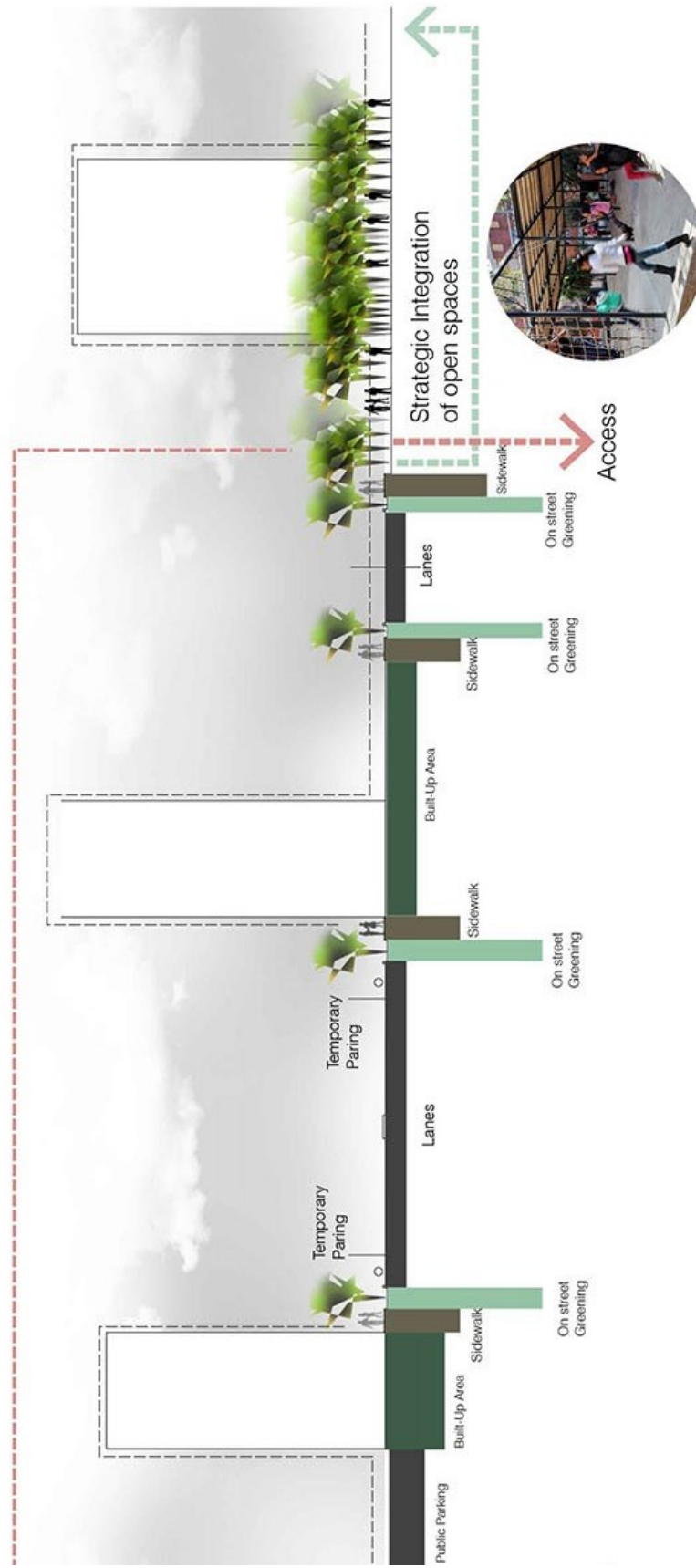
Figure 63: Explanatory sections of place making model (A). (Author, 2020)

5.6.2. Place-making Model B: Residential Block Transformation

Open Spaces for observation and interaction rather than intimidation

Safe and Accessible Environment

Green and Public networks as for spatial management

Development guidelines serving a sustainable and permeable enviroment

Spatial management as a conflict moderator

Social Porosity measures

Studied pedestrian and vehicular accessibility
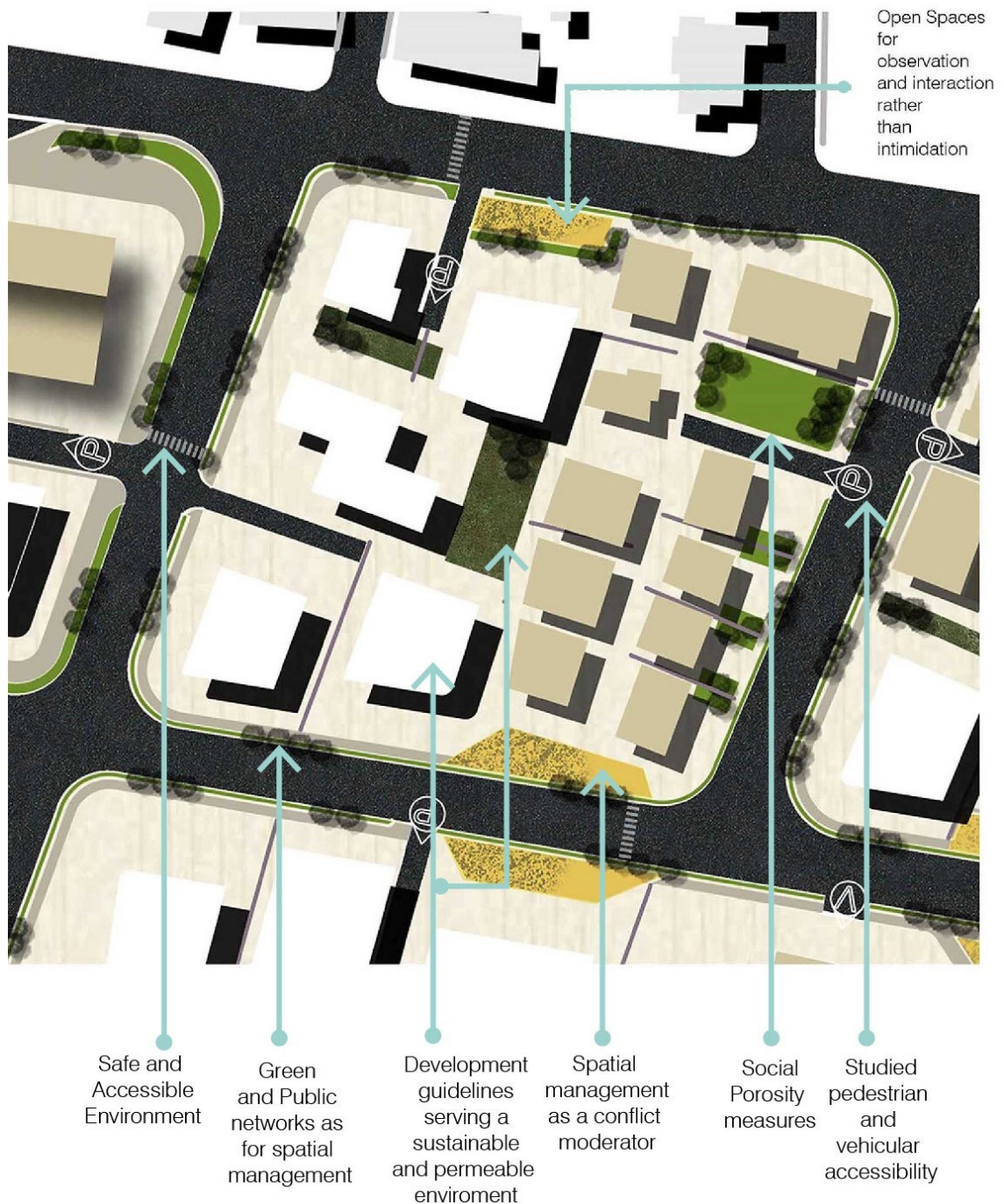
Figure 64: Master Plan of the residential block transformation, model (B) showing place making actions done on the lot and block levels. (Author, 2020)

Block After Spatial Reconfiguration

As/Is Condition of the Block

Using green isolation between blocks of different landuse

Integrating green within already built units

Green open space network for social porosity

Configuring blocks for permeable accessibility

Quality and safety control over streets networks

Pedestrian and vehicular accessibility

Building to landscape ratio permits visual and physical accessibility

Access

Strategic Integration of open spaces

Access

Built-Up Area

Access

Built-Up Area

Strategic Integration of open spaces

Access

Social Porosity measures

Setback

Sidewalk

On street Greening

Lanes

Safety

On street Greening

Sidewalk

Figure 65: Explanatory sections and 3d simulations of place making model (B).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis investigated sectarian borders as Limbo Land through analyzing Old Saida Road's manifested identities, interpreting its evolution from a sectarian demarcation line into a fluid border zone serving as an economic exchange thoroughfare between two interfacing communities. A focus on the different dynamics dictating the paralysis of Old Saida Road's southern segment reveals overlapping sectarian land ownership and contested spatial management, responsible for this state of 'Limbo.'

After analyzing the 'segregative/integrative' approaches to post-conflict sectarian borders through various examples, there seems to be a disregard for 'fluid approaches' where borders can grow into resilient spatial manifestations 'both' integrative and segregativ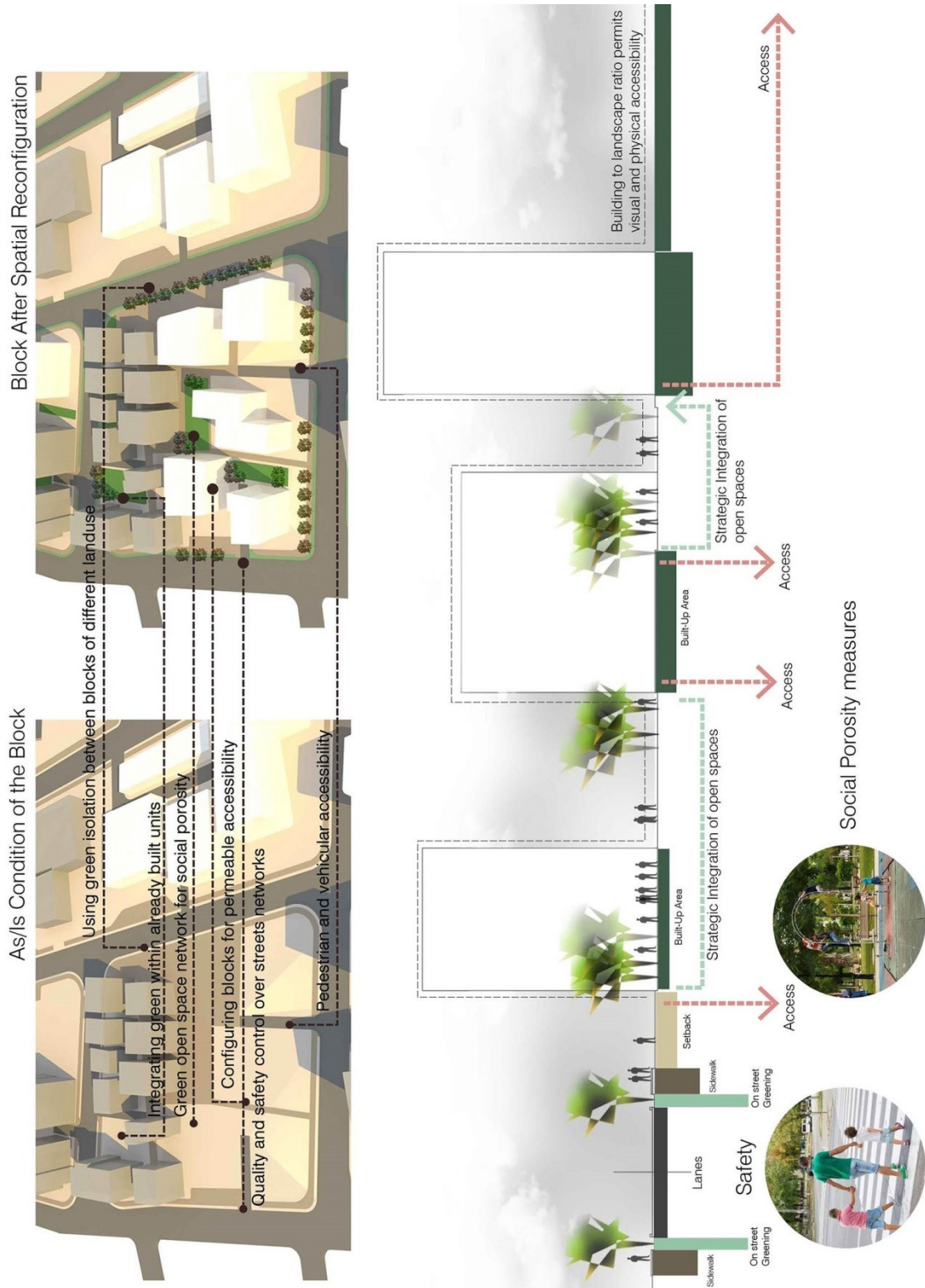e. Dealing with 'Limbo' land added new perceptual dimensions to analyzing the issue of contestation. I could not disregard the reality of ownership and contested management/control practices shaping this spatial territorialization, for it is a delicate yet interesting issue that dictates the design process.

Therefore, this thesis was set to devise place-making revitalization strategies that deal with sectarian border zones as dual spaces of segregation and integration to be reinforced, negotiated, and '. Mediation helped bring negotiation on urban design schemes through strengthening the importance of stakeholder efforts and hierarchal contributions. Building a temporal framework shaped the resiliency of the border zone by recognizing its natural growth and devising a set of strategies that enhance this growth and develop into a fluid environment with time.

The spatial-temporal framework emphasized the open spaces' catalytic importance in driving the scenarios of the vehicular accessibility and development schemes. I used the two offered planning tools and reconfigured how they functioned at

the city, district, and block/lot scales. This helps build a scenario that completely fluidifies the short term open space and accessibility framework at the city/district scale, to catalyze a block/lot scale framework that further enhances the long term development of the built and social fabric. Within this framework, I aim to interact with the various identities: socio-economic identity, perceived (sectarian identity), and spatial (territorialized identity), to connect the three proposed spatial-temporal schemes to the fabric they represent. The proposal aims to encourage the socio-economic identity over the sectarian identity through reconfiguring the process of resilient growth and mediating negotiated realities to form various scenarios and systematically involve suitable stakeholders.

Ownership and spatial management issues dictated my adoption of a composite framework that combines planning and design approaches to mediate the proposed strategy. An important aspect to emphasize is the complex relationship between renters and tenants of different religious groups, and the reforms adopted by the Maronite Wakf and the Chiyah municipality to hinder land/property transactions between Muslim and Christians. For further investigation, I propose negotiating a leasing system carried out by the municipality and Maronite Wakf, involving various Shiite participants, to create a transaction model. The model can negotiate different case-specific leasing criteria, including scenarios such as:

1. A contract for permitting development by Muslims on Christian property where a dual ownership method can be adopted: Muslims rent the property they developed (through long term leases) whereas Christians own land, and can buy the property from Muslims once the lease duration is over.

2. A contract for municipal expropriation of sections of the area, mediating land vs. property ownership between Christians and Muslims

3. Long term leases permitting Muslims to own developed property under the conditions of developing better spatial qualities for catalyzing development

4. Allocating private land where Muslims can rent future developed houses through short and long term contracts (preferably proposed residential neighborhoods)

Although the mediated framework was proposed along the southern segment of the Old Saida Road, what validate its replicability are the phasing scenarios designed to negotiate alternate solutions that follow the given dynamics of the area. Hence, the changing dynamics due to the various identities of space can customize mediated scenarios to catalyze different realities and transform it based on its immediate and city wide context dynamics. And the complete fluidification of the three proposed schemes can encompass variations in case-specific catalyzing actions based on their context. One example is the various types of open spaces offered to suit different spatial realities in the scheme, encompassing nx(scenarios) based on the diagnosis of other areas. Another example is the neutralized commercial strip proposed at the edges of the Old Saida Road, and can be extended along the rest of the Road Edges due to its targeted city scale functions.

Developing rigid schemes and assertive design strategies that disregard the spatial diversity of sectarian border zones, while delimiting its resilient growth, should be replaced with flexible mediating urban design approaches that recognize this resilient spatial identity.

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