AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

FROM URBAN SPRAWL TO AN URBAN QUARTER: AL-HOSH (1997-2019) AS CASE STUDY.

by
NOURA CHAWKI MADI

A thesis
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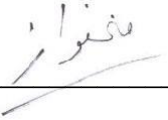
for 

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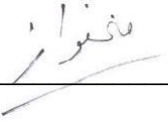
for 

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ABSTRACT
OF THE THESIS OF

Noura Chawki Madi for Master of Urban Planning and Policy
Major: Urban Planning and Policy

Title: From Urban Sprawl to an Urban Quarter: Al-Hosh (1997-2019) as a Case Study.

This thesis seeks to investigate the possible transformation of the area of Al-Hosh (Tyre Caza, Lebanon) from an undefined sprawl extending over the jurisdiction of two towns (Ain Baal and Burj El-Chemali) to a consolidated suburban district with an integrated jurisdiction and a clear identity. To this end, the thesis begins by tracing the factors that led to the formation of an early suburban sprawl that hosted families from the nearby city of Tyre as well as Ain Baal and Burj El-Chemali. The thesis traces the historical development of the area and profiles its current physical and social conditions. In order to understand better the drivers behind this sprawl, the research further profiled 14 developers who have worked in the area. The thesis found that the neighborhood's role has shifted over the past 20 years, going from the area where illegal dense "spill over" is possible to the attractive and quiet area for suburban villas and finally the zone attracting commercial developments that respond primarily to the investment needs of well-off Lebanese Shiaa working in Africa and looking to place their money in real estate. Constantly, the area has acquired a relatively high rate of vacancy (30-40%) and changed the quality of its buildings.

In order to counter the ongoing trend and avoid additional spill over development over agricultural areas, the thesis proposes an integrated strategic planning framework that can bring on board the critical actors behind the development of this area (i.e., developers) while protecting the environment and preventing additional spill overs.

The thesis is based on detailed fieldwork and interviews in Al-Hosh that I conducted in Fall 2020/Winter 2021.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

What drives urban growth in Lebanon's secondary cities? What regulates it? The neighborhood of Al-Hosh has grown outside the city of Tyre in South Lebanon as an unplanned, developer driven, relatively large cluster of building development. It has sprawled over agricultural land, along the main road leading to the nearby village of Qana and beyond. Over time, Al-Hosh has become an area of its own. Bridging across two localities, the residential area is well-known to its residents and beyond. Yet, the area is hardly a "neighborhood": It lacks any amenities that structure its development. The road network is disjointed and only a few sidewalks line up on the edge of its streets. It appears that while developers and residents alike recognize Al-Hosh as an area, there is no framework to coordinate and plan its development and maintenance. How did this happen? Who are the actors behind the area's development? And what was the role of planners and planning in it? Most importantly, what can we as city planners do to regenerate a coherence to this and other neighborhoods that have developed as sprawling residential areas?

Al-Hosh is one of many similar clusters in Lebanon. Indeed, throughout the country, urban growth is expanding over agricultural lands, ecologically protected zones, and archeological sites, causing major losses to the country's economy and society. In the city of Tyre, in South Lebanon, a sprawling urbanization in the city's vicinities has eaten up green areas and amounted to large new urban development without appropriate services.

Areas like Al-Hosh are typically studied as "sprawl", the rapid growth of the geographic expansion of cities (Osman et al, 2016). It is the unplanned, uncontrolled

low-density building development that stretches across numerous peri-urban landscapes. Scholars frequently deplore the negative environmental, social, and economic impacts of this form of growth. Yet, many take growth for granted and do not investigate the reasons that drive it. This thesis focuses on one of the drivers of sprawl, the building industry. It does so by taking as a case study the area of Al-Hosh in the Caza of Tyre, the urban sub-divisions in the two towns of Ain Baal and Burj El-Chemali (Figure 1). The area of Al-Hosh develops at a distance from the core of both towns, absorbing populations from the two areas and increasingly from other villages. In the words of one of its main developers, Al-Hosh lacks "its own people" or, in Arabic, "ما في شي اسمو انا ابن الحوش"[1].

The thesis intended to: (1) Document a typical suburban sprawl in the vicinities of one of Lebanon's secondary cities; (2) Understand what drove this urbanization (residents, developers, interests); (3) Propose an approach to contain sprawl and reorganize the area into a well-defined residential neighborhood that responds to the needs of its multiple residents.

[1] Interview conducted with Issa on 24/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call

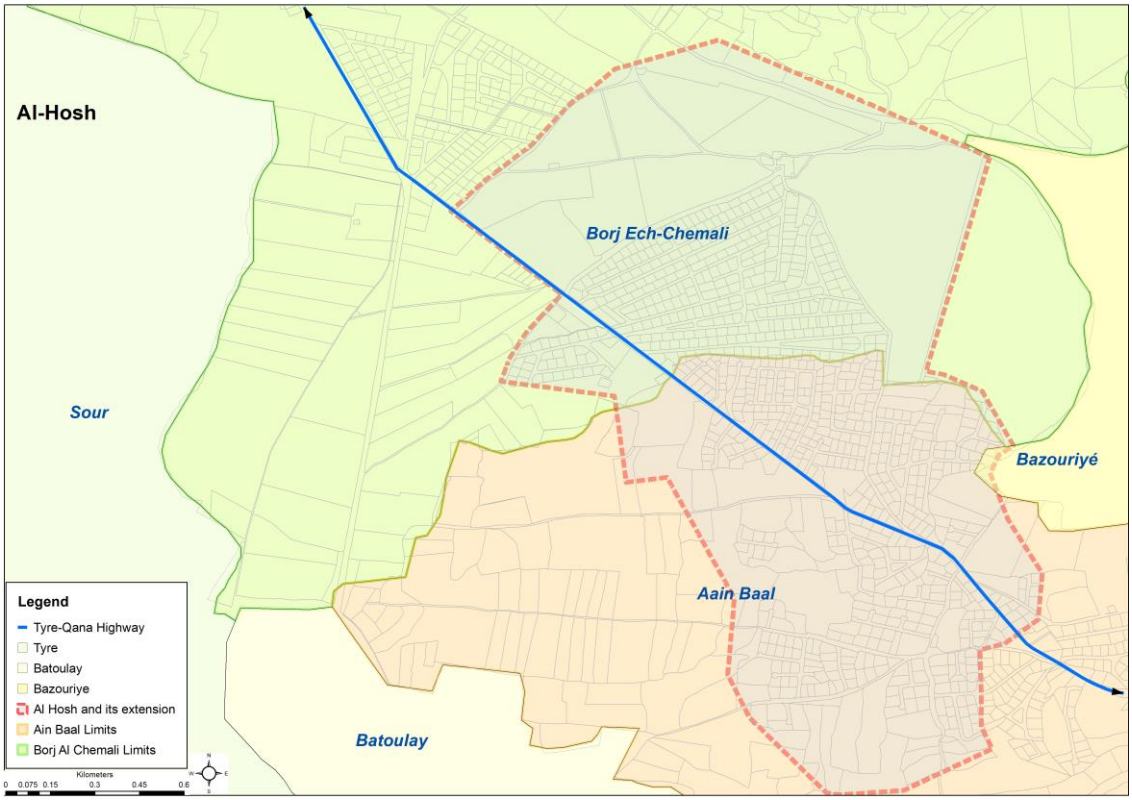

Figure 1: Al-Hosh
Source: Author (2021), Based on the DGU (2020)

A. Research Question

The thesis raises the following questions: What are the driving forces behind the expansion of the built environment in the two localities of Ain Baal and Burj El-Chemali – known as Al Hosh- over the past twenty years? What are the various forms of building development in the area? What are types of building developments being produced in Al-Hosh and its extension (e.g., villas, multi-story apartment buildings, commercial buildings)? What incentivizes people to build them? To what extent are these new developments occupied? To what needs to they respond? Who are the actors involved in guiding this growth? What is the profile of the builders? What is encouraging these developers to build? What role have planning regulations played in the process? What are the effects of changes in building regulations such as zoning and

building law on these building practices? What form does this urbanization take? How can planners regulate the area now to consolidate it into a viable and well-defined area that shifts from urban sprawl to a long-term, well-planned zone?

I am particularly interested in the production of the built environment in and around the city over the past twenty years. This thesis explores the drivers of this growth, the profiles of builders, and the organization of the building industry in the urban sub-divisions.

B. Argument

This study shows that the area of Al-Hosh, which started during the Lebanese civil war as an urban sprawl along the main Tyre-Qana Road, has gradually displayed the elements of a suburban district. Yet, the area still lacks critical amenities, and no planning regulations contain or orient its growth, leaving the risk of additional sprawl over agricultural area very high.

This thesis argues the following:

1. As it stands, Al-Hosh is poised to develop in the form of sprawl where developers look for low-cost areas to expand an erratic development that it unregulated by the planning framework;
2. In its current development form, developers play a critical role in the urban development of Al-Hosh:
    i. They define and orient the areas of future urban development
    ii. They influence the regulatory framework
    iii. They channel funding for building development

iv. They build housing units that respond to the needs of capital investments, current and future residents, but in disregard to the cost of servicing and/or the environmental costs of building.

As such, developers emerge as powerful agents who should be engaged in the planning process, together with local municipal authorities and planning agencies to shift the sprawl into a well-defined suburban entity.

C. Significance

The thesis significance lies in the following:

i. As a form of urban development, suburban sprawl is a serious problem in Lebanon's cities: it threatens the environment, undermines the possibility of adequate urban servicing, and exposes residents to lengthy and undue commutes. As such, it is imperative to understand why this form of development has been dominant in Lebanon in order to respond to it;

ii. Most research on urban development in Lebanon is focused on Beirut. By focusing on the suburbs of Tyre, the city brings a direly needed focus on a secondary Lebanese city.

D. Case Study Selection

I chose to work in the Caza of Tyre for two main reasons. Firstly, my familiarity with the Caza of Tyre encouraged me to take this area as a case study. Secondly, within the Caza of Tyre, I identified the most urbanized areas and zoomed in on the area of Al-Hosh as a representative as such urbanization.

More specifically, I traced the number of building permits filed at the Directorate General of Urbanism (DGU) in Tyre between 1997 and 2020 to track the distribution of permits across localities over the years. To select Al-Hosh among other cases, I mapped all building permits during the 1997-2019 period for the Caza of Tyre based on a dataset I obtained from the Directorate General of Urbanism in the area. Then, I identified the localities where the highest number of buildings were developed during these decades (in dark red on the graph). Finally, I zoomed down on Al-Hosh as a typical example of an area spanning across two districts (Ain Baal and Burj El-Chemali). I flesh out this approach thoroughly in the methodology section.

E. Methodology

This section of my thesis lists sources, tools, and techniques on which my research work relies. This method will justify the topic, answer the research questions, and prove the hypothesis (Farthing, 2016). I produced intellectual data, which includes theoretical and empirical knowledge. This will be achieved through compiling evidence. According to Gillham (2000), evidence is the backbone of a research. He also considers triangulating evidence is important, it intertwines various sources of the collected data (Gillham, 2000, p.13).

To answer my research question, I followed the method created by the Beirut Urban Lab (BUL). I approached Al-Hosh as a case study and mapped all building activities, inquiring about the profile of builders, the incentives for these developers to build. More specifically, the following steps were conducted:

1. Available Data

I began by consolidating a single list of all building development permits filed in the Directorate General of Urbanism (DGU) in Tyre between 1997 and 2019, which are considered as primary dataset. I identified areas and developments based on the Excel database and where most of the growth has happened to target them as case studies for my thesis. To this end, I geo-referenced every lot and placed it on the map of the district, using the Geographic Information System (GIS) technological tool. This shows earlier development area in green reaching the recent ones in red (Figure 2). This analysis showed that buildings activities were mostly concentrated in the nearby districts of (i) Burj El-Chemali and (ii) Ain Baal districts (Al-Hosh).

2. Fieldwork and Observation

To map all the buildings on site, firstly, I prepared two things: a survey using Survey 123 and I geo-referenced all the building permits via Collector (Figure 3).

Secondly, I mapped all buildings directly by visiting the site, classifying them by building type (e.g., villa, building), period of development (based on style), usage (vacant/used), and the use of solar panels. Whenever available, I documented the name of the building developer. The names were typically posted on signs near buildings. More specifically, the data collected directly on site are list below:

i. Identify building typologies through direct survey, classifying each building according to its typology: villas, apartment building, family building, residential, commercial, malls, mixed-use, etc.

ii. Vacancy/Use: How often is the apartment/home used (permanent, seasonal, weekend, never).

iii. To document green and any energy-efficient usages in buildings, such as solar energy, etc.

The fieldwork and observation took me around three full months of the 2020-2021 fall semester, where I ended-up by surveying 378 building permits on-site. I was able to visit all the buildings from outside, it was difficult to visit some areas in detail due to restrictions by political parties and to COVID-19. During my fieldwork, particularly I faced various security constraints posed by members of local political parties who sometimes prevented me from entering areas. Consequently, I was unable to enter all districts and many buildings in the area remained out of reach.

3. Interviews

This phase of data collection and analysis relied on open-ended and semi-structured interviews[i], since they are mostly done with experts with few open-ended questions and listed information, via formal and scheduled meetings (Gillham, 2000). To conduct interviews with the developers, I applied for the Institutional Review Boards (IRB) exemption. After submitting all the documents needed and reviewing them twice, I got the approval around two months later.

My thesis consists only of the qualitative part of the analysis where I interviewed developers. Developers are identified based on mapping the dataset obtained from the DGU in Tyre. Since the name of the developers is readily available on public records and their phone numbers are available on the

construction sites, I directly called the respondents and inquire whether they are willing to answer my questions for my thesis. If they are willing to respond to my questions, I asked for their email to send them the consent form and schedule an interview at their convenience. Given the COVID-19 crisis, the interviews were held over the phone – WhatsApp calls, where I interviewed 14 real-estate developers. The purpose of these interviews was to understand why these developers were driven to the building industry, what they were doing before, the effects of the changes in regulations on their practices, and the modes and channels through which they manage their business.

4. Analysis

As for this step, all the collected data underwent synthetic and experimented analysis. I analyzed these building developments, through the following two entry points:

Firstly, understanding development in relation to regulations. Here, I looked at the changes in building typologies and scales in relation to urban and building regulations.

Secondly, profiling the developers who control these building regulations to understand the incentives for penetrating the industry, the facilities, and the difficulties they face. I approached well-known developers whose names are listed on the construction site and/or recognized widely in the district. More specifically, I went in-depth in the analysis of developers who are producing homes commercially in the two studied districts. I profiled these developers, focusing on commercial developments, meaning residential buildings developed to be sold and profile the

companies that built them: are they professional or not? Or are they businessmen who are reinvesting? I also seek to understand sources of the money and the financing from existing data and interviews, such as are their bank loans? Or are they using the pre-sales principle?

Thirdly, I translated the compiled data into quantitative and qualitative analysis:

i. Quantitative Analysis:

   I formulated tabulations and graphs via Excel sheets of the inferential relations between Al-Hosh with respect to time (since 1997) and the number of permits that have been taken in these districts. I used GIS to represent the original data in maps and to analyze the spatial built environment dynamics, particularly urban sprawl in Al-Hosh.

ii. Qualitative Analysis:

   I generated analysis from the conducted interviews and from on-site observations. I classified the collected data and link it to my concepts in the literature review.

In this phase, I was able to derive what I have learned about the built environment in the Caza of Tyre, particularly in Al Hosh: who is building, what is constructed, what drives urban sprawl, among them. This allowed me to produce findings and recommendations. More specifically, I developed recommendations for the planning of the area in consultation with the developers

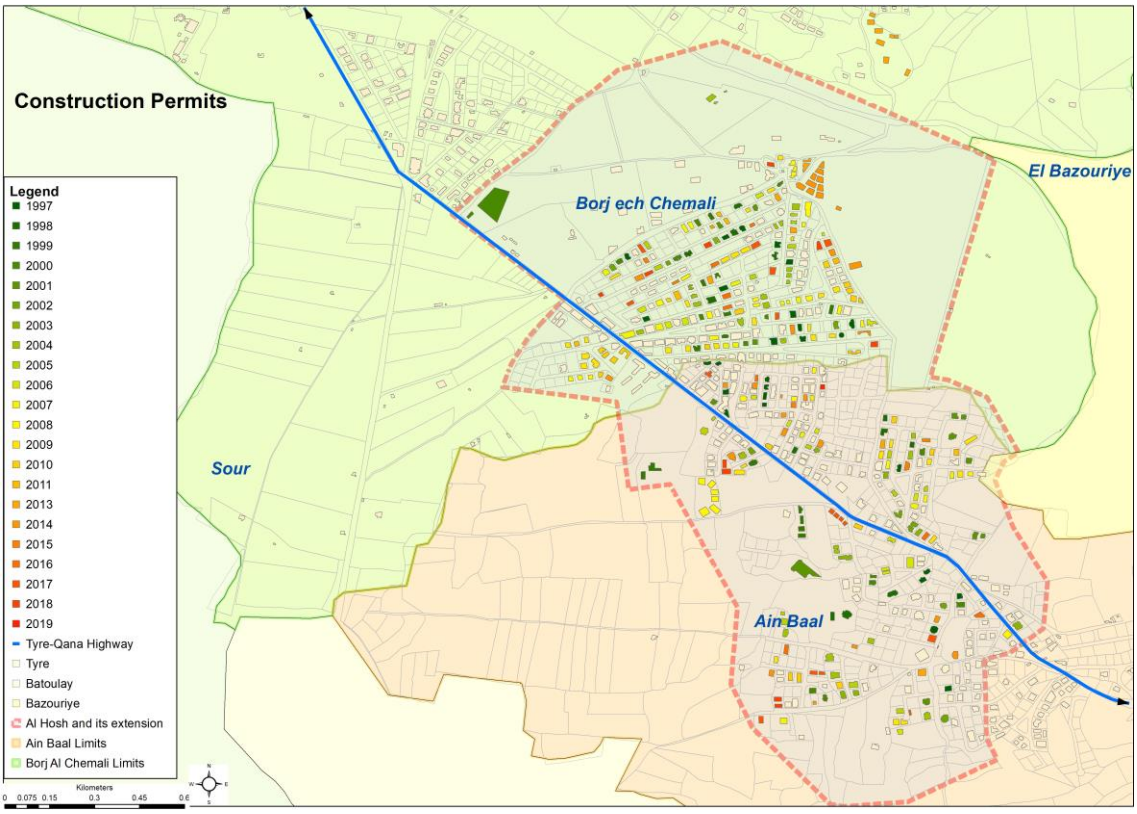

Figure 2: The Construction Building Permits from the DGU (1997-2019)
Source: Author (2021), Based on the DGU (2020)

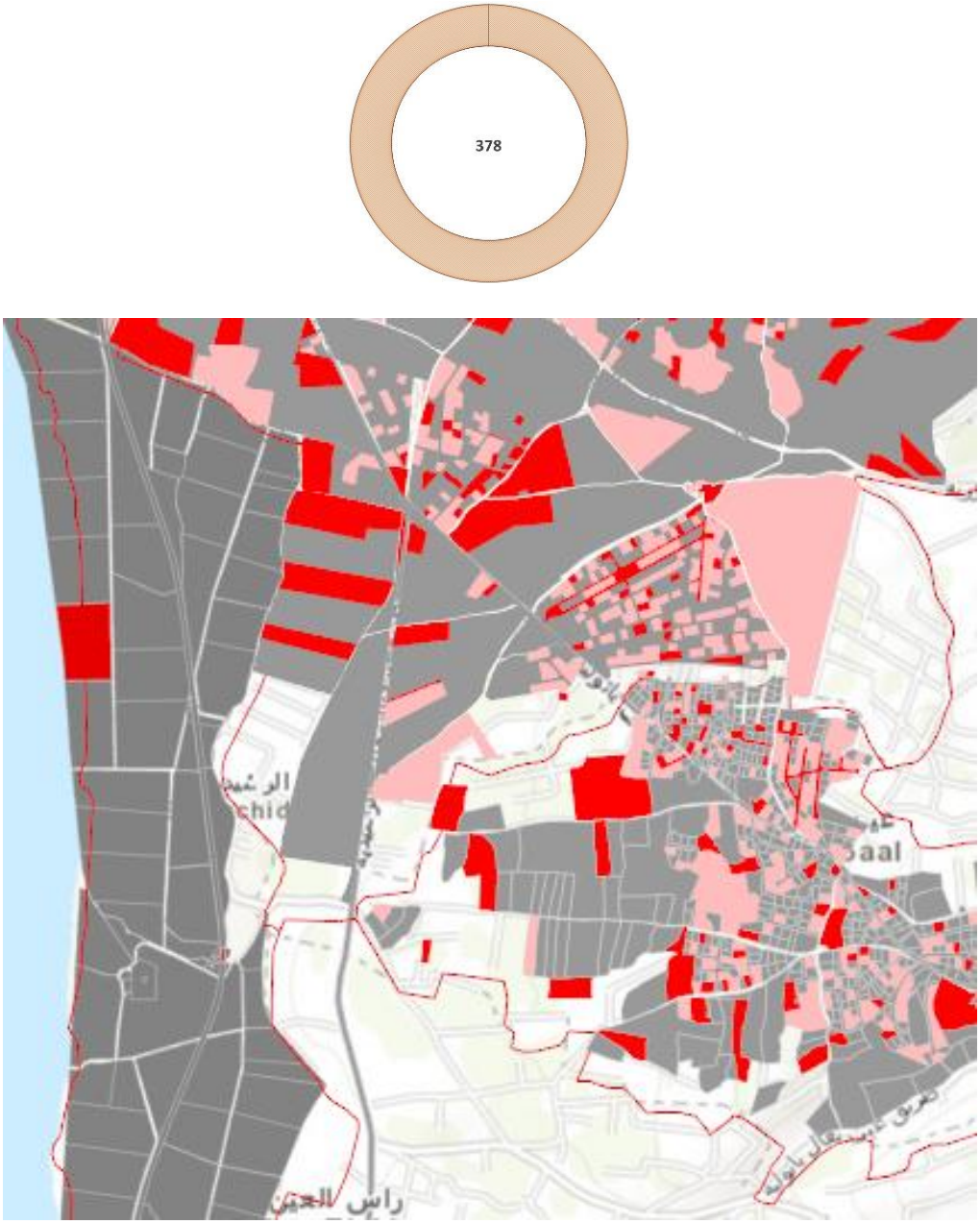

Figure 3: All building permits via Collector
Source: Author (2021), Based on the DGU (2020)

F. Limitations

This section of the thesis outlines the limitations faced throughout my research study.

During my work on this thesis, several factors delayed my research and prevented me from collecting all the data I was hoping to gather, which are the following:

The first factor is related to the COVID-19 pandemic that has disrupted the lives of millions of people in the world. Quarantine and the increase of cases hindered the data collection process of my research. It was difficult for me in the fieldwork to knock on doors and chat with residents and guards. Hence, the interviews were conducted through an online profiling method, over the phone – WhatsApp calls. Although it was easier for me to conduct interviews over the phone, where I reached out to the interviewees through social networks related to my family; however, I had hoped to conduct face-to-face interviews with developers working in Al-Hosh. Even though I was allowed to gather the data, yet COVID-19 limited my work. I spent more time on data collection than anticipated, and I interviewed a smaller number of participants than what I ideality expected. The second factor that I should raise in my limitations is the presence of the political parties during my fieldwork. It was difficult for me to determine exact numbers since access to the field was limited as Hezbollah political members were watching their security areas from outsiders. Finally, the third factor is the Beirut blast of August 4th, 2020. This factor limited me from working on my thesis for around a month and a half after it. I was emotionally and physically affected since I was present near the port at the time of the explosion.

G. Thesis Structure

The thesis is divided into six main chapters. Chapter one introduces the research statement that includes the problem statement, the research question, the hypothesis, the significance, and the case study selection, as well as the methodology of the thesis and the limitations I faced during my study.

Chapter two presents the literature review. This chapter includes the definition, the forms, the threats, and the driving forces of urban sprawl. Then the chapter introduces also the notions of suburbs and building growth machine that are useful to my thesis framing.

Chapter three profiles the case study of Al-Hosh. This chapter includes a brief introduction of Al-Hosh, the context of the area in the Caza of Tyre, then the six periods of developments in Al-Hosh. The chapter then profiles the area of Al-Hosh, including residents, governance, urban developments, building typologies, and the developments in neighborhoods, as well as why has the transformation occurred. Finally, the chapter concludes what have I learned from the case profile of Al-Hosh.

Chapter four profiles the developers. This chapter starts with profiling the developers, including their social profile, family origin, education, and their other work. The chapter also profiles the mode of operation of the developers, including where do they build, how do they work, their access to lands, and how do they find clients. The chapter also reports the proposals made by the 14 interviewed developers, including reviewing urban regulations, public facilities, supervisions, and public policy in the form of loans in the market. The chapter lays out the possibilities proposed by the developers and the limitations of relying on them alone for thinking through planning Al-Hosh. Finally, the chapter concludes what I have learned.

Chapter five investigates the place of urban planning in this development. The chapter introduces existing urban regulations, including lot subdivision, master planning, zones and regulations, and finally the chapter reports the understanding of the public regulations.

Chapter six presents the thesis conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents the literature review of my study. The literature review covers three themes that come together to explain the way I have approached the study of Al-Hosh. The first section profiles urban sprawl, allowing me to derive the dangers posed by uncontrolled development and to justify the need to study and plan the area. The second section introduces suburbs, a framework that helped me classify and understand the development of Al-Hosh, from an unplanned sprawl to a relatively consolidated suburb that can be planned as a coherent suburban neighborhood. Finally, the third section profiles developers and the growth machine which allowed me to look at the role of the main drivers behind this development, developers who derive profit from this process.

A. Urban sprawl

This section of the chapter profiles the urban sprawl, focusing on its definition, forms, threats, and driving forces.

1. What is Urban Sprawl?

The concept of urban sprawl was first coined by Earle Draper, one of the first chief city planners in the United States. Draper introduced the term “sprawl” in 1937 to point to the uncontrolled development of cities in ways that harmed their surrounding environments (Nechyba & Walsh, 2004). Since then, concern about sprawl has gone

worldwide, with case studies taken from numerous contexts around the globe (Christiansen & Loftsgarden, 2011).

In the Middle East, sprawl has been a concern of researcher for decades. As early as 1997, for example, Bonine lamented the impact of uncontrolled urban development over agricultural land and desertification. This is also the case in Lebanon where urban development has been sprawling vertically and horizontally across all cities, without urban planning strategies.

2. Why is Urban Sprawl Harmful?

Several scholars have pointed to multiple negative impacts to urban sprawl that are related to the following:

1. Gluttonous developments:

   This form of sprawl is related to the de-facto modification of zoning, whereby building development takes over other forms of land uses, particularly agricultural lands but also forests, etc. (Peiser, 2001).

2. Monotonous building industries:

   This form of sprawl threatens landscapes by creating monotonous, repetitive developments with varying densities over large landscapes (Peiser, 2001).

3. Inefficient services:

   Sprawl generates inefficiencies in the provision of infrastructure and open spaces because of its low densities leading to an enormous increase in the costs of their provision (Peiser 2001).

4. Environmental degradation and health problems:

Sprawl amplifies noise and air pollution, but also soil erosion, water table contamination, etc.[2] (Nechyba & Walsh, 2004).

In sum, the threats caused by the urban sprawl are gluttonous and monotonous developments, inefficient services, environmental degradation, and health problems. Nowadays, in 2021, where all sectors are collapsed in Lebanon.

3. Driving Forces

The literature identifies several driving forces that generate urban sprawl. According to Tiebou's (1956), these forces can fall under two categories: pull and push factors.[3] Furthermore, these forces in the literature identifies four factors of urban sprawl:

1. Economic factors:

   Sprawl is driven by the search for affordable land prices, developers choose to invest in cheap land, which is often agricultural lands, even if this harms agriculture but they are not made to carry the costs of ruining agricultural land (Christiansen & Loftsgarden, 2011, adopted from Dieleman & Wegener, 2004).[4]

2. Social factors:

   Sprawl may be driven by housing preferences, when certain types of housing typologies (e.g., the individual homes in the United States, the typology of stores

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[2] This leads to the emission of toxic chemicals, such as monoxide that effects especially people who suffer from cardiovascular diseases.

[3] Pull are forces that attract people to build and/or live-in suburbs because of the attraction of these areas and the amenities they have, such as public goods and facilities. In contrast, push factors are forces pushing away people from the city, like pollution (Christiansen & Loftsgarden, 2011).

[4] They may also be driven by rising economic activities in the suburbs, such as work opportunities in the industries located in the area.

along main roads in Lebanon) are adopted through a combination of socioeconomic, cultural, and individual factors (Christiansen & Loftsgarden, 2011, adopted from Couch et. al, 2006).[5]

3. Transportation factors:

   Sprawl may be driven by transportation pathways, particularly new roads that facilitate and encourage people to travel as well as to commute between cities from/to nearby vicinities (Christiansen & Loftsgarden, 2011, adopted from Engenbrestsen & Gjerdaker, 2010).

4. Policy and Regulating Framework factors:

   Sprawl may be driven by poor public policy. Particularly ill-designed land-uses' regulations that may leave main areas unplanned and facilitate the expansion of building developments. This is attained through using major incentives, modification in regulations of the zoning of areas, and un-planned large expansion of building developments (Christiansen and Loftsgarden, 2011, adopted from Tennoy, 2009, and Couch and Karecha, 2006).

In sum, urban sprawl is a global challenge which is driven by interconnected forces at different levels. [6] This thesis will specifically look at the building industry as a driver for this growth in suburbs. So, I am not studying these factors, what I am interested about is how do these all four factors have affected the development of sprawl in my case study.

[5] These forces often encourage people to move to suburbs where homes are more affordable, spaces greener, and eventually a more desirable lifestyle is depicted.
[6] Among those, the building industry is a critical force.

B. Suburbs and peripheries

This section of the chapter introduces the forms of developments, focusing on one of them, which is suburbanization.

In this thesis, I follow Christiansen & Loftsgarden (2011) typology to identify the four forms of developments (as adopted from Antrop, 2004), which are the listed below, focusing on one of them:

1. Suburbanization: the city center is losing population, yet nearby districts are growing in population.
2. Urbanization: Building development reflects a trend in population movements moving from the suburbs to the city center.
3. Dis-urbanization: the growth of the population is decreasing in all areas.
4. Re-urbanization: the growth is occurring in the city center and then spreads to the nearby vicinities.

Next, I will profile suburbs or suburbanization, since it is often associated with sprawl: suburban development occurs in the peripheries of cities where irregular and uncontrolled development typically occurs. To be sure, suburbanization is not considered a new phenomenon, this category of urban sprawl has been being observed since the early 19th century (De Vidovich, 2019; Keil, 2018). As a terminology, the notion of suburbanization has been used by several researchers and scholars, as the following concepts: (1) "peri-urban" or peri-urbanization" areas to characterize the socio-economic and the physical aspects of the landscape (Berger et al., 2018), (2) "urban fringe" (Allen, 2010) or "edge city" (De Vidovich, 2019 as adopted from Garreau, 1991) or "edgeless city" (De Vidovich, 2019 as adopted from Lang, 2003; Lang and LeFurgy, 2003) to define the continuation of the center of the city with the

urban growth surrounding it, (3) “boomburbs” to describe the rapid flow of urban growth of the city center, reaching its peripheries (De Vidovich, 2019 as adopted from Lang and LeFurgy, 2003, and (4) “technoburb” to classify the reforming of the spaces (De Vidovich, 2019 as adopted from Fishman, 1987).

Many scholars believe that suburbanization and the consequent sprawl are the outcome of the world’s rapidly growing population (Forsyth, 2012 as adopted from UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2010; Clapson and Hutchinson 2010). Others however tend to link suburbanization to the development of economic activities at the core (Allen, 2010). Conversely, suburbanization becomes the residential way of life, causing a major change in the density, morphology, and social composition of residential quarters (Allen, 2010). Such changes, Keil (2017) points out, lead to the formation of gated communities that are built by real-estate companies, shaping ‘veritable islands of wealth in oceans of poverty’ that generate spatial fragmentation (Coy et al., 2017) in many cases. However, on the other hand, other scholars have shown that suburbanization can also be the extension of the city center (Keil, 2018 as adopted from Monte-Mor, 2014 and De Vidovich, 2019 as adopted from Lefebvre, 2003). In addition, they added that suburbanization is the “explosion” of the urbanization of the city. This explosion leads to the development of a connection between the center of the city and its peripheries (Allen, 2010 and Ravetz et al., 2013), making it difficult to distinguish the geographical borders of both the urban and the rural fringes (Allen, 2010 and Keil, 2018).

A third reason proposed for suburban development is the existence of large estates in urban peripheries and the availability of cheap land (Garcia and Jimenez, 1991). Suburbanization nevertheless differs in time and space (De Vidovich, 2019;

Allen, 2010 as adopted from Potter et al., 2004), changing the relationship between people and environment (Allen, 2010 as adopted from Potter et al., 2004), and including the smallest and biggest cities (De Vidovich, 2019). Suburbs don't need to be sheer sprawl; it is possible to replan them as contained development.

Moreover, Ahani and Dadashpoor (2021) and Allen (2017) mention that suburbs share common characteristics resulting from the rapid extensive suburbanization growth. In addition, they stated that the suburbs are characterized by two aspects, which are the following: (1) the modification in land-uses, lack of socio-economic and environmental services, change in land and building prices, inconsistency in the supply, and the demand of the network of the infrastructure; (2) the location of the unwanted activities, such as the landfills and buffer zones. All these common characteristics resulted from the drastic change in the lifestyle of newcomers and dwellers based on their daily needs, including their activities and behaviors.

As I will show in the thesis, suburban sprawl can be consolidated into neighborhood suburbs, or spatial reconcentration, if well planned.

C. The Building Growth Machine

It is important to consider the importance of the built environment within the economy to understand why sprawl happens. Scholars have spoken of a growth machine. With respect to economy, we can point to the following:

The building industry is the secondary circuit of capital circulation in the city (Harvey, 1976). Hence, aside from responding to the actual needs, the development sector is mainly driven by developers' financial interests and desire to make a profit.

This growth machine is complicated by the role of the house as an asset[7], a place to store wealth, which encourages individuals – particularly in contexts of volatile financial conditions- to invest in the development of a personal home (Kusnetzoff, 1990). Exploring the materialization of this process in Beirut, Fawaz et al. (2020) have documented the intertwined nature of the development sector in Lebanon's capital city with the banking sector and the political elite. They showed that building development does not respond to a housing need. This is related to the expansion and to the movement of capital from financial market into land, especially the rural and the peri rural. However, it responds to financial incentives and lucrative opportunities provided by the Central Bank. Fawaz et al. (2020) build in their work on a substantial literature that has explored the materialization of financial circuits across the globe, including Brussels (Romainville, 2017) and other European contexts (Aalbers, 2008). Garcia and Jimenez (1991) mentioned that building on a small area of land minimizes the risk while not thinking of maximizing profit.

Moreover, one of the main entry points of this literature specifically focused on the actors in building a growth machine. Garcia and Jimenez (1991) stated that pivotal agents engaged in the land market. They proposed to look at the changing roles of developers as key actors who invest their money in building developments and land and facilitate the shift of land to real-estate. Several researchers and scholars have the spotlight on actors involved in the process of the production of urban growth in cities. Actors and/or institutions play a crucial role in the urban production process, market activity (Jones and Ward, 1994), and city growth (Garcia and Jimenez, 1991). One of

[7] (Koenigsberger, 1986; Milanovich, 2001; Buckley & Kalarickal, 2006)

these actors are developers, also defined as promoters (Garcia and Jimenez, 1991 as adopted from Topalov, 1975 and 1979) involved in the land and housing market. The promoter is a "social agent" who is engaged in the capital. Developers/promoters are key actors who invest their money in building developments on lands, afterward gain profit either directly from homebuyers or banks (Topalov, 1975). Furthermore, Zhang (2011) mentioned that the dense social connections of developers strengthen the real estate market activity.

In my thesis, I hope to extend this work further, by unraveling the specific drivers surrounding the production of space in the context of South Lebanon where these circuits of financing are tied to local interests but are also the trajectories of global migration that connects this part of the country to the African (Arsan, 2014) continent and beyond. It is noteworthy that since the banking crash in Lebanon, these investments have largely stopped. This is concurrent with an increase in construction activities in West African countries. I am specifically aware of the situation in Abidjan, where national authorities have sarcastically commented on this saying that it took a crash in Lebanon for Lebanese to start investing the surplus extracted from Africa back into Africa

More specifically, as I will show in the thesis, the growth machine is a main driver of the area under study.

CHAPTER III

CASE PROFILE: Al-Hosh

This chapter profiles the case-study taken up in the thesis, the area of Al-Hosh, south-east of the city of Tyre, and within its governorate. The chapter is divided into six sections. A first section introduces Al-Hosh briefly. Section B introduces the context of the Caza of Tyre. Then, section C introduces the five periods of construction in the area. Section D profiles Al-Hosh area, presenting who are the residents, landmarks, urban developments, building typologies, why was the transformation occurred, and profiling the developments in neighborhoods. Then, section E introduces the cause of the urban transformation in the area. Finally, the chapter concludes in section F the case profile of Al-Hosh.

A. A Brief Introduction of Al-Hosh

Al-Hosh is a recently urbanized zone outside the city of Tyre that extends within the two towns of Ain Baal (in orange) and Burj El-Chemali (in green) (Figure 4). One of the fastest growing residential areas in the Caza of Tyre, Al Hosh grew along the Tyre-Qana Highway, on both of sides of the road, from the north-west to the south-east of the urban area, as of the late 1980s. Located at the south-east of the city of Tyre, the area has absorbed since the late 1980s the urbanization of a population of Tyre, Ain Baal, Burj El-Chemali, as well as other nearby villages. It grew through private initiative, as individual landowners and developers subdivided large agricultural tracts into readily buildable lots. At least 31 large sub-divisions were conducted (Figure 5).

Today, Al-Hosh extends over an area (in red) of roughly 2.4 Km^2 (Figure 6). The area is formed of clusters of building developments.

Prior to the sub-division of property for building development in the 1990s, Al-Hosh was an agricultural area where local dwellers and peasants planted vegetables and fruits. However, the well-known neglect of the country's agricultural sector (CRI et al., 2015) as well as incentives extended to the building development sector in Lebanon (Fawaz, 2020[8]), in the last twenty years, landowners began to sell the property to developers as agricultural lands in Al-Hosh and this land was used for building. As such, as Al-Hosh reflects well the drivers typically associated with urban sprawl, which indicate that developers look for agricultural land as affordable property to develop at the expense of agriculture which is typically less profitable. In Lebanon, where the building industry made up about 25% of the national domestic product and agriculture is less than 2.5-3% of GDP (Markou & Stavr, 2005), it comes as no surprise that developers looking for new land to develop would spill over to these agricultural tracts.

In addition, Al-Hosh falls within a relatively mixed land-use area and the neighborhood reflects this diversity, depending on the zone and proximity. Al-Hosh is nearby the Burj El-Chemalis' camp which accommodates mainly low-income Palestinian refugees. Al-Hosh is also in proximity of the Ain Baals' villas that are owned by upper income households. Moreover, Bazouriye town has a middle-income residential group. Al-Hosh itself is well-known by the middle to high income urban area.

[8] BUL website, through a link: https://www.beiruturbanlab.com/en/Details/679/housing-and-financialization-in-times-of-crisis-july-2020 (Access date: 28/4/2021)

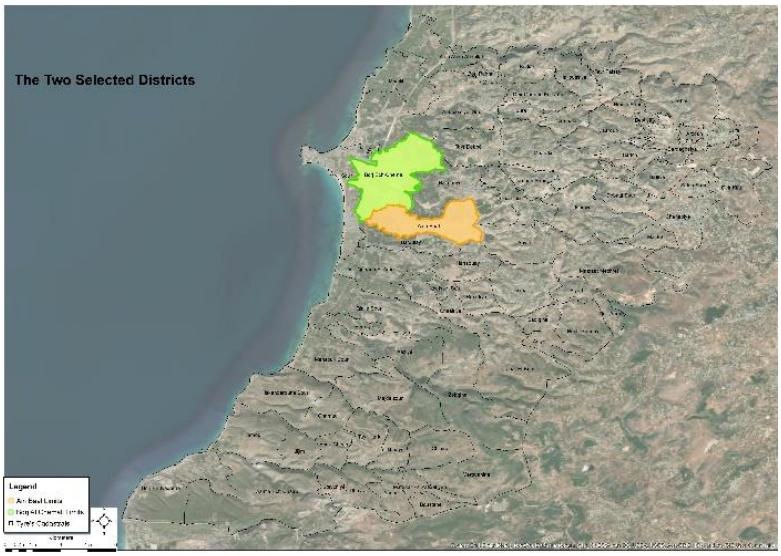

Figure 4: The Two Selected Districts
Source: Author (2021), based on Ariel Maps from ArcGIS (2021)

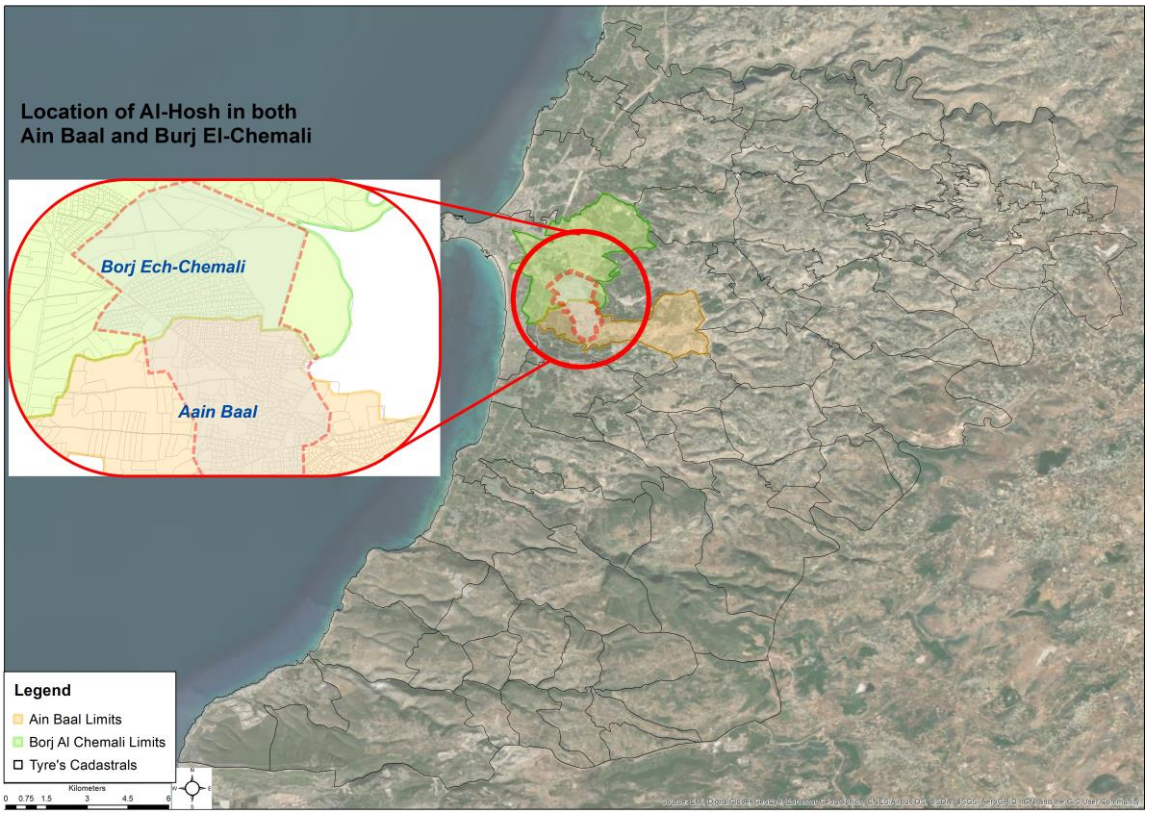

Figure 5: Location of Al-Hosh in both Ain Baal and Burj El-Chemali
Source: Source: Author (2021), based on Ariel Maps from ArcGIS (2021)

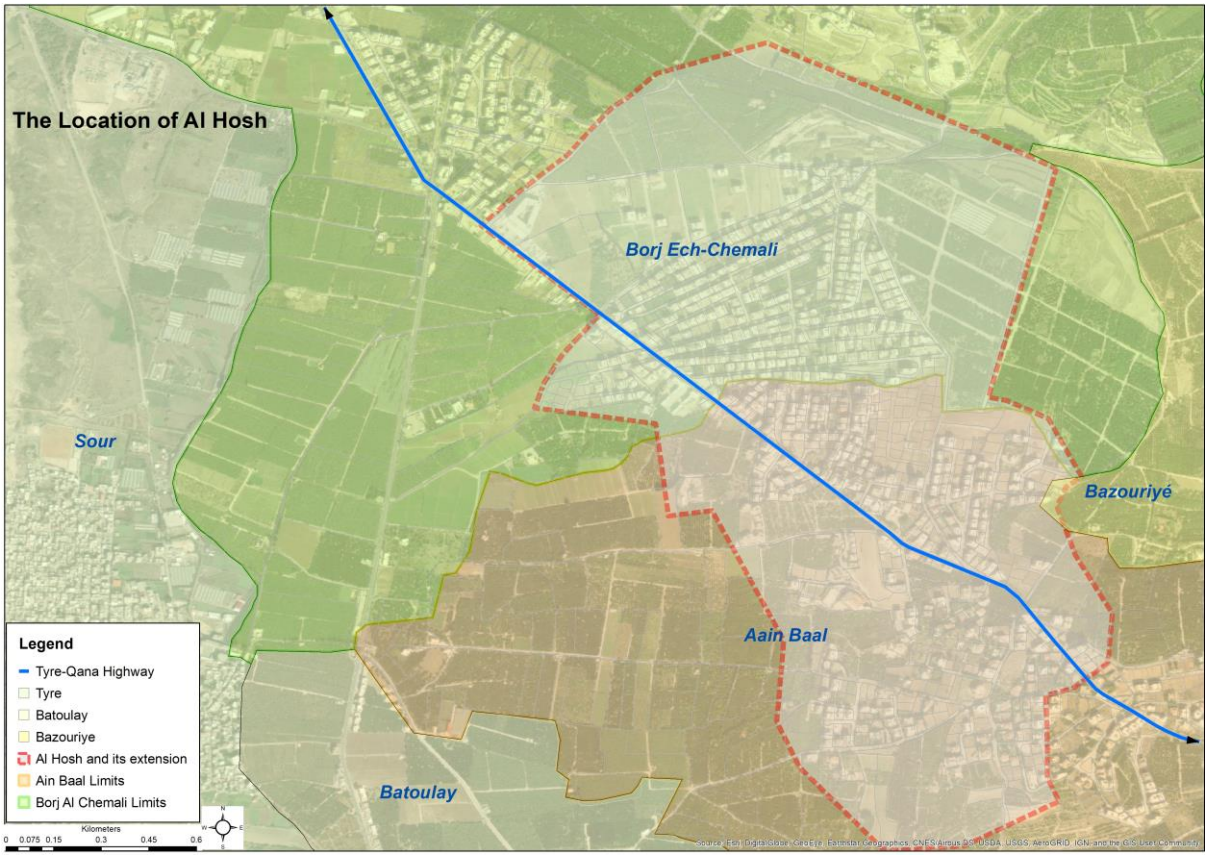

Figure 6: The Location of Al-Hosh
Source: Author (2021), based on based on Ariel Maps from ArcGIS (2021)

From the outset, the challenge of governing the area and managing its services is evident. Given that the area's jurisdiction falls between two towns and that it houses residents from multiple zones beyond, its servicing and maintenance lacks a coordinated agency that can manage the area holistically, even though the area houses today over 10,000 residents. In the next section, I will briefly zoom out to locate Al-Hosh within the caza before zooming back on the description of the zone.

Currently, the main landmarks in the area of Al-Hosh are spatially mapped in Figure 7. Landmarks are along the main highway. The types of landmarks found

in the area are the following: religious, institutional namely schools and others, commercial, and healthcare such as pharmacies.

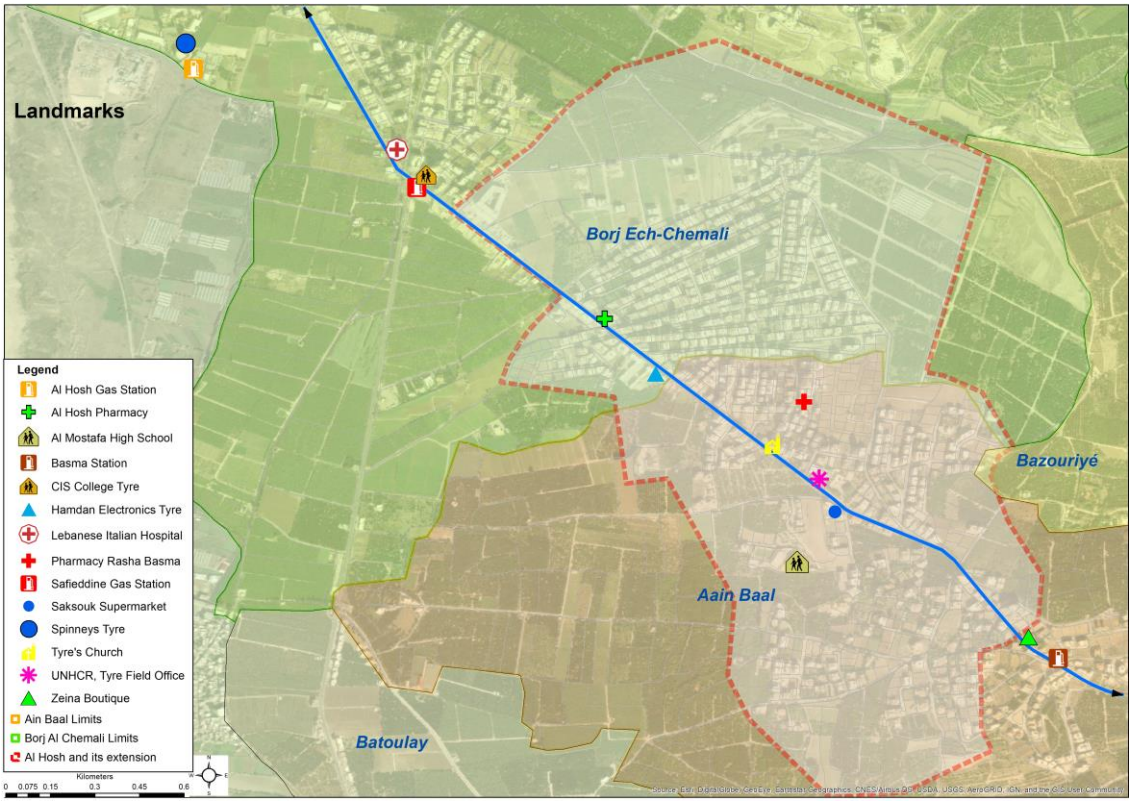

Figure 7: Landmarks
Source: Author (2020)

B. Context: The Caza of Tyre

The Caza of Tyre is the fourth largest city in Lebanon. It is located in the South governorate, 83km south of Beirut and 26km north of the border of the country (Figure 8). The area's history is heavily marked by the national and regional history, particularly the establishment of the State of Israel on the land of Palestine that exposed the area as of 1948 to Israeli raids and aggression that culminated with the Israeli Occupation as of 1982 and then the 2006 war. Tyre itself was occupied for three years and the rest of the region until 2000. Since then, the South Lebanese border continues to

be a source of relative insecurity and the area's economy and livelihoods have greatly suffered.

In the aftermath of the 2000 liberation, many development plans were deployed in South Lebanon. Among those, an effort was deployed by the Ministry of Interior to encourage the consolidation of individual municipalities into Unions. Given that many municipalities are very small, their agglomeration was to help in improving service provision and planning. Thus, the Caza of Tyre was established in 2003 as a Union. The Union extends over some 400 Km2 and include 68 municipalities (Figure 9): 65 municipalities that are represented by mayors and another three by Mokhtars (المختار) (UN Habitat, 2017). In practice, the establishment of the Union did not result in better services in the Caza. Indeed, the Union extends over an interrupted landscape and hardly forms more than a political unit. Coordination lags and the territory contains too many variations to be planned as one. As such, the Union is not an adequate scale to implement planning. In practice, most municipalities continued to work alone.

Zooming back to Al-Hosh, we find that the city of Tyre's forms a unit with surrounding towns, such as Burj El-Chemali, Ain Baal, and Abbassiyeh, over a continuous urbanization that expands the limited 7Km2 of Tyre. According to a conversation with the head of Tyre's DGU, this development is referred to as Tyre city center and suburbs, 'Sour w dawahiha' (صور و ضواحيها).[ii] Its urban area is approximately 36 Km2.

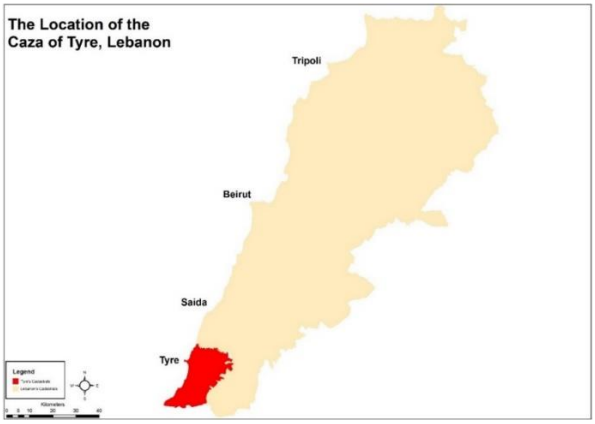

Figure 8: The Location of the Caza of Tyre, Lebanon
Source: Author (2021), based on ArcGIS (2021)

Figure 9: The Caza of Tyre
Source: Author (2021), based on ArcGIS (2021)

During the last two decades, the Caza of Tyre has witnessed a massive number of building developments. In this section, I draw the main building trends at the scale of the Caza to provide a context for the case study. All in all, 12,427 building permits were filed in the records of the Directorate General of Urbanism in Tyre between 1997 and 2019. I plotted the number of permits per year in Figure 10. The curve reflects in its general trends two distinct periods, roughly organized around the year 2009, which correspondents to the global financial meltdown. The date is known to have coincided

with a major influx of capital in Lebanon during the global financial crisis, some of which was channeled in the built environment (Marot, 2018). This is not a sharp break. Rather, one sees a period of decline or crisis that follows the post-civil war book (1997-2004), followed by a steady rise and a new mean for the number of filed building permits. It is also noticeable that 2006 witnesses a serious reduction, naturally reflecting the incidence of the Israel war on Lebanon that year that severely affected the South of the country. The period of 2007 to 2019 appears relatively stable with a high number of permits filed yearly across the caza. The number of filed permits peaked in 2016 in the Caza of Tyre; and began to slow down after. The curve does not extend beyond 2019, but it is expected that following the 2019 financial meltdown and political unrest, as well as the covid crisis, the number of permits has plummeted in the past two years.

Figure 11 maps spatially the filed building permits that were approved by the DGU between 1997 and 2019 in the Caza of Tyre. The map shows that building development is mostly concentrated in a ring around the city of Tyre, while building development within the city proper is slower. An interview with the head of the DGU in Tyre indicated that building activities were very difficult in Tyre where most of the land had archeological/cultural constraints, a difficulty that had pushed developers to invest outside the city. Consequently, the city's nearby districts are the site of intense building developments, namely the towns of Abbasiyyeh, Burj El-Chemali, Ain Baal, and Chaaitiye. This encouraged me to focus my attention on these districts, since they were growing faster than the city proper.

Figure 10: The Filed Building Permits since 1997 in Caza of Tyre
Source: Author (2020), based on the DGU (2020)

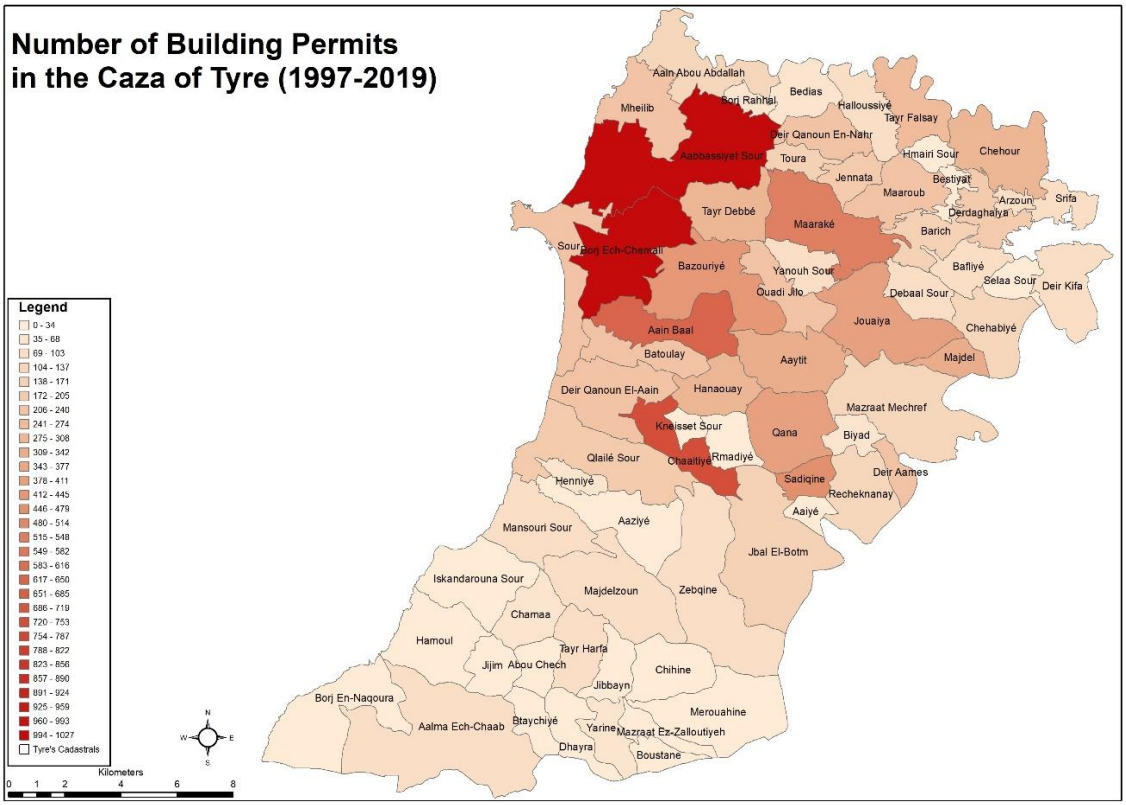

Figure 11: Number of Building Permits since 1997 in Caza of Tyre
Source: Author (2020), based on the DGU (2020

C. Periods of Development in Al-Hosh

In trying to understand better the periodization of development and how it coincides with events and changes in the country, this section of the chapter identifies the construction periods in Al-Hosh based on the responded collected from 14 developers who were interviewed for the thesis. The timeline of the urban evolution helps to understand how the area grew from agricultural lands to this suburban sprawl that receives population from the city of Tyre, nearby villages, expats, as well as people from Beirut. Over time, the built-environment has densified until Al-Hosh is identified in popular imagination as a single urban development although the area spreads over several jurisdictions and coalesced as together as an ad-hoc residential zone. Based on the interviewed developers and my analysis of the building development periods in the above section, I identified roughly six periods of developments in Al-Hosh tha reflect the tendencies of the market. These periods are defined according to five recurrent criteria that were listed by the interviewed developers: (i) political circumstances (e.g., occupation, war), (ii) land prices and apartment units' prices, (iii) changes in the profile of clients, (iv) changes in building types, and (v) changes in building regulations.

1. Period 1 (Before 1982): Al-Hosh as an Agricultural Zone

During this period, the area of Al-Hosh is characterized by its agricultural lands, and only a few villas and/or small houses were built there. Prior to its development as a residential suburban cluster, Al-Hosh was widely referred to among people in the Tyre Caza as Hosh Basma. This is, several interviewed developers explained, because property in the area largely went back to three landowners from the Basma family. According to another two developers, the Basma family had many members working in

West Africa countries where they earned wealth and used it to purchase lands in the area.[9].

2. Period 2 (1982-1997): Illegal, low-quality development

This period of construction is characterized by illegal building developments with low quality. During the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and the subsequent occupation of South Lebanon, at least five developers recounted that illegal building developments began to appear in Al-Hosh. At the time, law enforcement was lax if not absent at all, and individuals took advantage of the circumstances. In other words, "there was no supervision in that time"[10]. While developers sometimes secured permits to build 3-4 allowed developments, they typically built multi-story apartment buildings over agricultural lands, reaching up to 16 floors in one instance. Although the buildings were illegal, the zone was green, which made Al-Hosh attractive. With the end of the civil war, however, and the return to some level of public oversight, developers started to build legal constructions.

The early residents of Al-Hosh came from different areas to live there. They came from areas occupied by the Israeli Army further South of the country, where people fled the military occupation, from edges, and borders of the South of Lebanon, such as Qana, Yaroun, BJ area, Aita al Shaeb, Teir Harfa, Naqoura, Ramyeh. Residents also came from nearby Tyre because land prices in the city became too expensive as well as archeology made it hard to build. The prices spiked to 2000USD/m2 in the early 1990s, while it was half that price in Al-Hosh; (3) Al-Hosh became an attractive area

[9] Interview conducted with Haseeb on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[10] Interview conducted with Youssef on 21/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

for rich expats to come and build secondary homes or villas. Thus, some of the developments were built for landlords only who sought to build their own homes.[11]

Before 1997, there were illegal buildings developed in Al-Hosh. These illegal buildings are known by either no building permits or investors/developers get building permits for two floors as allowed in the area, but they end up building up to 16 floors. In my survey, I counted that 284 of the total buildings had more floors than was legally permitted at the time. The figure also shows that most of the illegal buildings were constructed along the expanded Tyre-Qana highway and secondary roads (Figure 12).

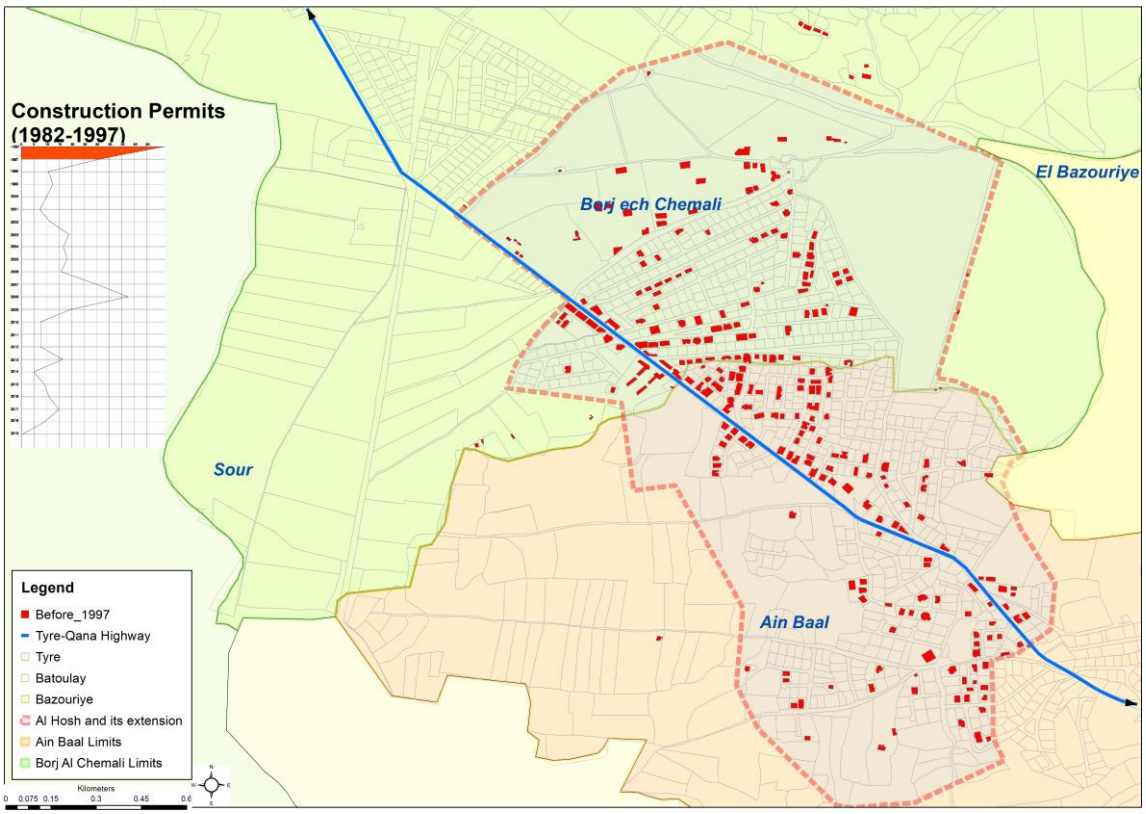

Figure 12: Construction Permits (1982-1997)
Source: Author (2021), Based on the DGU (2020)

[11] Interview conducted with Mansour on 15/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

3. Period 3 (1997-2003): A high-end area of villas

This period marks the development of high-end villas. After the liberation of South Lebanon in 2000 from Israeli occupation, Al-Hosh rapidly grew to an area with legal building developments that have permits and follow the allowed total number of floors with three to four floors maximum in the area. Another five interviewees also argued that during that period of the post-war, urban sprawl has happened in the area where private villas were constructed and small houses mostly for expats.

According to a developer, the land pooling/parcelization urban planning tool and selling lands were more apparent than trading apartment units in Al-Hosh, in the early 2000[12]. Another developer also argued that before 2006, investors and engineers were building low quality buildings[13].

The number of the filed building permits that were approved by the DGU between 1997 and 2003 shows the rapid increase of urban growth in the area (Figure 13).

[12] Interview conducted with Younis on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[13] Interview conducted with Hussein on 31/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

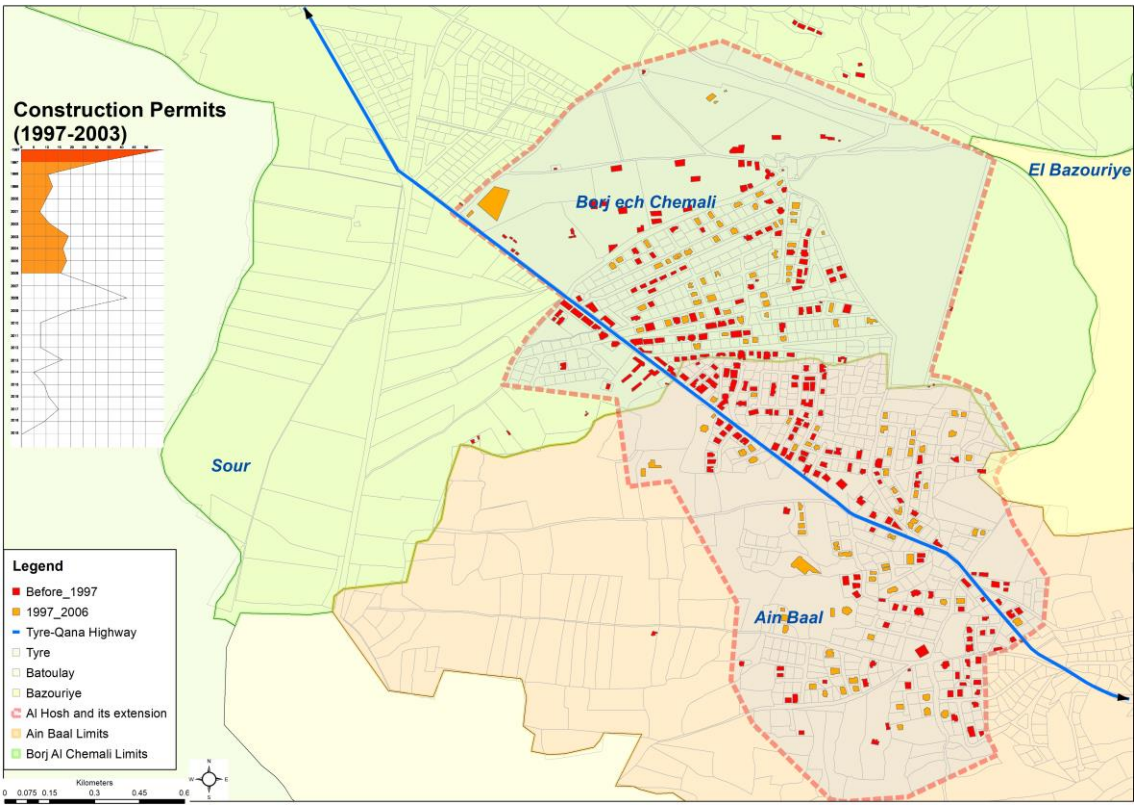

Figure 13: Construction Permits (1997-2003)
Source: Author (2021), Based on the DGU (2020)

4. Period 4 (2003-2010): The Boom Years

This period coincides with the boom years of Al-Hosh. Earlier seen as a "suburb" of Tyre, the area gains its own ground " كنا انفتتش على ضواحي صور, صرنا نفتش على ضواحي الحوش"[14]. True, it does not have its own identity, as clearly pointed by one of the developers "ما في شي اسمو انا ابن الحوش"[15] but the area has now a well identified cluster and developers make profit by advertising a development within it. This is reflected in the land prices that boomed in the area, with the square meter of land averaging 2-3 times

[14] Interview conducted with Issa on 24/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[15] Interview conducted with Issa on 24/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

the price of other rural zones a little further away according to the developers I interviewed for this study. This section recounts some of these transformations. After the war of Israel in 2006, there was an increase in densification in Al-Hosh, according to three interviewees. Few developers constructed buildings in the area[16].

The mapping of the filed building permits that have been approved by the DGU in the 2003-2010 period (Figure 14). The figure shows that there were further increases in the densification in the area.

In 2004 there were early spatial drivers of development in Al-Hosh (Figure 15). Again, well in line with what scholars have documented about urban sprawl (Christiansen & Loftsgarden, 2011, adopted from Engenbrestsen & Gjerdaker, 2010), we find that transportation networks, in this case the road development, has provided access and consequently encouraged building. In addition, we clearly see developments over a largely agricultural area, with several lot subdivision in longitudinal form still reflecting the historical morphology of an agrarian landscape where all lots are designed to allow equitable access to water. The 2004 aerial photo further shows a triangular shaped agglomeration of buildings, with around 225 constructed structures.

As for the political circumstances, after 2006, expats were sending money to their families in Lebanon, based on an interviewee[17]. Thus, the expats had to send money after 2006 for real estate. Also, 85-90% of the constructed buildings were commercial residential and 10-15% were villas, according to three developers.

During this phase, the nature of the residential area has changed considerably. Early villas have been replaced by multi-story commercial residential buildings. Indeed,

[16] Interview conducted with Rashid on 21/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[17] Interview conducted with Charbel on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

the last 15-20 years have seen an increase in land prices and a densification of the zone that discouraged those who wanted to build individual homes from coming to what is seen as a crowded commercial built environment area. Furthermore, the price of the lands is around 300-600$/m2 according to the location of the site and neighborhood. While outside the area the land price is around 100$/m, based on two developers. Another factor that has strongly influenced the development of the area is the availability of housing loans, many of which are subsidized. Several interviewed developers described the loans as having encouraged the purchase of smaller and more affordable homes for many families, encouraging densification and commercial buildings. This was more possible because, several developers explained, they had begun to forge relations with bankers, hence securing loans for their clients who could not rely on a mix of forward payments and housing loans to afford a first apartment. All interviewed developers argued that they had good social networks with bank employees and branch directors, helping their clients to get loans and buy apartment units. These clients have been coming from different areas, from nearby villages, namely, Ain Baal, Tyre, Burj El Chemali, Abbasiyyeh, Batoulay, Yaroun, Bint Jbeil, as well as Beirut, and Saida, also expats, based on two developers.

During this period, public policy strongly encouraged investments in the building development sector, also there was housing demand in the market. This follows financial and development incentives. The former allowed “the central bank to incentivize private banks to invest in real estate through multiple loans”; while the latter allowed the “building law 646 to incentivize for higher buildings” and let easy land

transaction[18]. For example, an interviewed developer argued that in 2013, كان في هجمة على الحوش"[19]. There was a change of apartment and land prices in the area. The price of the lands and apartment units had increased, where there were competitors in market/work to sell apartments high quality of buildings, according to a developer. Another six developers also argued that in 2013-2015, big apartment units were being constructed, around 250-300m2 were sold for 115-200K$, including three bedrooms, two to three toilets, kitchen, salon, and maid room. Furthermore, as for the form of which the built environment was being sold, before 2016 developers were selling apartments prior to their completion and relying on forward payments to fund the building process. In the later period, as building development proliferated, clients were able to see several apartment units then buy whatever fits their needs best, based on two developers. Based on seven developers, after 2015, smaller apartment units have been constructed, around 90-100-120-130m2, including three bedrooms, two toilets, kitchen, and salon for 115-200K$.

More specifically, Al-Hosh experienced additional expansion. By 2009, the buildings counted on the satellite imagery photos had increased to reach 305 (Figure 16).

[18] Fawaz. (2020). Housing and Financialization in Times of Crisis. Through a link: https://www.beiruturbanlab.com/en/Details/679/housing-and-financialization-in-times-of-crisis-july-2020 (Access date: 28/4/2021).

[19] Interview conducted with Malek on 30/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

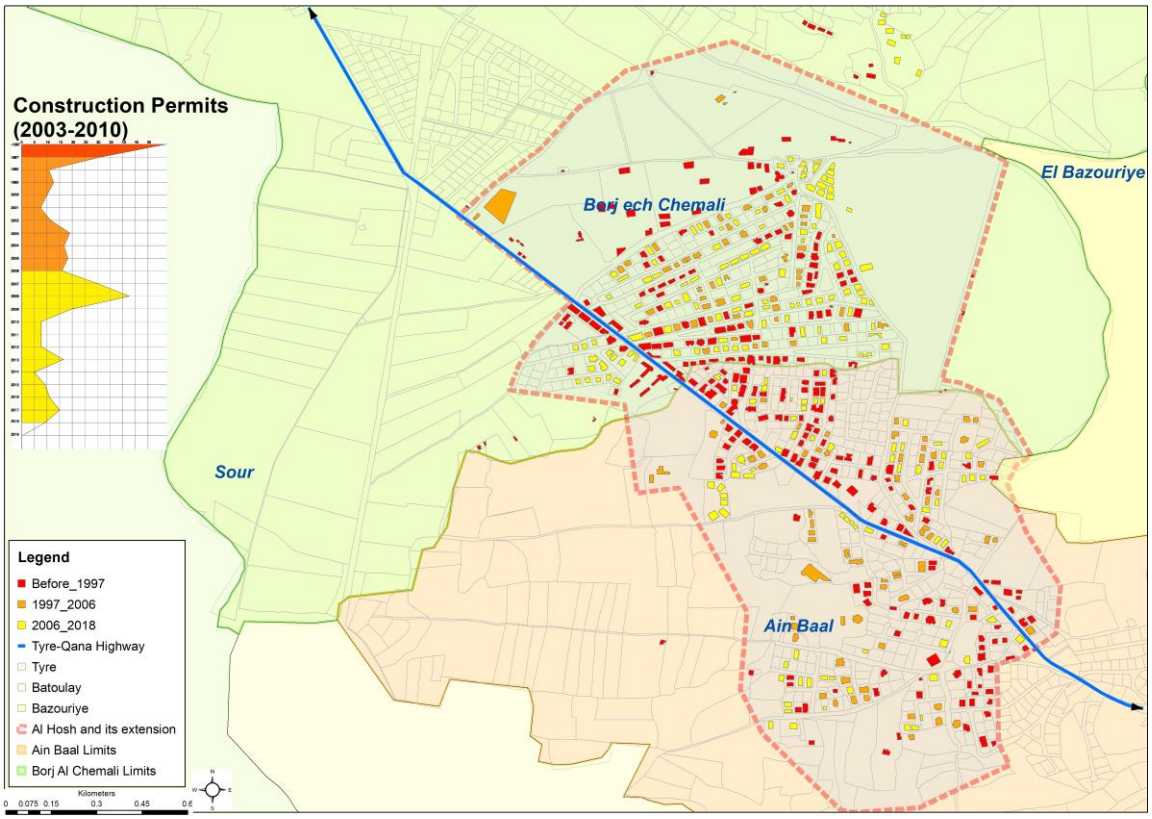

Figure 14:Construction Permits (2003-2010)
Source: Author (2021), Based on the DGU (2020)

Figure 15: Al-Hosh Urban Expansion in 2004
Source: Google Earth (2020)

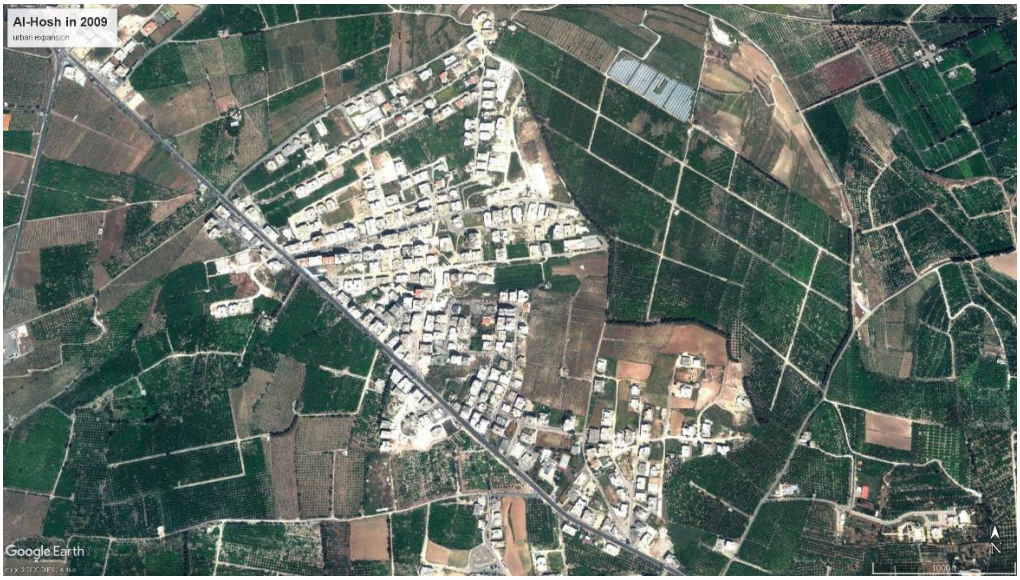

Figure 16: Al-Hosh Urban Expansion in 2009

Source: Google Earth (2020)

5. Period 5 (2010-2018): The Slow Down

This period coincides with the slow-down of development in Al-Hosh. Most development activities were commercial buildings, but the number of filed permits slowed down while apartment vacancy increased. Interviewed estimated vacancy have risen to around 30-40% of new apartments in the area. More specifically, there are 40 vacant lots where building permits had been filed.

This period of construction also coincides with the transformation of the housing product, with smaller units such as studios or 1-bedroom apartments being. Interviewed developers pointed that 80% of their clients now ask for smaller units with 120m-160m2 while only 20% still ask for larger units 200-300m2. Different districts maintain nonetheless different character, with one developer pointing that "In Burj El Chemali it seems to be larger the units than that of Ain Baal ones"[20].

Moreover, building developments expanded further to the north of Ain Baal part of the area by 2011, reaching 350, which is the largest jump in development practices (Figure 17). Since then, the area experienced additional building development and urban expansion to the south of Ain Baal of the area, reaching a total of 405 buildings in 2014 (Figure 18), 450 in 2017 (Figure 19).

[20] Interview conducted with Adam on 18/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

Figure 17: Al-Hosh Urban Expansion in 2011
Source: Google Earth (2020)

Figure 18: Al-Hosh Urban Expansion in 2014
Source: Google Earth (2020)

Figure 19: Al-Hosh Urban Expansion in 2017
Source: Google Earth (2020)

6. Period 6: (2018-Now): The market meltdown

This phase coincides with the market meltdown in the area of Al-Hosh, in line with the rest of the country. All fourteen interviewed developers agreed that in the last two years financial/economic and pandemic (COVID-19) crisis have been affecting the market in Al-Hosh. The market meltdown has meant that almost nothing has been built nor sold in Al-Hosh during this period.

This rapid slowdown coincides with the banks having stopped giving loans, while simultaneously publicly subsidized loans have all been frozen. On the words of one of the interviewed developers: "It is all frozen", or, in Arabic, "السوق هلق مجمد"[21].

Building developments have been affecting the infrastructure in the area. New water wells have been mined for water supply.[22] Five developers also added that modern architectural styles and high finishing qualities have been built in the area.

[21] Interview conducted with Adam on 18/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

The mapping of the filed building permits that have been approved by the DGU from 2018- now (Figure 20) shows that there are no more constructed buildings in the area in the last five years.

Al-Hosh has experienced further urban growth and building developments, densifying to reach 480 buildings in 2019 (Figure 21). Al-Hosh has become an "area", which can lead you to the argument that it should be identified as a single zone in planning and not divided between two towns and two regulations, as it currently is.

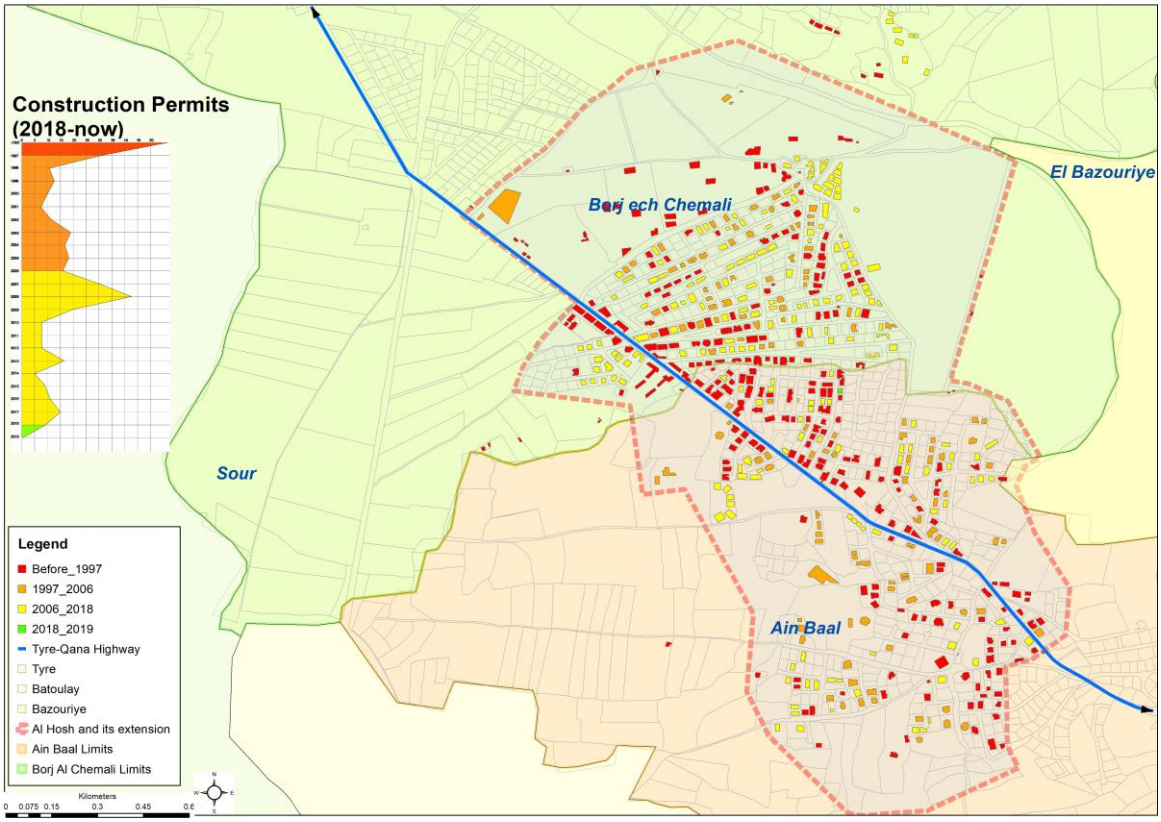

Figure 20: Construction Permits (2018-2019)
Source: Author (2021), Based on the DGU (2020)

[22] Interview conducted with Haitham on 2/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

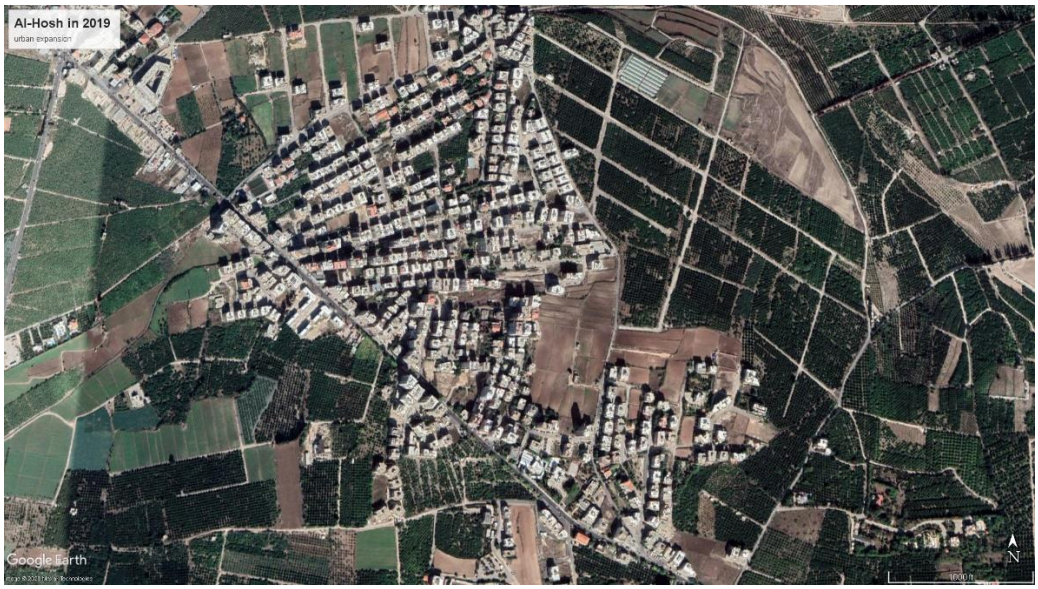

Figure 21: Al-Hosh Urban Expansion in 2019
Source: Google Earth (2020)

The following explains briefly the five periods of urban developments in Al-Hosh below in Table 1:

Table 1: Periods of Construction
Source: Author (2021), Based on 14 interviews with developers working in the area (2021)

	Political circumstances	**Land Ownership**	**Price of Land**	**Price of Apartment units**	**Types of Clients**	**Type of Buildings**	**Urban Regulations**
Before 1982	Civil war, Israeli Occupation	Large agricultural tracts of land, many owned by local families such as Basma	--	--	--	Villas and/or small houses	Illegal/War

1982-1997	Israeli invasion of Lebanon	This is when land subdivisions begin	Half price of lands in Tyre	--	(1) occupied villages, (2) Tyre, and (3) expats	Multi-story apartments, 8-16 floors	Illegal/War
1997-2003	Liberation	building developments to occur	--	--	--	3-4 floors maximum as well as villas and/or small houses	Legal Buildings
2003-2010	Boom	Expats were sending money to their families	Increases in price of land	Big apartment units 250-300m2 for 115-200K$	--	10-15% villas and others commercial residential	Legal Buildings
2010-2018	Slow down period	--	Further increase in price of land	Both categories: 120m-160m2 and 200-300m2	(1) nearby villages, (2) other cities, (3) expats	Commercial buildings; 30-40% vacant apartments	Legal Buildings
2018-now	Bust	--	Further increase in price of land	Smaller units 90-130m2 for 115-200K$	(1) nearby villages, (2) other cities, (3) expats	Almost building nothing	Legal Buildings

Moreover, based on aerial maps from Google Earth, while the first period occurred in the form of sprawl, the latter periods were essentially seeing development through densification, a possibly positive trend to explore. Thus, Al-Hosh developed from agricultural lands into a slowly sprawling neighborhood within the three decades (Figure 22).

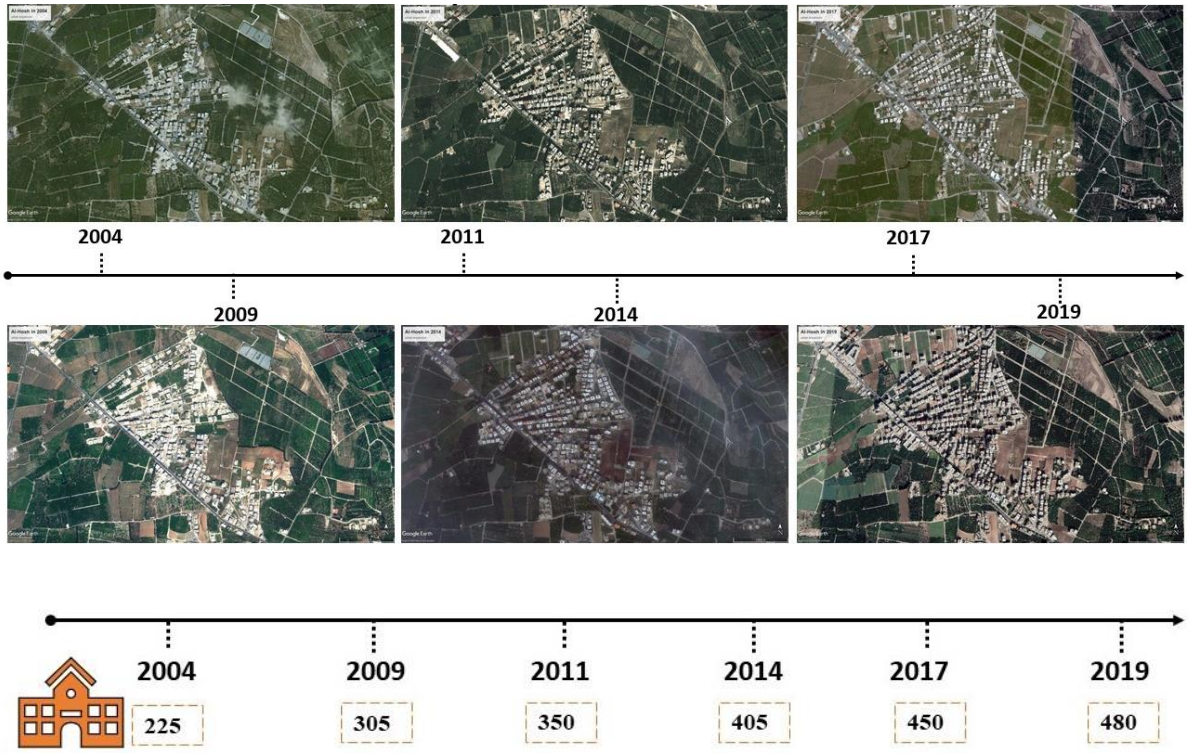

Figure 22: Timeline of Urban Evolution in Al-Hosh
Source: Author (2021), based on Aerial photographs (2020)

D. Profiling Al-Hosh

This section of the chapter profiles Al-Hosh, focusing on a brief history and its timeline of urban evolution, the population, landmarks, urban planning tool and regulations used, and urban developments, as well as the building typologies.

1. Who are the residents?

I attempted to survey the current occupancy. It was difficult to determine exact numbers since access to the field was sometimes tedious, particularly with the presence of political parties, the COVID-19 lockdown that prevented me from knocking at doors, and more. I was nonetheless able to reach approximate figures that helped me understand the uses of this area. All in all, I identified three types of residential building occupancy: (i) seasonal or weekenders, (ii) permanent residents, and (iii) those who come only on holidays/vacations. All in all, the most common form of use in Al-Hosh is occasional visitors who come on weekends and/or during the summertime. They occupy to about 85% of the total number of housing units (Figure 23). This was confirmed by one of the interviews I conducted with a building guard in the area who described, in his words, Al-Hosh is occupied mostly by "Beirutis (البيارتة)" or by expatriates coming from London, Africa such as Abidjan, and Zambia, as well as Europe.[23] 20% of the permanent residents also moved from the city of Tyre and/or the villages nearby to Al-Hosh. It is noteworthy that the area includes numerous secondary homes.

Moreover, a few interviewed developers stated that not all occupants are property owners, claiming that there were tenants in the area, but they were few. Some of the expatriates and/or local residents lease their apartment units mostly to the United Nation since rental fees are paid in dollars[24]. A developer also added that rent is not financially feasible, yet it takes 30 years to recover the cost of the apartment unit. He

[23] Interview conducted with a building guardian in the area on 25/9/2020, in front of the building.
[24] Interview conducted with Hussein on 31/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

also added that property owners then get all the problems of paying bills, repairs, and among them[25].

As for the religious and poliical profiles: Today, Al-Hosh is known as a Shia urban area of the two sub-divisions in both towns Ain Baal and Burj El-Chemali. While as for the political profile, Al-Hosh is known by its dual-political profile, namely Haraket Amal and Hezbollah. This is also observed through hanged flags on buildings and streets for their political leaders.

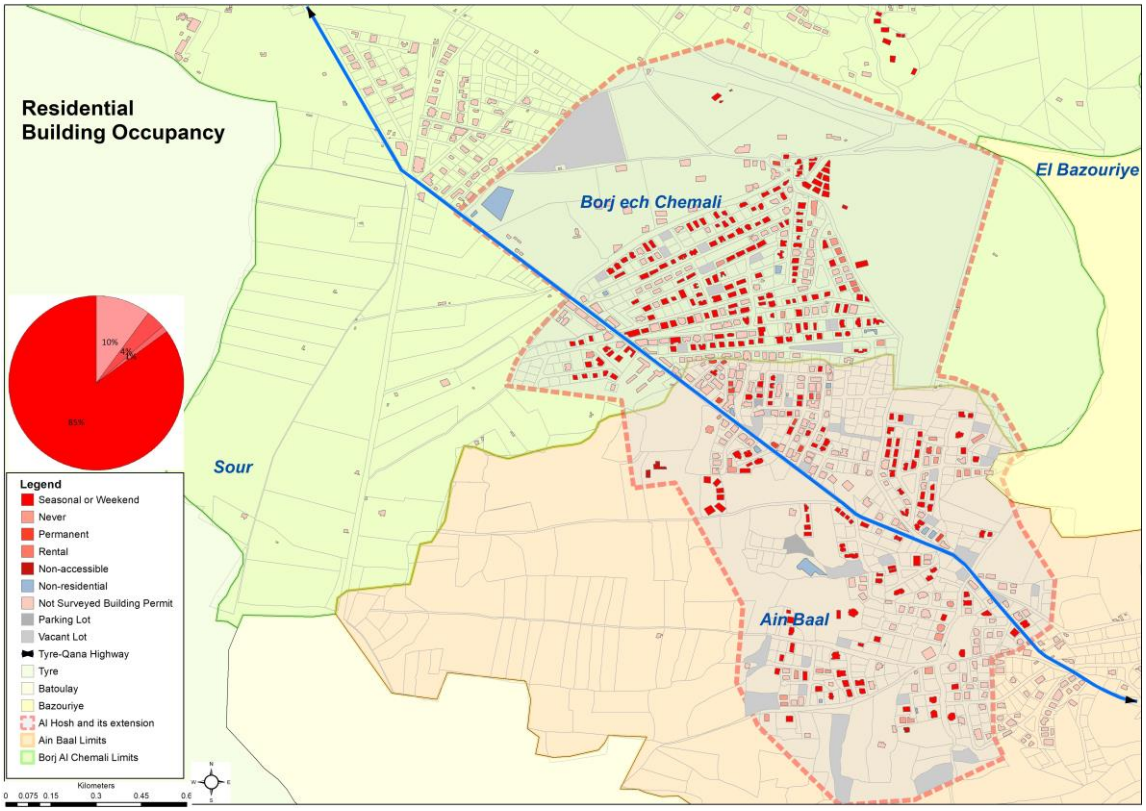

Figure 23: Residential Building Occupancy
Source: Author (2021), based on field work (2020)

[25] Interview conducted with Mansour on 15/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

2. The Governance of Al-Hosh

Although Al-Hosh is identified popularly as a single area, the area does not have a coherent unit to manage it. Instead, each of the two towns falls within a municipal district that manages it separately, while the city of Tyre is left out. Moreover, the Union plays no role, although it could, because it is not effectively organized. Building permits fees moreover are channeled to local authorities where the development falls. Only both towns, Ain Baal and Burj El-Chemali, receive municipal fees. Developers recognized that Al-Hosh benefits from its proximity to the city of Tyre, while Tyre gets no fees from this advantage. One developer claimed part of the municipal fees should in fact go back to the city of Tyre[26]. Furthermore, both municipalities, Ain Baal and Burj El-Chemali should be involved in doing the recommendations in Al-Hosh.

Furthermore, municipal fees include the maintenance of the infrastructure services in Al-Hosh. The government have extended sewers during the last 10-15 years in the area with cooperation with both municipalities, Ain Baal and Burj El-Chemali[27].

3. Urban Developments of Al-Hosh

The number of building permits surveyed, based on the filed building permits from the Directorate General of Urbanism in Tyre between 1997 and 2019 shows the trends in building development (Figure 24).

An examination of the curve shows that the number of building permits fluctuates over the years. As a conclusion, the urban sprawl in the area of Al-Hosh is

[26] Interview conducted with Adam on 18/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[27] According to a conversation with an employee in the Ain Baal municipality on 22/4/2021, during a phone call.

also affected by the economic crisis in Lebanon, resulting to market slow in building. Also, in both areas of Al-Hosh, there are 40 vacant lots where building permits had been filed. This indicates that the housing market is slowing down since landowners may secure building permits and not move forward with building. Thus, the number of permits is not the actual number of residential units.

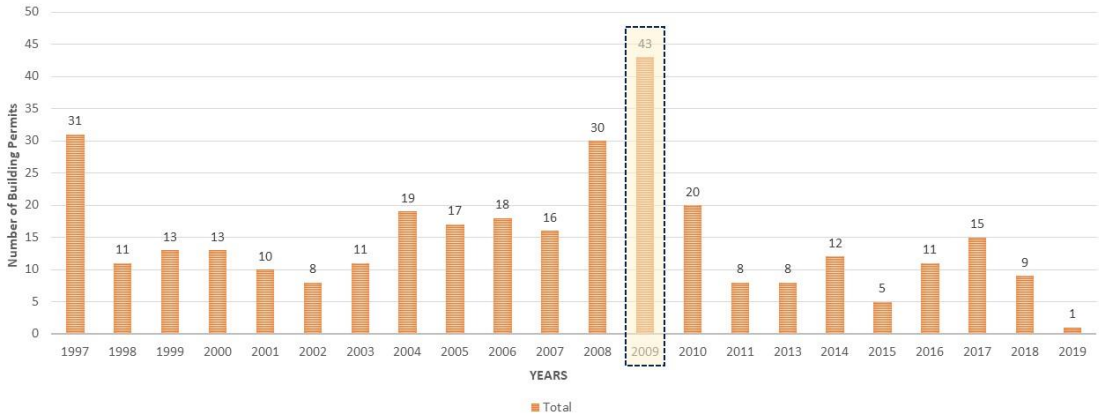

Figure 24:The Number of Building Permits Surveyed since 1997 in Al-Hosh
Source: Author (2020), based on the DGU (2020)

4. Building Typologies of Al-Hosh

There are several building types in Al-Hosh: residential, commercial, educational, and mixed-use buildings (Figure 25). There are also building permits given to chicken coop that are considered for commercial uses, generators' rooms, and fences. Only 24% of building permits in Al-Hosh are for residential buildings. The other 76% building permits refer to chicken coop, fence, generators' rooms, as well as education,

commercial, and mixed-use buildings. Thus, while a suburban residential district, Al-Hosh maintains some farming activities.

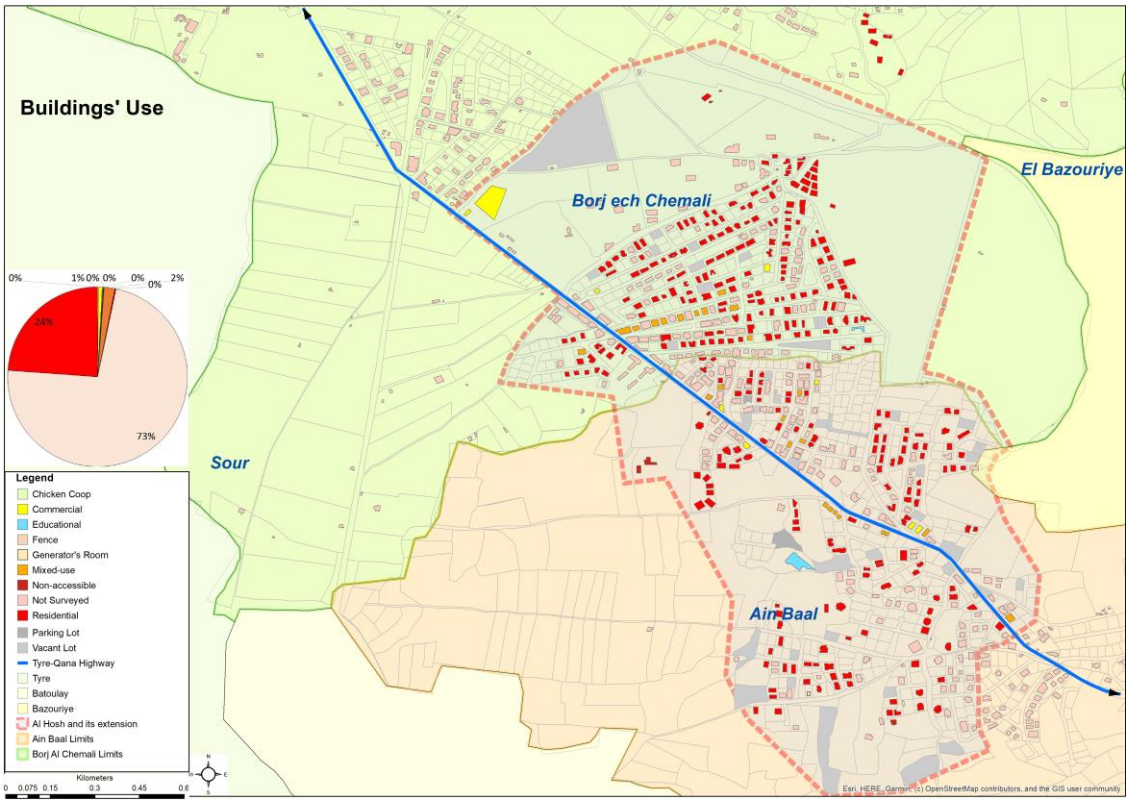

Figure 25: Buildings' Use
Source: Author (2021), based on field work (2020)

The three main residential building typologies that I surveyed in Al-Hosh are apartment buildings, compounds, and individual villas, as shown on Figure 26. Apartment buildings are the most common typology, with a total of 62% of all buildings. In recent years, they have become the almost exclusive typology of building development. Given that the majority of multi-story buildings are developed by commercial developers rather than families, the figure testifies to the commercial nature of the development in Al-Hosh.

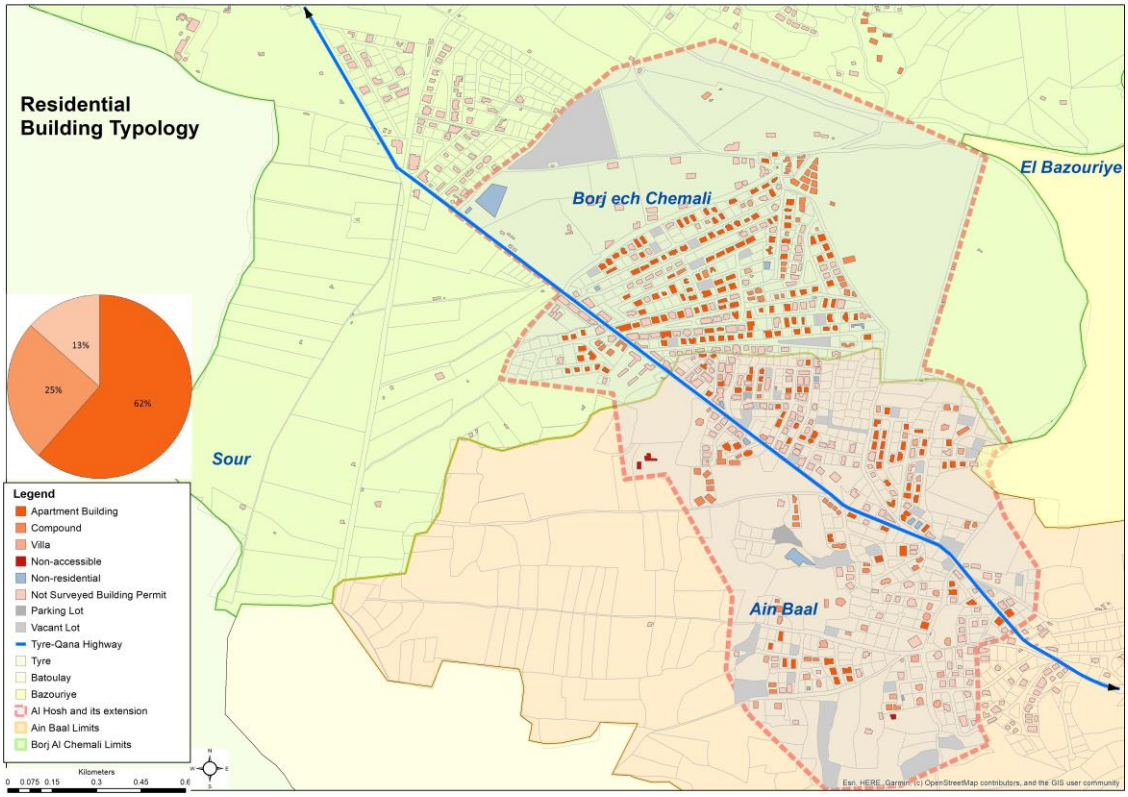

Figure 26: Residential Building Typology
Source: Author (2021), based on field work (2020)

There are three residential building use that have been constructed in Al-Hosh, namely apartment building, mixed-use, and villa (Figure 27). In both adjacent sub-divisions, apartment buildings have been mostly revealed which are 79% in total. Thus, Al-Hosh is receiving residential commercial buildings.

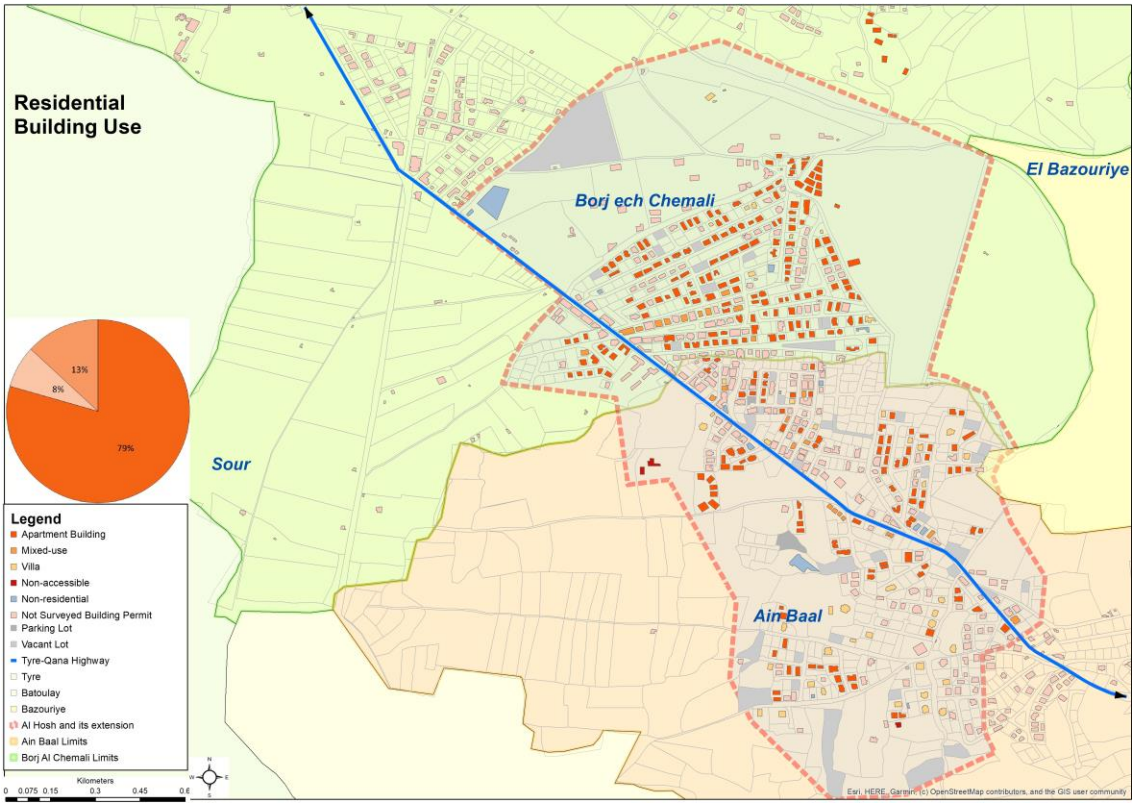

Figure 27: Residential Building Use
Source: Author (2021), based on field work (2020)

A survey of the buildings in the area further showed that there are two main typologies of residential buildings, residential commercial apartment building and private family buildings. In Al-Hosh, the majority of multi-story residential apartment buildings are commercial, with the survey indicating that about 84% of all multi-story apartment buildings are commercially developed, while only 16% were developed as private family buildings (Figure 28). Thus, Al-Hosh is mostly developed through commercial developers.

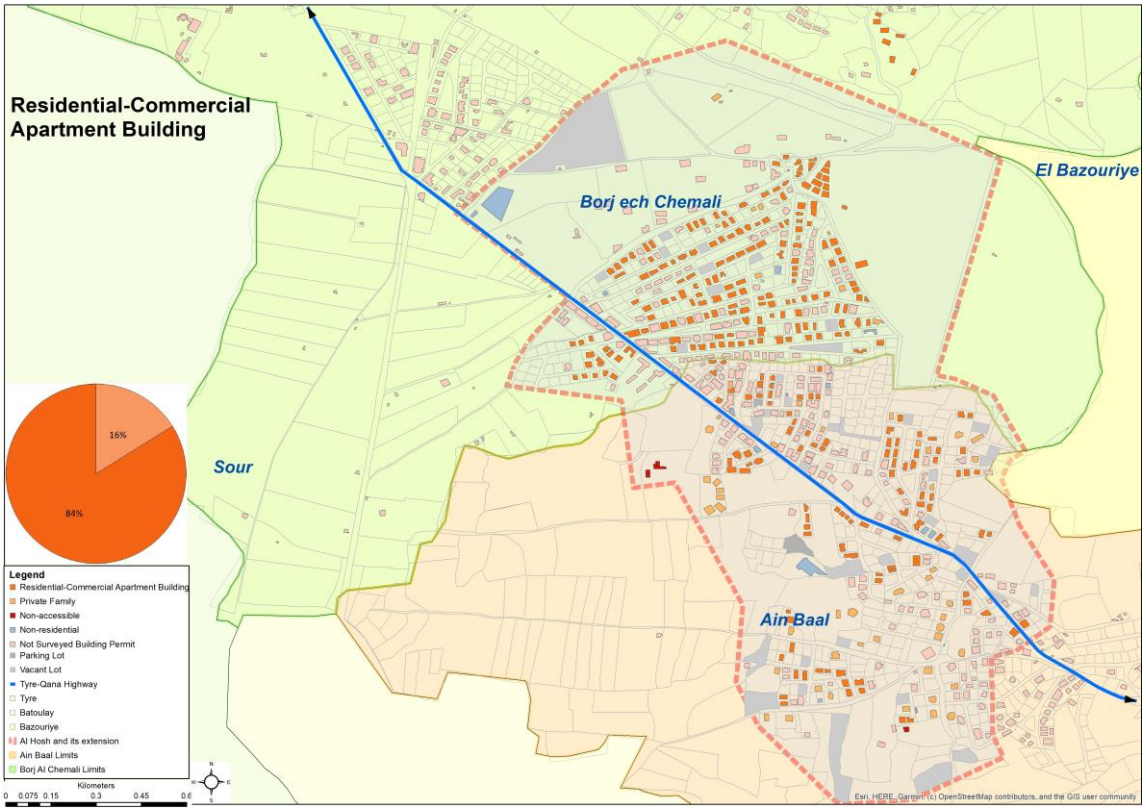

Figure 28: Residential-Commercial Apartment Building
Source: Author (2021), based on field work (2020)

The classification of existing residential building statuses further showed that are categorized into three: completed, renovated, and under construction (Figure 29). The majority of buildings were completed, with almost 9 out of 10 residential buildings in this situation. The remaining buildings are under construction.

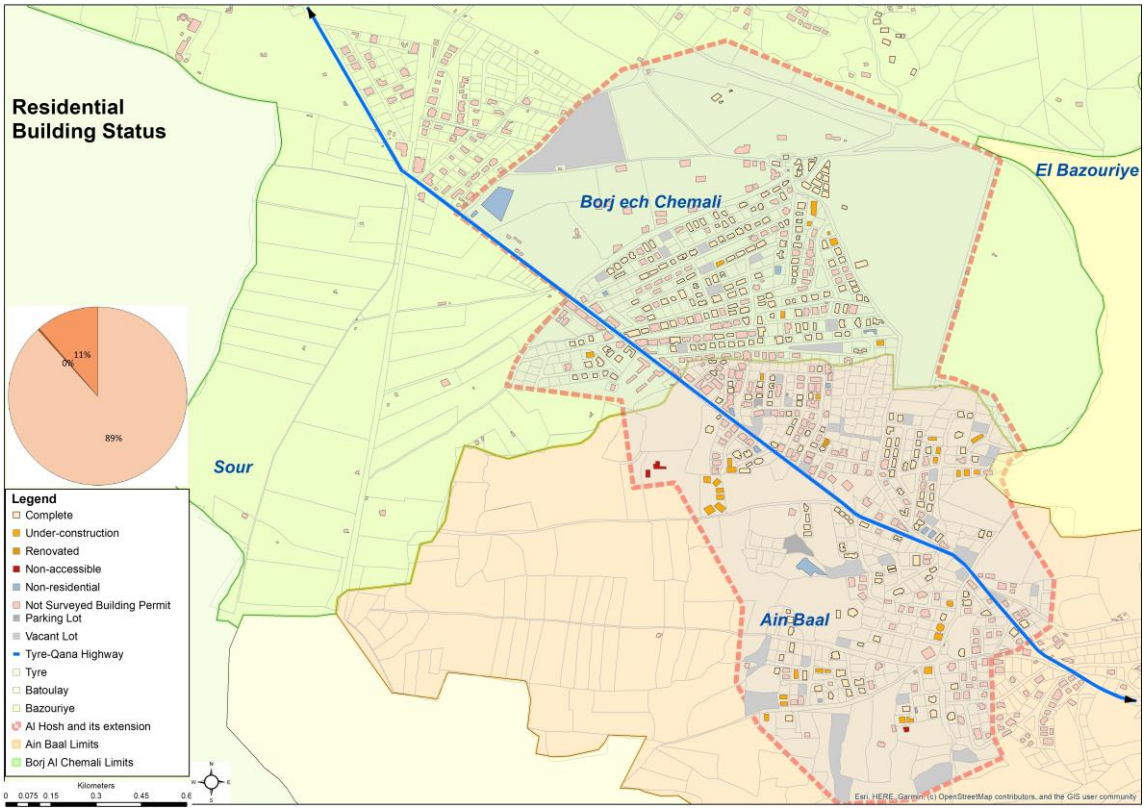

Figure 29: Residential Building Status
Source: Author (2021), based on field work (2020)

Using the existence of a private pool as an indicator of luxury development, the survey found that only 4% of residential developments in Al-Hosh have private pools. Furthermore, the head of the DGU in Tyre explained that most of these pools were added after construction, reflecting hence an incremental development rather than a high-end early investment (Figure 30).

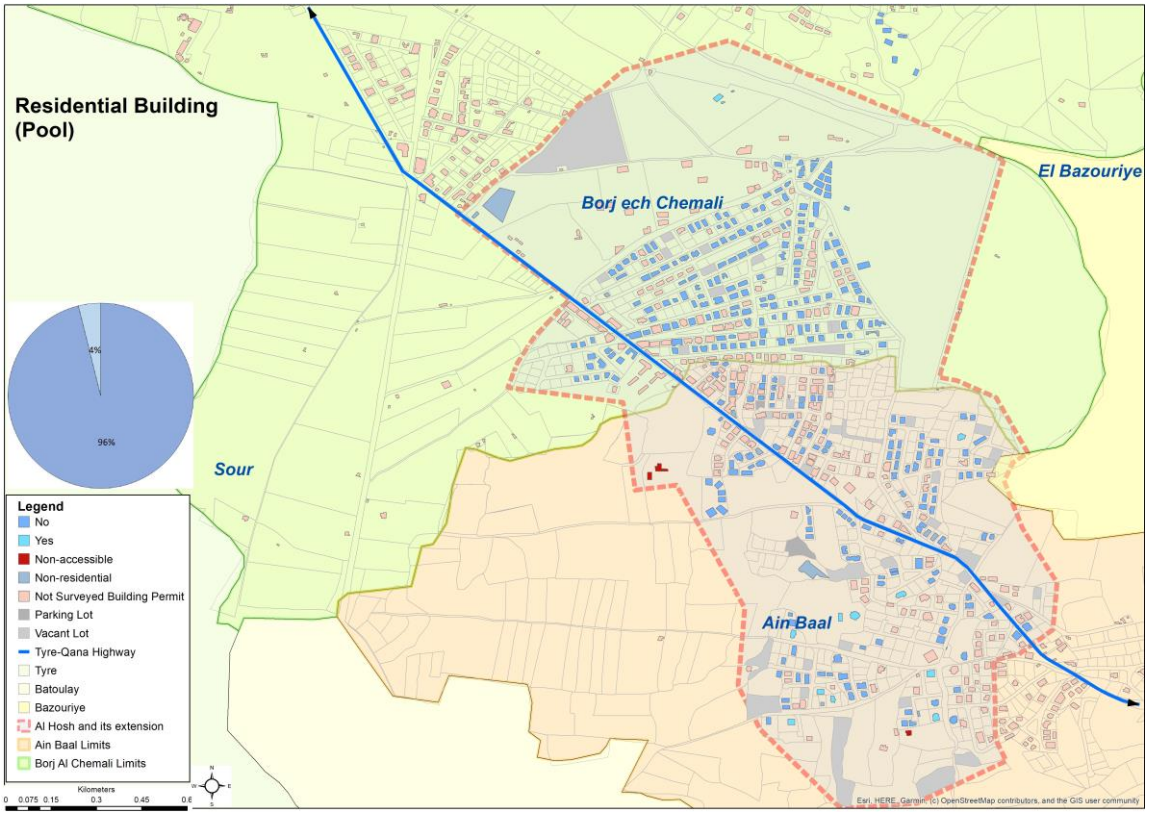

Figure 30: Residential Building (Pool)
Source: Author (2021), based on field work (2020)

Most residential buildings in Al-Hosh do not have solar energy/panels which are 87%, while the other 13% do have. Thus, houses mostly depend on electricity for heating water (Figure 31).

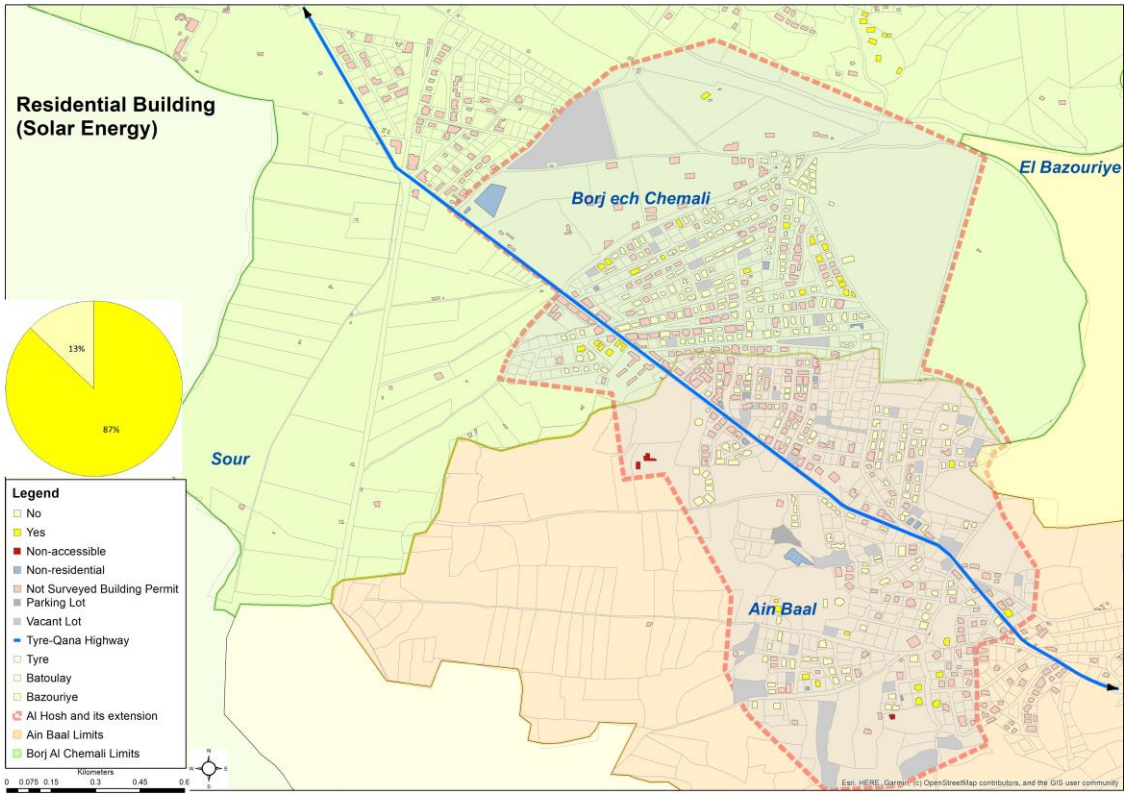

Figure 31: Residential Building (Solar Energy)
Source: Author (2021), based on field work (2020)

70% of the residential buildings generate their own energy with private generators. Thus, Al-Hosh is receiving upper income group that can afford their own generation (Figure 32).

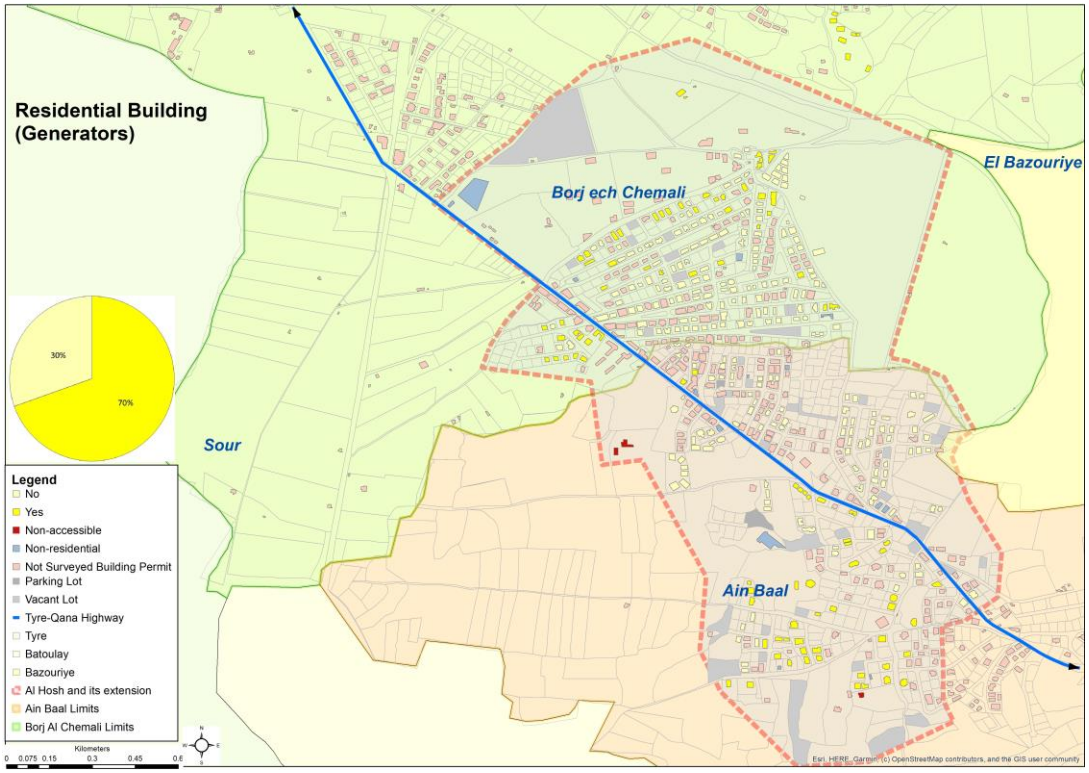

Figure 32: Residential Building (Generators)
Source: Author (2021), based on field work (2020)

67% of the residential buildings have softscape. Thus, owners or/ and engineers/developers are preserving patches of the green areas (Figure 33).

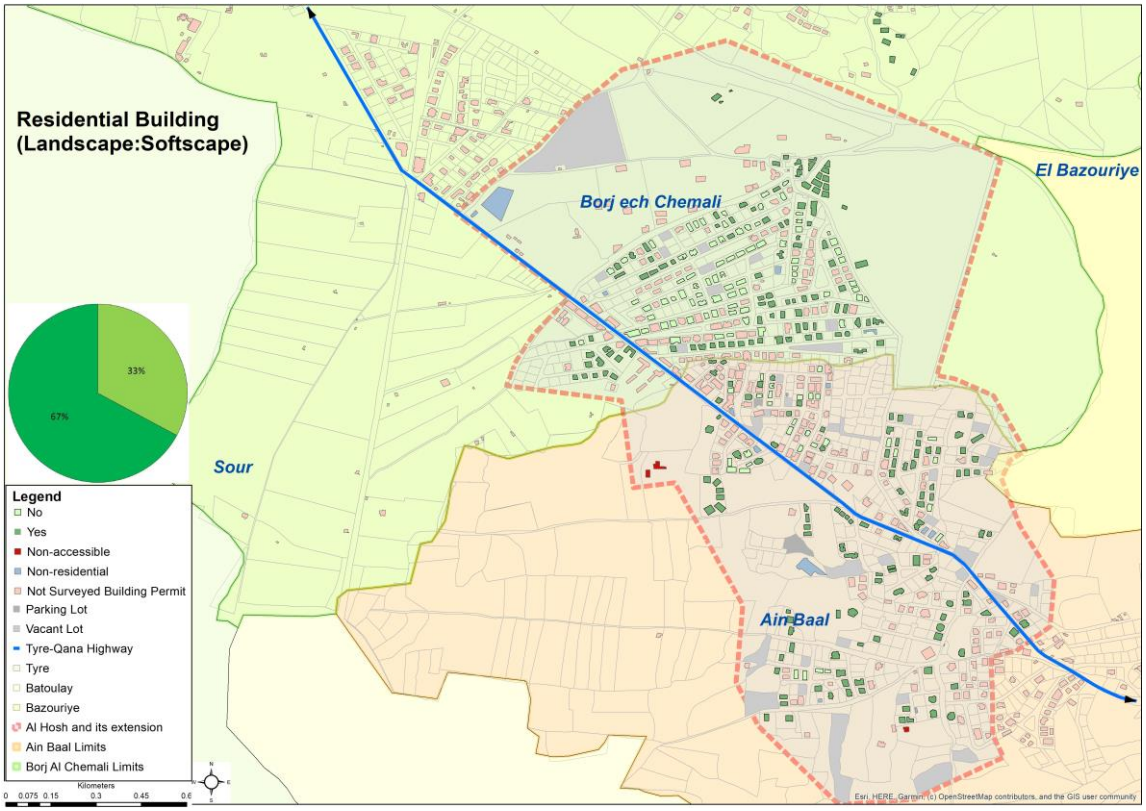

Figure 33: Residential Building (Landscape: Softscape)
Source: Author (2021), based on field work (2020)

5. The neighborhood; Profiling the Development

Although a top view provides a holistic perception of one zone, Al-Hosh is in practice made of multiple clusters (Figure 34). Several neighborhoods and/or clusters are in the area, reflecting class distinctions within the zone. Some of the clusters are high end, others are more affordable. This classed nature is, in turn, translated in land uses as more affordable areas tend to also include commercial activities. This does not depend on building regulations/zoning but on the choice of the residents/developers.

Two of the interviewees agreed that the prices of apartment units vary within the area of Al-Hosh. One of these two developers pointed to different building materials used across areas as an indicator of different income levels and a price of building that

varies between buildings and villas. So, materials and the prices of the apartments differ.[28] Another developer pointed to this diversity by saying: “There are low, medium, and high levels of classifications, due to the location, roads, architectural style, finishing materials”.[29] Four more developers pointed to Al-Nadi neighborhood are an elegant and high-end area. There are two parts in the Nadi neighborhood, the new and the old roads. The old one is 10 meters wide, allowing for higher levels of privacy.

Figure 34: Al-Hosh in 1997
Source: DGU (2021)

[28] Interview conducted with Adam on 18/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[29] Interview conducted with Younis on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

E. Conclusion

In conclusion, I can extract that Al-Hosh “suburb” identified as one area with no coherent unit managing it.Al-Hosh has been experiencing five periods of construction, moving from an agricultural zone, passing by building illegal buildings, high-end villas and boom years, and reaching the market meltdown for the past two years. These periods are due to several national and local circumstances, affecting the building industry in this suburb. Mostly, Al-Hosh is occupied by “Beirutis (البيارتة)” or by expatriates coming from London, Africa such as Abidjan, and Zambia, as well as Europe. Furthermore, developers – who are building in the area, are densifying Al-Hosh heavily with residential buildings over agricultural lands. These residential buildings are mostly residential commercial buildings with multi-stories, are completed construction, mostly have private generators, and soft-scape, while few of the residential buildings have solar panels. Accordingly, Al-Hosh area is turning into densified suburban clusters characterized as middle to high income suburb, containing secondary homes mostly for Beirutis and expats.

CHAPTER IV

DEVELOPERS

This chapter profiles the interviewed developers taken by the thesis in the area of Al-Hosh. The chapter is divided into five sections. In section one, I profile the individual developers by looking at their social profile, family origin, education, and their other work. In the second section, I document the mode of operation/ working strategies of these developers, explaining where do they work, how they start and develop new projects. As for the third section, I introduce why did developers choose to work in the area of Al-Hosh. As for the fourth section, I document all the ideas and recommendations, on the possible role of municipalities and public sectors, of the 14 interviewed developers that could aid them in their future work to fit the urban development in the area. Finally, the fifth section concludes the profile of the interviewed developers, their mode of operation, and the lessons learned.

A. The Profile of the Developers

In order to understand who has been building in the area, I profiled 14 developers that have been working in Al-Hosh, focusing on their social profile, family origin, education, and other work. Interviews were conducted between 2/3/2021 and 3/4/2021 through phone calls – WhatsApp calls, due to COVID-19 health restrictions, allowing me to abide by social distancing. It is expected that given this circumstance, there is a bias in the pool of developers I interviewed, as normally happens when sampling is done according to who is willing to speak on the phone.

1. Social profile

All interviewed developers were middle aged men. These developers are married. Only one of the interviewees has two wives. Most developers have older children: 12 of the 14 interviewed developers have children aged between 17 to 30 years old. The remaining two developers have younger children between 1 and 10 years old. One developer said that he is expecting a newborn soon.[30]

Given the political organization of the area, developers are mostly Shiaa: 13 of the developers I interviewed are Shia individuals, one is Christian, which is something unusual. I asked the Christian developer if any one annoyed him for trying to build in this area. He said that no one annoyed him; in contrary, locals were welcoming and friendly, and if this was not the case, he would have left the area long time ago[31].

Although I have no direct information to prove my claim, the organization of the area is such that all developers need to have networks with the locally powerful political parties.

2. Family origin

Almost all the interviewed developers were born in the Caza of Tyre, in the city of Tyre, or in the villages of Hinniyeh, Teir Harfa, Aaitet, and others. Only one of the developers is born in Sarafand, which is outside the Caza of Tyre. Furthermore, all the interviewed developers live in the Caza of Tyre, in Kadmous, Abbassiyeh, Burj El-Chemali, and other nearby towns. Some of these developers dwell in Al-Hosh and their

[30] Interview conducted with Hani on 24/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[31] Interview conducted with Charbel on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

offices are also located within or near the area. For instance, a developer lives in Al-Hosh since his office is in the area[32]. Moreover, developers explain the choice of their residency to the strategic location of Al-Hosh. For example, one developer moved from Deir Kantar to Al-Hosh since his children were studying in the Islamic University in Tyre. Others described the proximity of Al-Hosh to convenient amenities, such as cafés and the beach, to be a main attraction. For instance, one of the interviewed developers moved to Al-Hosh to be near restaurants and facilities, since his children want to meet with their friends[33].

3. Education

All the interviewed developers are trained as engineers or architects. This could be a bias in my sample, since I reached out to developers who I could connect to through social networks related to my family and relied on snowball methods to extend the network. Consequently, another research must verify whether I surveyed a "field" or a "group" of developers who constitute special characteristics when compared to others. Furthermore, 8 of the 14 interviewed developers graduated from Lebanese universities, mostly from the Beirut Arab University. While the other 6 developers graduated from universities abroad, from Belgium, Russia, and Ukraine. Most of the developers earned their degrees in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. For example, an interviewed developer graduated from Belgium in 1985 and then did the evaluation in University of Toronto, in Canada [34].

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[32] Interview conducted with Rashid on 21/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.
[33] Interview conducted with Mohamad on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[34] Interview conducted with Adam on 18/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

It is noteworthy that most of the interviewed developers were the first-generation degree holders in their family, whereby all their fathers worked as farmers. However, these developers' siblings are doctors, pharmacists, and engineers –showing that for this generation, professional education was a critical strategy to move out of poverty and secure decent income. For instance, a developer told me that his father was a farmer – who is within the low-income class. This developer's father encouraged his five sons and two daughters to study and become one as a doctor, the second as a medical lab analysist, the third as an engineer, and the list goes on[35].

Furthermore, all the interviewees had funded the education of their daughters and sons at Lebanese universities, mostly from American University of Beirut, Beirut Arab University, Lebanese American University, and Islamic University. Only one developer has a son studied in the University of South Hampton, in London. Some of the interviewed developers' daughters and sons studied engineering, pharmacy, doctor, literature, and others in universities. Three of these developers had their children already working with them in their offices as engineers. For example, a developer stated that his oldest son graduated and had his bachelor and master's degrees in civil engineering from the American University of Beirut; as well as his youngest daughter graduated and had her bachelor's degree in architecture from the Beirut Arab University. Both, the son and the daughter, are working with their father – who is a developer, in his office as engineers[36]. Some other interviewees' daughters and sons are still young – studying in schools.

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[35] Interview conducted with Adam on 18/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[36] Interview conducted with Haitham on 2/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

4. Other Work

Some interviewed developers have another work/income. These developers are considered as businessmen, and the capital they work with is not necessarily tied to Lebanon. It is connected particularly to several African context, namely Abidjan and Mali, where they have partners as well as in France. This is a network of Lebanese, Shia individuals who work across these three contexts and are typically tied through family and geographic relations. For example, two of the developers' income is linked to expatriated capital. The first interviewee told me that he is a partner with his brothers and father that work in group of ملاحم in Africa[37]. The second interviewee also is a partner with his brother – who works in France as a doctor. They have a company that gives medical services in Lebanon. This company works with insurance agencies and moves patients dwelling in any country from/to the hospital, by ambulance, taxi, helicopter, or airplane[38]. Furthermore, after the economic and pandemic crisis that have been going on in Lebanon since the past four to five years, one of the developers thought to start constructing new buildings in Abidjan and Mali as well as in Iraq. He said that this will open new horizons for him in the coming years[39].

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[37] Interview conducted with Rashid on 21/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[38] Interview conducted with Issa on 24/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[39] Interview conducted with Haseeb on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

Also, other developers rely on additional work which is away from developing buildings. This is linked to local capital. For instance, one of the developers has a Gas Station in Aaitet, where his brother supervises the work there[40].

B. Mode of Operation

This section profiles the mode of operation of the 14 interviewed developers, including where do they build, how do they work, how do they access lands, and how do they find clients in Al-Hosh.

1. Where do they build?

It is noteworthy that all interviewed developers rely on social network that is reached through the developers' and/or their wives' family origin, neighbors, public sectors, and others. These social connections facilitate the work of the developers in different areas of Cazas in the South of Lebanon, such as Tyre, Bint Jbeil, and Nabatiyeh (Figure 35). All interviewed developers worked in Al-Hosh as well as in other vicinities of the Caza of Tyre, particularly in Abbassiyeh, the city of Tyre, Burj El-Chemali, Ain Baal, Qana, and other towns. An interviewee – who is from Mansoure and had lived from 1993 till 2013 in Al-Hosh, stated that he worked in Mansoure, Al-Hosh, Kadmous, Al-Koleile, Ain Baal, and Qana. He also pointed that his thick social network helped him in building in these different areas in the Caza of Tyre[41]. Other interviewed developers worked in both Cazas, Tyre and Bint Jbeil. For instance, a developer – who has been for 40 years in the business and knows a large number of

[40] Interview conducted with Mohamad on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.
[41] Interview conducted with Younis on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

connections, he has built in most towns in the Caza of Tyre, such as Abbassiyeh, Al-Hosh and Burj El-Chemali, and other villages. Also, after the liberation in 2000, the developer built in the Caza of Bint Jbeil, where he constructed in the region private villas for well-off expats[42].

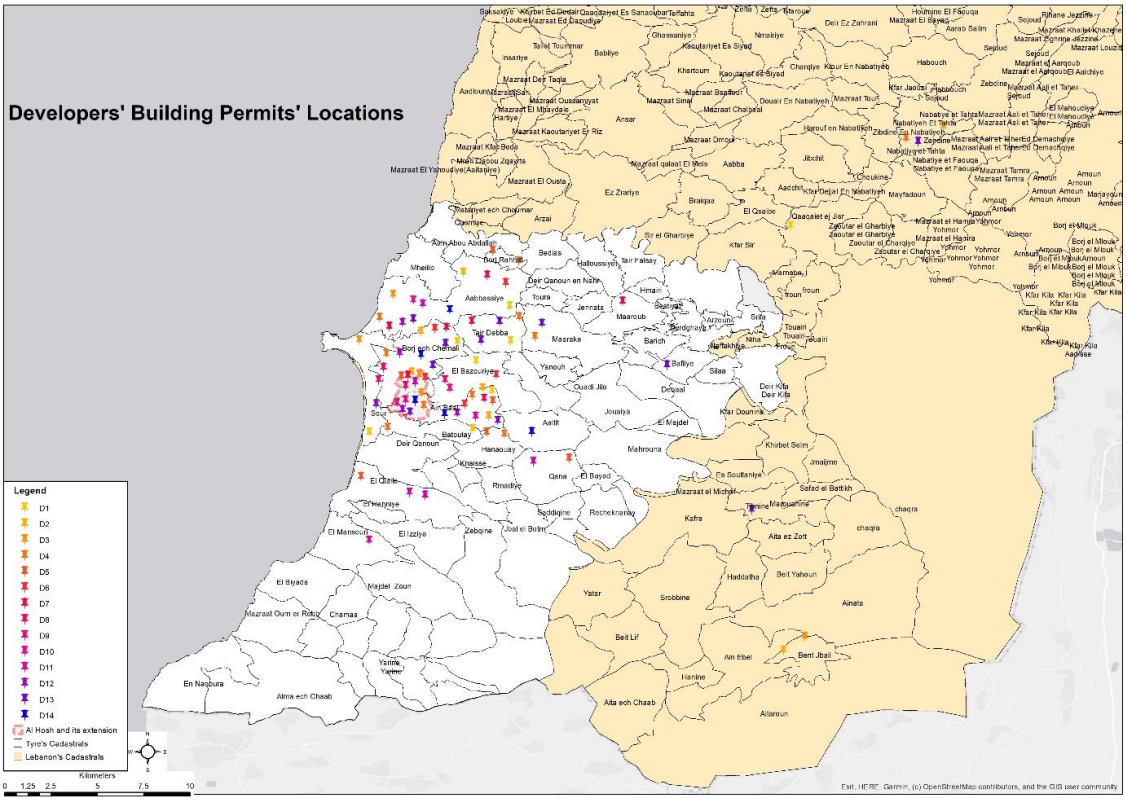

Figure 35: Developers' Building Permits' Location
Source: Author (2021), based on the interviewees.

2. How do developers work?

There are three ways where all the interviewed developers started working in real estate. 8 of the 14 interviewees had started their work in real estate with partners who allowed them to secure the financing of their projects. These developers created

[42] Interview conducted with Mansour on 15/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

partnership with their friends who are engineers or with their siblings who work abroad, such as in Canada, France, and Africa. For example, an interviewee built his first development in 2010, as an adventure for a new beginning. He was a partner with his brother – who supported him financially from Canada, they developed in Al-Hosh[43]. Another two of the interviewed developers began as engineers who worked alone. For instance, a developer started working in the real estate in 2010-2011, after 12 years of experience in architecture. He stated that experience is a crucial starting point in developing buildings. He also pointed that the developer should not prioritize earning money from investment, yet to build trust with clients that facilitate in selling apartments[44]. While the other four developers worked in companies and then started working alone. For example, a developer worked for/with a big developer for 5-6 years – who was at least 10 years older than him, and after the training he began to work on his own in both Cazas, Tyre and Bint Jbeil, mainly in Al-Hosh, Yaroun, Maroun Al-Rass, and other towns[45].

"The social network is a main key for work, where trust and honesty are the most two important values to succeed", this is based on an interviewed developer[46]. Most interviewed developers have a thick network of social relations that connect them to the key institutions that facilitate their work and the process of development. This is far from the abstract market where transactions with banks and the state occur impersonally. Instead, developers reach out to specific individuals they know whether in

[43] Interview conducted with Mohamad on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[44] Interview conducted with Sami on 29/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[45] Interview conducted with Mansour on 15/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[46] Interview conducted with Haitham on 2/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

public agencies, banks, or family/kin. Interviewees also work hard to develop new networks and maintain them regularly to protect their business and expand it. The below explains more briefly the social networks that developers have been developing through banks, public sector, and kin/family connections:

i. Banks: Some social connections are built through banks, particularly through managers. "انها علاقة شخصية اكثر من علاقة مصرفية"[47]. Some of these social relations are based on the developers' continuous active in/out transactions from banks. Some others rely on a thick social network with managers – who are developers' colleagues from university. For instance, a developer knows a bank manager from university who works with him as a friend[48]. This mostly applies to the banks that used to give housing loans to clients before 2018, since, as shown in the interviews, the loans were not heavily relied on during the last periods. Eight interviewed developers know managers of banks, mostly Bank Audi, Bank Med, The National Bank, and BLOM Bank. For example, a developer has a thick social network with three banks, where in both Bank Audi and Byblos Bank, he has continuous active bank accounts of transactions. He also has an account in Bank Med that gave good deals/offers of housing loans for the developer's clients.[49]

ii. Public Sector: Some other social connections are created through the public sector and are critical to secure permitting for developers. Also, around half of the interviewed developers have served in municipalities as mayors or as

[47] Interview conducted with Haitham on 2/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[48] Interview conducted with Haitham on 2/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[49] Interview conducted with Rashid on 21/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

site engineers. For example, an interviewed developer pointed that he is occupying a public post, رئيس التصاميم والدراسات, in the municipality of the city of Tyre. He works as a volunteer, without taking salary from the municipality. The developer also stated that he wants to stop working in the municipality because this needs full-time from him and not part-time.[50] Furthermore, two of the interviewed developers works as public employees, one in the Directorate General of Urbanism (DGU) in the Caza of Tyre[51] and the second works as a director in the Land Registry in Bint Jbeil[52]. Also, a developer conducts studies for the DGU, and the ministry of environment. "I worked on several master plans in the Caza with the municipality of Tyre" [53].

iii. Kin: Other social networks are built through family/kin connections that facilitate the work of the developers in real estate. This spreads the work of the developers over several villages. For instance, a developer told me that he worked in the Caza of Bint Jbeil because his wife is from there, specifically from Houmein Al-Tahta; "My wife is from Bint Jbeil, from Houmein Al-Tahta, through her I managed to work there and develop several buildings"[54].

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[50] Interview conducted with Adam on 18/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[51] Interview conducted with Charbel on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[52] Interview conducted with Younis on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[53] Interview conducted with Haitham on 2/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[54] Interview conducted with Adam on 18/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

3. How do developers access to Lands?

All interviewed developers start to develop their work through accessing to lands. There are three different ways to access lands in Al-Hosh – are briefly discussed below, based on the interviewed developers:

i. Partnership with the landowner: Some of the interviewed developers partnership with the landowner, this is common to have. One of the developers told me that they used to help people who want to subdivide their lots, and after it becomes several lots, they sell and/or build on these subdivisions. The subdivisions were being sold through social networks, landowner/developer/investor – and secure funding by forward payments. For example, according to a developer, the landlord gives the land, and the engineer supports financially to build and then sell apartments[55]. Furthermore, six developers agreed that before 2010, there was the idea that the landlord takes either units and/or money. For instance, an interviewee partnership with the landowner, told me that first they guess both the price of the land and the building that they are going to develop. After that, the dividend (ربح) of the apartment units is divided into 25% for the landlord and 75% for the developer[56].

ii. Buy the whole land: It is noteworthy that most of the developers agree that there is a newly trend of accessing a land, which is to buy it and pay cash for the landlord then develop on it. Some of the developers – who work alone,

[55] Interview conducted with Mansour on 15/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[56] Interview conducted with Sami on 29/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

buy the whole land then develop on it. “It is better for me to buy the whole land and develop on it alone, rather than giving apartment and/or money to the landlord. This is more beneficial for me”[57]. Also, some other developers work with partners who are expats and/or live in the Caza of Tyre. They buy the whole site and develop on it. For instance, an interviewed developer who is an engineer and contractor at the same time works with his two best friends who knows them from long ago. One of them is معلم الباطون and the other friend supports them financially, who is a pharmacist and has an aluminum shop in Lebanon; as well he had lived in America, now he is in Beirut. There three of them buy the whole site, then develop residential apartment building on it. After that, the developers divide the dividend from the sold apartment units[58].

iii. Rent a land: Also, another way to access a land is to rent it for several years and then return it back to the landlord. For instance, one of the developers points that there was a common idea which is to rent a land in the Caza of Tyre, specifically in the city of Tyre. This interviewee told me that 15 years ago, an investor rent a land and built on it commercial shops, such as ORCA, and then return the land to the landlord after 10 years. The interviewed developer argued that the investor benefits from the first 10 years of the commercial shops since they are new to the area[59].

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[57] Interview conducted with Sami on 29/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.
[58] Interview conducted with Adam on 18/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[59] Interview conducted with Hussein on 31/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

4. Finding clients to sell residential units

It is not easy for the developers to find clients for their work but they have developed tactics. Developers noted that Lebanese expatriates from the area buy apartment units. For example, a developer explained that most (about 80%) of his clients live abroad in Africa, London, Europe, while 20% live in Lebanon.[60] Developers also pointed to the fact that the increase in size has meant that people knew each other less and less. Most interviewees agreed that before 2006, developers knew all residents in Al-Hosh.

How do developers spread information? Twelve developers pointed that they rely on social networks and reputation that connects engineers and architects to sell apartment units. Yet, after 2018, developers noted that they have begun to also rely on social media such as FaceBook, Yasour, Instagram, Sawt Al-Farah, and electronic brochures to attract clients. They also pointed to billboards posted in the location of the projects and to realtors helping in the proces. A developer states that: “Before the economic and pandemic crisis in Lebanon, I was relying on my thick social network and my great reputation in the market, to sell apartments. Nowadays, I depend on social media for selling my apartment units”.[61]

C. Why did they choose to work in the area of Al-Hosh?

This section of the chapter presents the replies of the developers in explaining their choice to work in the area of Al-Hosh.

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[60] Interview conducted with Haitham on 2/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.
[61] Interview conducted with Sami on 29/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

In attempting to understand why Al-Hosh was shaped into a suburban area as of the 1990s, I interviewed the developers working in the area. They have offered several explanations for the attractiveness of the neighborhood to building development.

First, is connectivity. The Lebanese government cut Al-Hosh high-way during the French mandate in 1936. T`he road was widened and extended from Tyre to Qana in the late 1980s. In trying to understand why Al Hosh developed as a residential area, I interviewed developers who have worked in its building development.[62] Six of the interviewed developers described the Tyre-Qana highway as an important vein, one that connects the neighborhoods to surrounding areas, all the way to Qana and Al-Naqoura, Lebanon's southern tip. They explained their decision to develop housing in the area in relation to the road, which they believe encourages people to move in. The important role of this road was further emphasized by four developers who described the shops on the main axis as a lucrative income that encourages their developments to insert commercial functions on the ground floors of residential buildings. However, there are commercial residential buildings located on the secondary roads with limited number of shops. Also, according to two interviewees, the prices of shops differ based on the location, on the main axis the shops can be sold with higher prices, for 3K-5K$, yet not like the secondary roads with lower prices.

Second, is the proximity to the city of Tyre. Few of the 14 interviewed developers emphasized that Al-Hosh proximity to the city of Tyre as an important magnet. They added that Al-Hosh is an area that is close to attractive amenities, including cafés, the beach, and among them.

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[62] See full interviews methods in Introduction, findings in Chapter 4.

Third, is the affordable land when compared to nearby the city of Tyre, as explained above, since most lands was agricultural. Most of the interviewed developers agreed that the price of the lands in Al-Hosh is cheaper than that in the center of the city of Tyre.

Fourth, is the nature of the developed area. In seeking to understand further why Al-Hosh has developed, I asked developers to provide me more insights about their choice to develop in this area. Eight interviewed developers described Al-Hosh as "a good geographic location, elegant, calm, and well-off area". Several also appreciated the ability to build modern architectural styles that distance the area from nearby villages. According to a developer, "The difference that in Al-Hosh is the market request where the buildings are 'deluxe' inside-out, while that in other villages apartment units are smaller"[63].

D. Proposals made by the interviewed developers

This section reports the ideas and recommendations put forward by the 14 interviewed developers on the possible role of municipalities and public sectors that aids the developers to fit the urban development in the area.

There are several proposals made by the 14 interviewed developers to "plan" the area of Al-Hosh (Table 2):

Some of these proposals are important to consider in urban planning for a long-term, such as:

[63] Interview conducted with Rashid on 21/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

1. To improve the infrastructure in Al-Hosh, like set-up sewers, electricity, and water supply: Most of the developers are looking for better infrastructure that fits with the rapid urban growth in Al-Hosh. One of the developers stated that water and electricity should be readily available by the municipality rather than developers having to do it by themselves. Some developers are digging water wells and distributing electricity in Al-Hosh[64].
2. To plan and design Al-Hosh as a one well-defined area: a private company could have taken this area and developed it: One developer argued that Al-Hosh should be reconceived as one suburban district and designed as one well-defined area. Another developer wished that in addition, architectural guidelines are introduced to unify some of the stylistic architectural decisions. He also added that in his opinion, a private company could have taken this area and developed it (تنظيم تفصيلي), like Solidere[65].
3. To reintroduce housing loans that allow people to buy the vacant secondary houses in Al-Hosh: In addition to planning regulations, developers also hoped that housing loans would be reintroduced. Loans play a crucial role in the market. Public policy in the form of loans can affect building development since people can buy secondary houses in Al-Hosh area. One of the interviewees argued that banks should resume giving loans to allow clients to buy apartment

[64] Interview conducted with Sami on 29/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[65] Interview conducted with Younis on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

units from developers. In return, this will activate the building development growth in the area and reduces the number of vacant apartment units[66].

4. To plan parks, center, and public spaces in their development plans in Al-Hosh: Few of the interviewed developers agreed that Al-Hosh lacks the needed facilities found in other developed cities. One of the interviewees mentioned that Al-Hosh is considered a city. However, developers usually work in this area without having any plans for it being an integral residential zone. These developers do not consider parks, centers, and public spaces in their development plans in Al-Hosh. Also, he added that "In my opinion, the old town of Ain Baal should serve as a new center for Al-Hosh"[67]. Besides, developers are looking for additional convenient facilities in Al-Hosh. Three of the interviewed developers suggested that public gardens, streetlights, clean roads, security, and secondary road maintenance are needed to support the built environment in the area. For instance, one developer mentioned that security is needed in Al-Hosh. He also added that municipalities should work on the maintenance of Al-Hosh even if the municipal fees increased, which is currently at 100K Lebanese Pounds[68].
5. To introduce additional oversight on the area and reduce illegalities and excesses by having, for examples, members of the OEA and the municipalities control development (e.g., number of floors and setbacks): Supervision of projects is one of the recommendations of the interviewed developers to improve public

[66] Interview conducted with Adam on 18/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.
[67] Interview conducted with Haitham on 2/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[68] Interview conducted with Mohamad on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

facilities in Al-Hosh. Two of the 14 interviewed developers suggested that there should be supervision covering projects in the area. One of these developers recommended that "the OEA should have a role in supervising the projects in Al-Hosh"[69]. Another developer also suggested that "Each municipality in the area of Al-Hosh, Ain Baal and Burj El-Chemali, should have an engineering office in its area which in return will facilitate the work of engineers/developers/investors in the area"[70].

6. To modify the land-use plan of the area: an agricultural zone can be replaced by a residential area and vice-versa based on the geographical nature and location of the land: One of the interviewed developers mentioned that some zones in Al-Hosh need to change their land use. He pointed that an agricultural zone can be replaced by a residential area and vice-versa based on the geographical nature and location of the land[71].
7. To have two to three entrances/exits, rather than only having one to reduce traffic jam: One of the interviewees suggested that having two to three entrances/exits, rather than only having one, is necessary to reduce traffic jam in the area. He pointed that traffic jams occur two times daily on the Tyre-Qana highway that passes through Al-Hosh, specifically during winter days, at 8:00 am and 2:00-3:00 pm. This traffic jam is mainly caused by having only one entrance/exit in the area[72].

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[69] Interview conducted with Adam on 18/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.
[70] Interview conducted with Younis on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[71] Interview conducted with Charbel on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[72] Interview conducted with Issa on 24/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

8. To preserve green areas in Al-Hosh: 2 of the 14 interviewed developers agreed that the aesthetic of the area is central to preserve the green natural beauty of Al-Hosh. One of these developers stated that "We should develop, yet not ruin the area with the built environment"[73]. And the other developer argued that "There should be more green spaces and areas in Al-Hosh"[74].

Some other proposals could worsen conditions in the area, such as to increase the total exploitation factor in the area for a greater number of housing units: Some of the interviewed developers argued that Al-Hosh should update its master plans, including new parcelizations and land pooling and regulations. Not surprisingly, they were mostly concerned about what they perceived as a low exploitation factor, arguing that the total exploitation ratio (ارتفاع الاستثمار العام) in the area should be increased. Such increase would raise the permissible number of floors and apartments in the area of Al-Hosh, and consequently their profit. Three of these interviewees also argued that the increase in the number of apartments decreases the price of units in Al-Hosh. For instance, a developer stated that the increase in the total exploitation to 5-6 floors, instead of building 3-4 floors in Al-Hosh, helps in dividing the price of the land into the apartment units[75]. I point to the fact that the price of housing doesn't however follow supply and demand curves, which makes this argument unsubstantiated. Another interviewee pointed that 80% of Burj El-Chemali does not need any modification in

[73] Interview conducted with Adam on 18/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[74] Interview conducted with Youssef on 21/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

[75] Interview conducted with Rashid on 21/3/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

regulations, but he argued that Ain Baal where building regulations are stricter, needs to increase in the total exploitation ratio[76].

Table 2: Proposals to plan Al-Hosh
Source: Author (2021), Based on 14 interviews with developers working in the area (2021)

Proposals	**Proposals are important to consider in urban planning for a long-term**
	To improve the infrastructure
	To plan and design Al-Hosh as a one well-defined area
	To return the housing loans
	To plan parks, center, and public spaces
	To introduce additional oversight on the area
	To modify the land-use plan of the area
	To have two to three entrances/exits
	To preserve green areas
	Proposals could worsen conditions in the area
	To increase the total exploitation factor

E. Conclusion

In conclusion, what I can extract from the analysis of the interviewed developers are the social, educational, institutional, and connections that these developers need to build in Al-Hosh.

It is noteworthy that the real estate market in Al-Hosh is penetrated by developers who are well-educated men, belong to good socioeconomic status, and are

[76] Interview conducted with Charbel on 3/4/2021, over the phone – WhatsApp call.

raised in the Caza of Tyre. As well as some of these developers have additional income from local and/or expatriated capital. This penetration heavily relies on social networks with bank managers who developers know through friendship, public sectors, and family/kin connections that facilitate their work in real estate. These developers are finding expatriated clients that come mainly from London, Abidjan, and Zambia. Consequently, all interviewed developers seem to be “businessmen” who build projects and develop thick local and expatriated social networks.

Furthermore, the area of Al-Hosh lacks public amenities to the area, such as sidewalks, public spaces, and sufficient infrastructures like electricity, sewage, and water supply, as well as lax connectivity between the built and unbuilt environment.

CHAPTER V

THE PLACE OF URBAN PLANNING

This chapter profiles the role that urban planning actors and regulations have played in the Al-Hosh area. The chapter is divided in two sections. In the first section, I tackle the understanding of the urban regulations, focusing on the lot subdivisions, on the master planning, on the zones and regulations, and on the understanding public regulations of Al-Hosh. As for the second section, it reports the place of urban planning and what I learned.

A. Understanding Urban Regulations

This section of the thesis fleshes out the urban planning tools and regulations applied in Al-Hosh, focusing on the two municipal areas of Ain Baal and Burj El-Chemali. I describe specifically the various planning tools deployed in Al Hosh and how they affected the development of the zone.

1. Lot Subdivisions

In most developed countries, lot subdivision happens in the outskirts of cities at the initiative of public agencies that earmark land for urban growth and channel urban development in environmentally and socially responsible forms. In Lebanon, the planning tools allow for this form of development since the adoption of the first Loi de L'Urbanisme in the country in 1962. However, with a few exceptions like Saida or Tripoli, this tool has not often been used. Instead, cities grow through individually planned privately initiated land subdivision initiatives that follow the profit for developers and the availability of land, often irrespective of infrastructure provision.

This was the case of Al-Hosh where no coherent and coordinated planning occurred. Instead, it an incrementally subdivision of large agricultural lands continues, to date, to push the growth of the area through separately designed private lot subdivision initiatives. In other words, the development of Al-Hosh relies on private land pooling and readjustment (ضم و فرز خاص), through several large-scale subdivisions of agricultural lands in the area to facilitate building development.

As a planning tool, the land pooling intervention was modified by decree 43 on 23/3/1985. The tool was approved by the Lebanese parliament and the Council of Ministers. Through the tool, one or several private landowners, developers, and investors group are allowed to pool together several land lots and re-subdivide them into what typically is geometric and organized individual lots ready to be built and served with roads and public functions. At least since 1983, any private claimant is required to earmark 25% of the total size of the property for public functions including roads and infrastructure networks, gardens, or other public facilities. I counted in Al-Hosh around 22 lot subdivisions in Ain Baal and another 9 private subdivisions in Burj El-Chemali (Figure 36). As such, the delineation of Al-Hosh as a zone of urban expansion was the individual decision of private developers rather than the outcome of a concerted plan.

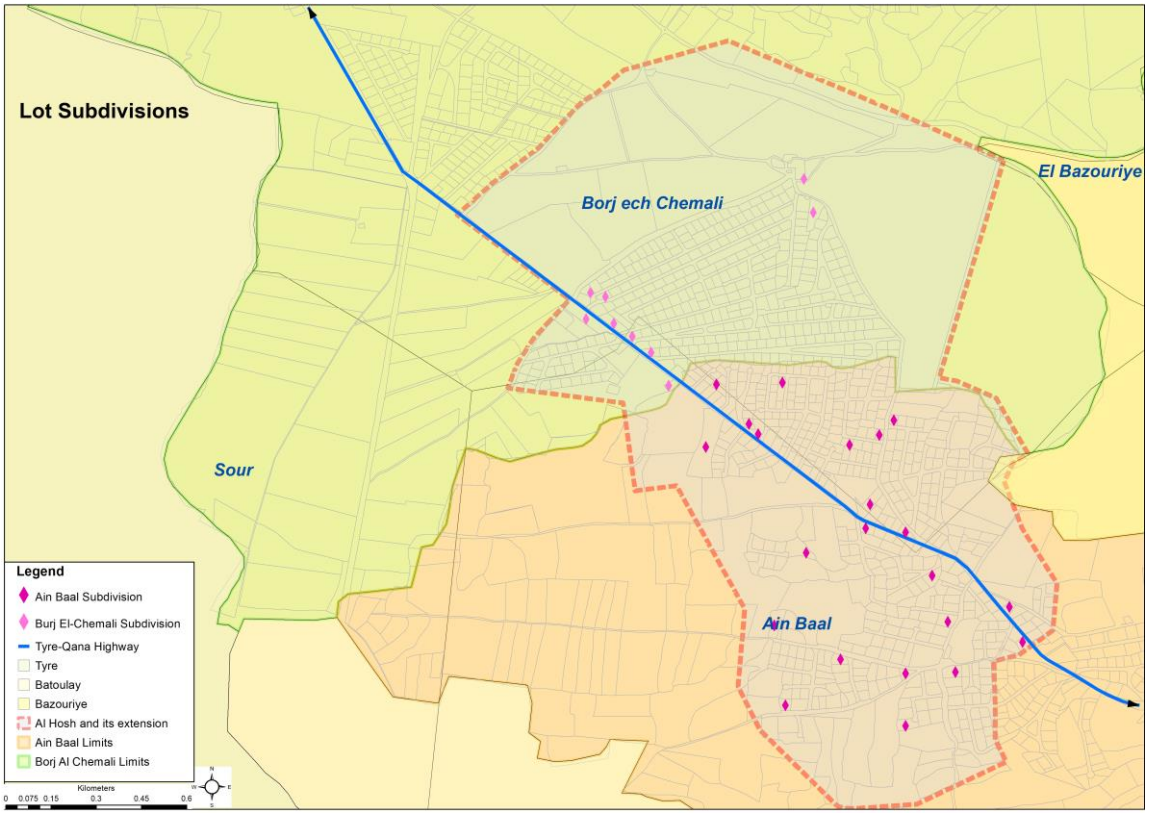

Figure 36: Lot Subdivisions
Source: Author (2021), based on the AutoCad Files.

2. Master Planning

In line with the rest of the country, the main planning and design tool used to regulate building development in Al-Hosh is the land-use master plan. What is the master plan? As a planning tool, in Lebanon, the master plan remains a very limited version of contemporary spatial planning (Albrechts, 2004 and Faludi, 2000). While in Europe, master planning is a multi-scalar and integrative approach that relies often on a combination of flexible strategies, in Lebanon –as in numerous other countries of the global south (Watson, 2009), the master plan is a limited land use plan that imposes compliance-based regulations that strictly define ceilings on building heights and densities, as well as floor area ratios for constructions. Used in addition to the building

law, which applies universally in Lebanon irrespective of the context, the master plan defines effectively how much a developer can build and consequently how much profit the development will reap. It is noteworthy that the master plan has no environmental considerations.

Since Al-Hosh falls within two different municipal districts, individual master plans were developed within each of the towns. In other words, there is no master plan in Al-Hosh. Instead, each of the two municipalities, Burj El-Chemali and Ain Baal, in coordination with the DGU, has hired a consultant to develop a master plan. The two of Ain Baal's (608 decree in 2007) was the first to adopt a master plan in 2007. Two years later, Burj El-Chemali developed a plan in decree 2195 in 2009 (Figure 37).

These master plans were not coordinated and did not conceptualize of the area as one entity. Instead, each began its planning from the historical core of the village that it was planning, operating in concentric areas of decreasing densities that intersected without coordination on the two districts. Previous photographs of these master plans are not found in the archive of Tyre’s DGU, employees are instructed to destroy the hard copies of old maps and archive them digitally when a new master plan is produced. In line with other critiques of master plans, it is noteworthy that each of these two master plans was developed independently from the other. However, because the master plan’s last versions were developed in a context where building development was already occurring in the area, the zoning regulations followed the practice, working together to plan the same continuous landscape. There was however no coordination

between the municipalities, which means that the area has continuous urbanization that does not unify the standards[77].

Moreover, other regulations that affect the built environment in the area of Al-Hosh is the 2004 building law. In 2004, the Lebanese parliament approved the 646-building law. This law imposes requirements for buildings, such as the height of fences, building envelopes, access to light and ventilation, number of parking lots allowed, and among them. Also, law 646/2004 allowed developers to build more intensively and higher than earlier versions of the building law. It is noteworthy that the Lebanese building law allows since 1971 exceptional conditions for larger lots, which do not have to abide by master plan regulations and follow instead an exceptional process of permitting. The 2004 law has further confirmed this exception. As a result, we find that one compound of high-rise buildings has developed in Al-Hosh. The developer has secured an exception from the Higher Council of the DGU (المجلس الاعلى للتنظيم المدني) and built towers at the border of Burj el-Chemlai.

In addition, according to the head of the DGU in Tyre, all building permits that are related to the two active municipal towns, Ain Baal and Burj El-Chemali, including those in Al-Hosh need approval first from the Directorate General of Archeology before they are approved by the DGU.

The combination between the land-use master plan zoning and the law 646/2004 form the regulatory framework within which developers work.

[77] According to a conversation with the head of Tyre's DGU (22/2/2020)

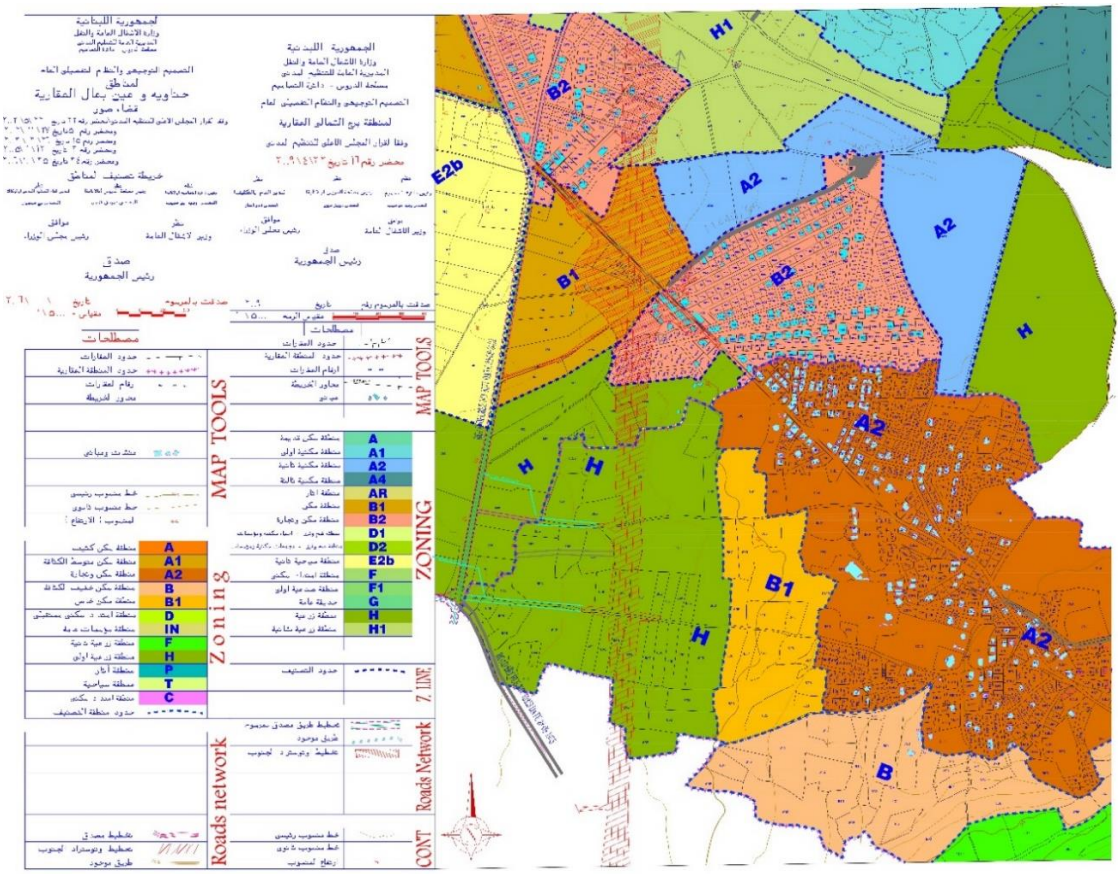

Figure 37: Master Plan of Al-Hosh
Source: Author (2021), based on the DGU (2020)

3. Zones and Regulations

Al-Hosh is known for its categories of zones that are characterized by different regulations as follows (table 3 and table 4):

i. Zones in Ain Baal: The area of Al-Hosh, part of Ain Baal town, is subdivided in several regulatory zones that fall within Zone A2, Zone B, Zone B1, and Zone H. Zone A2 is a mixed-use area (residential and commercial) with a maximum of three floors and 12.5 meters of building height. As for Zone B, it is an area with a few residential buildings of a maximum of two floors and 8.5 meters in height. Also, Zone B1 is for private residential buildings (villas) with a maximum of three floors and 9 meters in height. Finally, Zone H is considered

the primary agricultural area in Al-Hosh, however building is still allowed in the area with a maximum of two floors and 6 meters of building height.

ii. Zones in Burj El-Chemali: The area of Al-Hosh, part in Burj El-Chemali town, is subdivided in several regulatory zones that fall within Zone A1, Zone B1, Zone B2, Zone H, and Zone H1. Starting with Zone A1, it is considered the first residential area in town. As for Zone A2, it is the second residential area. Similarly, Zone B1 is a residential area with a maximum of three floors and 13.5 meters of building height. However, Zone B2 is a mixed-use area (residential and commercial) with a maximum of four floors and 14.5 meters of building height. Finally, Zone H is considered an agricultural area, and Zone H1 is regarded as the second agricultural area with a maximum of two floors and 6 and 7 meters respectively of building heights.

Table 3: Regulations of Burj El-Chemali
Source: DGU (2020)

الملاحظات	العلو الأقصى للبناء م	عدد الطوابق	معدل الاستثمار العام الأقصى	معدل الاستثمار السطحي الأقصى %	التراجع: التراجع الخلفي م.ط	التراجع: التراجع الجانبي م.ط	التراجع: [illegible] م.ط	الإفراز: العمق الأدنى بعد التخطيط م.ط	الإفراز: الواجهة الدنيا بعد التخطيط م.ط	الإفراز: المساحة الدنيا بعد التخطيط م.م	القطع الموجودة الصالحة للبناء: العمق الأدنى بعد التخطيط م.ط	القطع الموجودة الصالحة للبناء: الواجهة الدنيا بعد التخطيط م.ط	القطع الموجودة الصالحة للبناء: المساحة الدنيا بعد التخطيط م.م	المنطقة	
يسمح بطابق اضافي	13.5	3	1.2	40	3	لاشيء	2	15	15	500	10	10	250	منطقة سكن قديمة	A
يسمح بطابق اضافي	13.5	3	1.2	40	3	3	3	22	22	1000	12	12	400	منطقة سكنية اولى	A1
يسمح بطابق اضافي	13.5	3	0.9	30	4	4	3	22	22	1000	16	16	600	منطقة سكنية ثانية	A2
	9	2	0.4	20	4	4	4	25	25	1200	18	18	800	منطقة سكنية ثالثة	A4
	13.5	3	0.9	30	4	3	3	25	25	1200	15	15	600	منطقة سكن متوسط	B1
يسمح بالقبو في العقارات التي لا تزيد مساحتها عن 500 م2	14.5	4	1.2	30	4	3	3	25	25	1200	15	15	400	منطقة سكن وتجارة	B2
	12	3	1.05	35	4	4	4	50	50	5000	-	-	-	ضم وفرز املاك الدولة - أحياء سكنية ومؤسسات	D1
تنظم المنطقة بمخطط تصميم بموافقة المجلس الاعلى للتنظيم المدني والمديرية العامة للآثار	15	4	1.4	35	5	5	5	70	70	10000	-	-	-	ضم وفرز املاك الدولة - مجمعات سكنية ومؤسسات	D2
يخضع البناء لمخطط تصميم وموافقة المديرية العامة للتنظيم المدني	11.5	3	0.75	25	5	5	5	35	35	2500	30	30	1500	منطقة سكن وسياحة	E2b
	6	2	0.05	5	6	6	6	45	45	4000	30	30	2000	منطقة امتداد سكني	F
التقيد بالترتيبات المنصوص عنها في الشروط الخاصة على طول الواجهة	12	3	1.2	40	5	5	4	60	40	3000	30	30	1500	منطقة صناعية	F1
يسمح البناء لسكن مالك الارض واولاده ، وللاستثمار الزراعي	6	2	0.1	5	6	6	6	50	50	5000	35	35	3000	منطقة زراعية	H
	7	2	0.2	10	6	6	6	35	35	3000	35	35	2000	منطقة زراعية ثانية	H1
	منطقة ارتفاق الاستملاك من قبل المديرية العامة للآثار - ARG منطقة ضمن منطقة الآثار													منطقة أثرية	AR
	يسمح بإنشاء الملاعب الرياضية ومواقف السيارات المشجرة فقط													منطقة حدائق وساحات عامة	G

الجمهورية اللبنانية
وزارة الأشغال العامة و النقل
المديرية العامة للتنظيم المدني

التصميم التوجيهي والنظام التفصيلي العام لمنطقة
برج الشمالي العقارية
(قضاء صور)
نظام البناء والفرز والضم والفرز والاستثمار
وفقا لقرار المجلس الأعلى للتنظيم المدني
محضر رقم 16 تاريخ 22 / 4 / 2009

نظم	نظر	نظر
رئيس دائرة التصاميم	رئيس مصلحة الدروس بالانابة	المدير العام للتنظيم المدني بالتكليف
م. وجيه ابي حبيب	م. درويش قزيري	م. فادي النمار
نظر		موافق
وزير الأشغال العامة و النقل		رئيس مجلس الوزراء

صدق
رئيس الجمهورية

صدق بالمرسوم رقم : تاريخ : / / 2009

Table 4: Regulations of Ain Baal
Source: DGU (2020)

	المنطقة	القطع الموجودة الصالحة للبناء			الارتداد			التراجع			الاستثمار			
		المساحة الدنيا بعد التخطيط م²	الواجهة الدنيا بعد التخطيط م	العمق الأدنى بعد التخطيط م	المساحة الدنيا بعد التخطيط م²	الواجهة الدنيا بعد التخطيط م	العمق الأدنى بعد التخطيط م	التراجع عن حدود المخطط أو الطريق	التراجع الجانبي م	التراجع الخلفي م	الاستثمار الأقصى %	عدد الطوابق الأقصى	الارتفاع الأقصى للبناء م	الملاحظات
A	المدينة القديمة (سكن كثيف)	250	12	12	400	15	15	٣ أمتار	لا شيء	2	40	3	10	
A1	سكن متوسط الكثافة	500	15	15	1000	20	20	عن جدود الطريق	3	3	30	3	11	
A2	منطقة سكن و تجارة	600	16	16	1000	20	20		3	3	30	3	12.5	
B	سكن خفيف الكثافة	800	20	20	1200	25	25	وسطيا	4	4	30	2	8.5	
B1	سكن خاص (فيلات)	1000	20	20	1500	30	30	للرسوم	4.5	4.5	30	2	9	يجب ان لا تتجاوز مساحة كل طابق
C	منطقة امتداد سكني	1000	20	20	1500	30	30	التنظيم	4	4	15	2	7.5	لا يسمح باستثمار المؤسسات العامة
D	امتداد سكني مستقبلي	1500	30	30	2500	35	35	والمرافق	4.5	4.5	10	2	7.5	
H	منطقة زراعية أولى	2500	35	35	5000	50	50	المسن	6	6	5	2	5	يسمح للمالك لسكن مالك ١
F	منطقة زراعية ثانية	2500	35	35	5000	50	50	على طريق	6	6	5	1	4.5	يسمح للمالك لسكن مالك ٢
IM	مؤسسات عامة	1000	25	25	2000	35	35	للطبقة الجزء	5	5	30	2	9	
P	حماية (قرية – ثقافية)	-	-	-	-	-	-	مع ما تبقى	-	-	-	-	-	يستثنى الشوارع من قبل الإدارة
T	منطقة سياحية	2500	30	30	5000	50	50	٤ أمتار	4	4	20	2	7.5	مخصص للمشاريع السياحية فقط

4. Understanding Public Regulations

In sum, land use planning in the area has failed to conceive of Al-Hosh as a single suburban district serving the area and lacks coherence in regulations and/or building guidelines. Consequently, the area appears as a mixture of buildings with varying heights and conditions that lack coherence and organization. Worse, the subdivision of land that follows the operation of developers lacks the infrastructure of a suburban residential neighborhoods: developers often don't introduce sidewalks. They also fail to introduce green areas or facilities. As a result, the urban organization of the district is at best messy.

B. Conclusion

In conclusion, the analysis of the place of urban planning is considered as a regulatory framework, following both the land-use master planning and the law 646/2004 in Al-Hosh.

Al-Hosh underwent private land pooling and readjustment in both Burj El-Chemali and Ain Baal towns, leading to incremental subdivisions that grew independently; yet not as one coherent area. Al-Hosh is also characterized by its heterogeneity but is mainly considered a residential area. As can be seen, the urban planning tool did not help the development of Al-Hosh as a coherent single area.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter of my thesis, I begin to flesh out a summary of my findings. After that, I conclude with several recommendations for urban planning measures that could improve the area.

A. Conclusions

This section of the thesis summarizes the findings and provides the reader with the intended take-home messages and conclusions.

The thesis profiled the growth in the suburbs of the Caza of Tyre, known by Al-Hosh. This area is facing significant challenges due to several factors. These factors can be defined by the pull and push urban sprawl forces described in the literature (Tiebou's, 1956), which led to this unanticipated growth in Al-Hosh. These forces are linked to economic, social, transportation, and urban planning forces, passing through five period of constructions since 1982 (Table 5). The table elaborates the push forces from: (1) from the city of Tyre and (2) Tyre's vicinities and Caza of Tyre, as well as the pull forces that attracted to build in the suburb of Al-Hosh.

Table 5: Conclusion for Pull and Push forces in Al-Hosh
Source: Author (2021)

		Push Forces		**Pull Forces**
		Push forces from the city of Tyre	**Push forces from Tyre's vicinities and Caza of Nabatiyeh**	**Pull forces to the suburban Al-Hosh**
B e f	**Economic**	Archeology made it hard	--	Purchase cheap lands

		to build		
	Social	--	--	Few villas and/or small houses were built
	Transportation	--	--	Allow people to commute
	Planning	--	--	
1982-1997	**Economic**	Spiked land prices and archeology made it hard to build	--	Affordable lands for sale
	Social	People fled the military occupation	People fled the military occupation	Villas and low quality of building were constructed
	Transportation	--	--	Allow people to commute
	Planning	--	--	Illegal buildings: no building permits or investors/ developers built up to 16 floors.
1997-2003	**Economic**	--	--	More affordable lands for sale
	Social	Attraction of clients and expats	Attraction of clients and expats	More villas were constructed
	Transportation	Traffic Jams and pollution	--	-Allow people to commute (Tyre-Qana highway) -proximity to the city and its facilities -attractive geographic location
	Planning	--	--	Land pooling/parcelization urban planning tool used

2003-2010	**Economic**	No more lands for sale	--	-Affordable lands - There is housing "supply", the developers can benefit from a market.
	Social	Not enough housing preferences	Attraction of clients and expats	Housing preferences (High/affordable houses)
	Transportation	Traffic Jams and pollution	--	-Allow people to commute (Tyre-Qana highway) -proximity to the city and its facilities -Attractive geographic location
	Planning	No more empty lands to build on	--	Private sub-divisions and incentives
2010-2018	**Economic**	No more lands for sale	--	No economic pull forces: Slowdown
	Social	Attraction of clients and expats	--	No social pull forces: 30-40% vacant apartment units
	Transportation	Traffic jams and pollution	--	No transportation pull forces: Traffic jams and pollution
	Planning	No more empty lands to build on	--	No planning pull forces: densified clustered suburb
2018-now	**Economic**	No more lands for sale	--	No economic pull forces: meltdown
	Social	Attraction of clients and expats	Attraction of clients and expats	No social pull forces: vacant apartment unit and 80% of the clients need smaller units

	Transportation	Traffic jams and pollution	--	No transportation pull forces: Traffic jams and pollution
	Planning	No more empty lands to build on	--	No planning pull forces: densified clustered suburb

This thesis also documented the building activities in Al-Hosh. The building industry has been affected by several national and local circumstances in the area, including politics, land prices, building regulations, and type of buildings, among others. The thesis also showed that urban development had been affected by the pandemic and the economic crisis for the last two years. Consequently, nowadays, there is a meltdown in the urban growth in Al-Hosh.

In addition, the thesis showed that mostly residential building development typology is constructed in this suburb. Al Hosh more specifically, has seen over time two forms of building developments that generally respond to a relatively well-off clientele. The former are private villas, a self-commissioned type of private home development. The latter are residential-commercial developments that are undertaken by professional builders and/or businessmen attracted to the profession, which are more dominant in Al-Hosh. Building activities are also essentially driven by investments through external funds and with incentives from housing loans. In short, developers encourage the purchase of secondary homes – which are also sold to clients as a long-term investment. As such, Al-Hosh has been experiencing an incremental development rather than a high-end early investment.

This thesis also showed that the area of Al-Hosh has been experiencing rapid urban development in the last twenty years. This growth has been creating pressure on

the infrastructure. Developers nowadays are mining wells due to the scarcity of public water supply in the area. This suburb also has a deficiency in the pedestrians' safety, lacking sidewalks. As such, the area of Al-Hosh suffers from a lack of public facilities. This research furthermore revealed that developers – who are building/selling in Al-Hosh are the main actors in the production of the built environment. Developers play a crucial role in the housing production process in the area, starting from the early private land sub-divisions – according to land price and/or geographic location preferences, to the final stage of selling apartment units. As such, developers are reforming the urban geography of the Al-Hosh suburb.

This research also provided a brief description of the interviewed developers working in Al-Hosh. These developers, attracted to work in Al-Hosh, are middle-aged men, trained in engineering, are born, and raised in the Caza of Tyre, and know one another. The interviews demonstrated that some of these developers do not only rely on their real estate income from this suburb; most of them have secondary income from local and/or expatriated capital. In sum, these developers are "businessmen" attracted to work in the sector of real-estate in this suburb, Al-Hosh.

In addition, the thick social connections of developers with other actors such as banks, public sectors, and kin/family facilitate their work in different areas of Cazas in the South of Lebanon, namely Tyre, Bint Jbeil, and Nabatiyeh. Developers start their new projects of housing production either through a partnership with the landowner or buying the whole land or renting the land. The thesis also showed that developers used to find their clients through the social network; nevertheless, developers have been able to find clients through social media for the last three to four years. It is noteworthy that these clients are mostly 'Beirutis' and expatriates that come mainly from London,

Abidjan, and Zambia. In sum, each one of these developers has his way through expatriated social connections that encourage them to build and sell apartment units.

Although the thesis investigated that Al-Hosh suburban area follows a regulatory framework; nevertheless, my research found that Al-Hosh is not a preplanned and coherent area, destroying agricultural lands. It also highlighted those developers are managing the housing production of Al-Hosh, reforming the two parts of villages Ain Baal and Burj El-Chemali into densified suburban clusters.

B. Recommendations

Based on my observations and findings, as well as discussions with developers that I have presented in this thesis, planners should be responsible for making the right decisions on urban planning policies concerning the built environment. Consequently, I propose four urban planning recommendations. These proposals should be taken into consideration to enhance the production of built environment in Al-Hosh suburb.

First, this thesis has shown that Al-Hosh suburban area has been witnessing dense yet incoherent housing production. To address these shortcomings, I propose to develop an integrated spatial planning framework developed at the scale of Al-Hosh, delineating the zone as a single coherent area that organizes its land-use master plan. This proposal limits the expansion of urban developments over agricultural lands and protects its social and ecological aspects. This plan can bring on board actors, including developers, planning agencies, resident groups, as well as three municipalities Ain Baal, Burj El-Chemali, and the city of Tyre.

Second, the thesis has shown that this suburban lacks urban network. To address this issue, it is imperative to enhance/improve the infrastructure in Al-Hosh. this

proposal should fit the urban sprawl, including sewage, water supply, and electricity in Al-Hosh to begin generating the area.

Third, the thesis showed that developers are invested in improving the area of Al-Hosh. I propose to bring on board for planning developers who are aware of the problems of the area. These developers could emerge as important partners because they have a vested interest in the area and its improvement. In fact, several developers have already moved to live in Al-Hosh. The thesis proposes to add land management/value tool that can encourage and incentivize developers to work within the area of Al-Hosh, while funding the development of the infrastructure. This proposal limits further urban growth and protects agricultural lands in other areas.

Fourth, it would be important to mitigate the social biases (e.g., political affiliations of developers) by thinking about the governance of the area and the diversified representation of people.

These recommendations would need to be further developed, but they show that if the drivers of sprawl are well understood, then they can be channeled, and sprawl contained.

APPENDIX I

Real-estate developers' Questions:

Relation to the neighborhood:

1) How can you see the new building developments affecting the Hosh (in both Ain Baal and Burj El-Chemali)?
2) Can you locate your older developments? How can you compare and contrast between the Hosh with other areas you developed?
3) How can you describe the quality of the buildings in the city of the Hosh with respect to other areas?
4) Have you built in other districts in the Caza of Tyre?

   How are the building developments different between these districts?

Skills and Professional Background:

1) Why did you choose to work on real-estate development in the Hosh (Ain Baal and/or Burj El-Chemali)?
2) Can you describe your first process of real-estate development? Did you receive any support from family members? Did you use partnerships in order to achieve the developments?
3) How, when, and what did you learn the profession? State two main lessons that you have learned.
4) Are you producing the built environment in the Hosh (Ain Baal and/or Burj El-Chemali) as a profession or not? Or are you a businessman who is reinvesting?
5) Had you tried another profession before? Were you/are you doing something in parallel?

Mechanism/Sources of finance:

1) Can you describe the last three recent projects you developed in the Caza of Tyre? Where are they located? When did you implement them? And who were your partners in these projects?
2) How do you advertise for your projects? Online or Pin boards?
3) Did the pandemic affect the mechanism of finance in the Hosh (Ain Baal and/or Burj El-Chemali)?

Customers:

1) Can you describe your regular customers? What are the most common professions of your customers? Are they engineers or landlords?
2) Where did they move from? Or are they local residents in the Caza of Tyre?
3) Do you know local residents in the district? If not, how do you learn about potential land for development?
4) What types of agreements do you set with landowners? Do you pay them entirely or do you give them units/apartments/offices instead?
5) Do you negotiate with old tenants? Or do the landowners talk to them?
6) Have you ever rejected selling an apartment to someone? Why?

Banking:

1) The market is currently in crisis. How does it affect your projects?
2) Do you have a bank loan? Do you/are you able to negotiate it? Are your clients also facing the same problem? Or are they sending fresh money from abroad (e.g. Africa, Europe)?

3) Do you help your customers acquire housing bank loans? Do they get financial support from other sources?
4) Do you have any good relation with a specific bank that trusts you? How did you build the relation with this bank?
5) Do you use real-estate development bank loans? If yes, how do you identify the bank? Did you get any other additional support from another source?
6) Do you have any other partnership for land development not mentioned above?

General Background:

1) How does the 2004 building law change the landscape/process for you?
   Were you personally involved in discussions about the law?
2) How many employees work in your firm? Are they engineers or not? When was it established? Where is it located?
3) Do you have other firms? What type of firm (Consultancy, contracting, real-estate…etc.)?
4) Do you have suggestions for how the Municipality and/or any other public agency can help you improve the projects in the Hosh (Ain Baal and/or Burj El-Chemali)?

The urban area of the two active municipal areas that are Burj El-Chemali, and Ain Baal, are respectively 11Km2, 7Km2.

It is noteworthy that the City of Tyre, its coastal vicinities, as well as its nearby districts namely Ain Baal, Burj El-Chemali, and Abbasiyyeh contain pristine sites that are recognized by UNESCO as World Heritage and listed since 1984, according to the DGU. More specifically, the city of Tyre's heritage value is extensive, given

the presence of remains that date back to the Phoenicians and Romans ages as well as the French Mandate (UN Habitat, 2017).

Since the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, the Caza of Tyre has been exposed to numerous local and regional wars that played a crucial role in its urbanization, including the civil war (1974-1990), the Israeli invasion of Lebanon (1978, 1982), and the Israeli wars on Lebanon in 1996 and 2006. Also, Tyre received a large influx of Palestinian and Syrian refugees ,1948-1951 (Palestinians); 2012-now (Syria war), as the outcome of the wars that prompted their forced displacement, the dates of displacement are respectively since 1997 and 2011.

- Population profile:

  One of the drivers of the urban sprawl is the relocation of inhabitants to the peripheries of the city of Tyre. The population is increasing due to changes in lifestyles, as well as the presence of job opportunities and facilities. Spatially, the population is distributed in the nucleus of the Caza and its nearby districts. It is focused largely in the city of Tyre, as well as the nearby vicinities that are Burj El-Chemali and Ain Baal. Furthermore, there is an increase of population from 78,460 to 115,650, respectively in 1997 and 2011 (UN Habitat, 2017). The approximate total number of the population reached 201,208 in 2017 (UN Habitat, 2017).

  There are diverse nationalities in the Caza of Tyre, including Lebanese as well as Syrians and Palestinians refugees.

  - Lebanese:

There are important income distinctions among residents. Week-end visitors are typically wealthier and live-in villas and multi-story apartments. Also, some people usually visit their second home in the urban area, only in the summer. While others are permanent inhabitants from nearby villages.

- Refugees:

  Aside from Tyre's original inhabitants and migrants from nearby villages, the city has been home to two large waves of refugees: Palestinian refugees in Lebanon have three official camps and two adjacent residential agglomerations, they are 87% in total. In addition, more than 15,000 Syrian and Palestinian refugees coming from Syria are estimated to live in the city since 2012. The former is around 9% while the latter is 4% in total number of refugees (UN Habitat, 2017).

  Particularly, Palestinian refugees in Lebanon who are living in camps are around 69, 700 which is 66% in total, while that who are dwelling outside of camps are 34, 700 which is 34% in total. As for the Palestinian refugees coming from Syria are 3, 790 which is 73% in total living in camps, yet 1, 400 which is 27% dwelling outside of camps. Finally, as for the Syrian refugees, they are 834 living in camps which is 8% in total, yet living outside of camps are 9811 which is 92% in total (UN Habitat, 2017).

- Urban Expansion:

Over the last two decades, the Caza of Tyre has been experiencing a massive urban expansion, which I identified based on a preliminary analysis of aerial photographs and maps from different periods. Urban sprawl is mainly concentrated at the north-east of the Caza (CRI et al., 2015). This urban development appears to be an urban

and peri-urban growth that is connected to the nucleus of the city of Tyre. Particularly, as of the late 1960s, the Caza of Tyre had started its transformation from a rural to an urban landscape: scattered agricultural structures were making way to denser patterns of building. Moreover, one driver of the urban sprawl is the relocation of inhabitants from the city of Tyre into apartments or villas in nearby districts, due to the change of their lifestyle (CRI et al., 2015).

- Urban planning and design:

  Two tools are being used for the urban planning and design in the Caza of Tyre:

  - Master Plans:

    The urban planning and design practiced in the Caza relies on a bureaucratic and centralized system, where the main tool used is the land-use master plan. Figures A and B show the current master plans, as approved for the two towns of Burj El-Chemali and Ain Baal, respectively in 2009 and 2007. Both are planned also without taking into consideration each other's zones and regulations.

  - Strategic Spatial Plan:

    The strategic spatial plan is another tool that has been introduced in the Caza of Tyre. The Union of Municipalities of Tyre, the regional body responsible for decision making, plays an important role in strategic spatial planning. This is taking place through the cooperation between the Union and international agencies and coordinated by the urban planning committee of the Union of Municipalities of Tyre.

The first stage of the strategic spatial plan of Tyre was established in 2011. This was a cooperation between the head of the planning committee of the Union and

the Provence Alpes Côtes d'Azur (PACA) region in France (Harb & Atallah, 2015). Financially, this plan was funded by the Agence Française pour le Dévelopement (AFD).

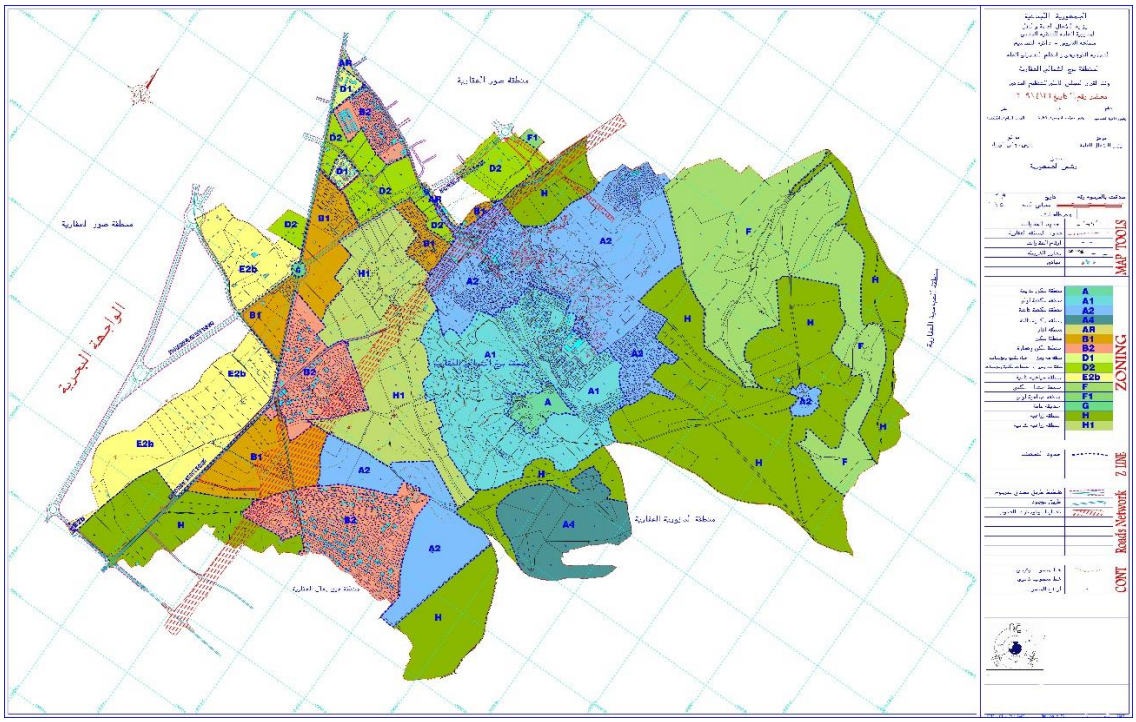

Figure A: Master Plan of Burj El-Chemali
Source: DGU (2020)

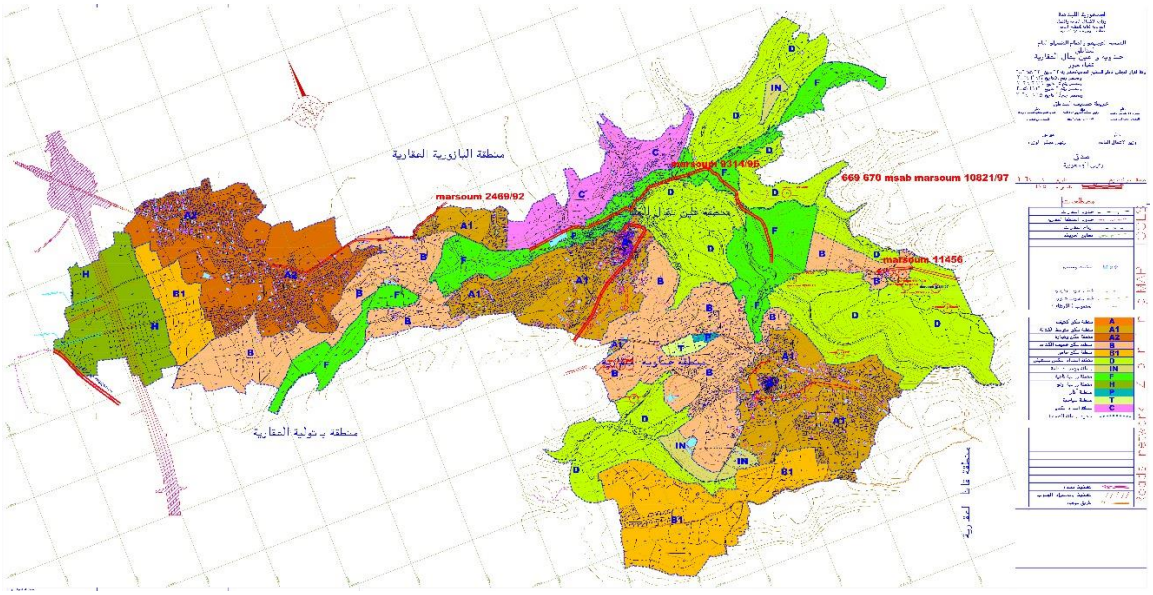

Figure B: Master Plan of Ain Baal
Source: DGU (2020)

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