



Ain Shams University
Egypt



University of Stuttgart
Germany

Public Spaces and Sectarian Tensions in Beirut

**The Production of Space in the Context of
Sectarianism and Neoliberalism**

by

Irmtraud Eckart

Supervised by

Prof. Nina Gribat
Interim Professor of Int. Urbanism
University of Stuttgart

Prof. Youhansen Yehya Eid
Professor of Urban Planning
Ain Shams University

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for the Requirement of the Degree of Master of Science
in Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design

Supervised by

Prof. Dr. Nina Gribat
Interim Professor of Int. Urbanism
University of Stuttgart

Prof. Dr. Youhansen Yehya Eid
Professor of Urban Planning
Ain Shams University

Prof. Dr. Shadia Hussein de
Araújo
Department of Geography
University of Brasilia

Examiners Committee

Signature:

Prof. Nina Gribat
Interim Professor of Int. Urbanism
University of Stuttgart

Prof. Youhansen Yehya Eid
Professor of Urban Planning
Ain Shams University of Cairo

Prof. Mohamed Salheen
Professor of Integrated Planning and Design
Ain Shams University of Cairo

Prof. Hisham Gabr
Professor of Architectural Design
Cairo University



Ain Shams University
Egypt

...../...../.....
Signature



University of Stuttgart
Germany

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This dissertation is submitted to Ain Shams University, Faculty of Engineering and University of Stuttgart, Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning for the degree of Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design.

The work included in this thesis was carried out by the author in the Year 2014

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

21/07/2014

Irmtraud Eckart

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Irmtraud Eckart', written in a cursive style.

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Abstract

Key words: Public Space, Production of Space, Sectarianism, Neoliberalism, Divided City, Post-War Reconciliation, Conflict Management

The paper aims at investigating the production of public space in the context of neoliberalization and “sectarianization”. Thereby it is asked in how far public spaces can function as sites for inter-religious rapprochement. The model of Lefebvre about the Production of Space (1991) is taken to hand in order to de-construct the processes, which are constituting public space between diverse actors based on their agendas. Therein the strength is to not just to investigate material elements of spatial production (regulations, signs, design patterns etc.) but also immaterial ones.

The productive character of material and immaterial elements is approached by initially asking how neoliberal and sectarian representations are affecting the official urban planning in Beirut. In a second step, exactly these elements and their respective influence on users in specific public spaces are examined. The focus is on the particular constitution of the chosen case studies regarding their potential to function as shared spaces in the sense of an inter-religious reconciliation in the specific environment of Beirut.

Marking-off from other research in the field, the study is neither solely focusing on an architectural view-point nor on mere politico-sociological implications as explained in the *State of the Art* (chapter 2). But it is elaborated on the correlation between both aspects by focussing on the concept of public space.

The Empirical Findings (chapter 5) are based on a *Theoretical-Philosophical Framework* (chapter 3) that is rejecting any essentialistic implications and instead acknowledges the constructedness of any societal element, including public spaces and the discourse about them.

According to the Lefebvrian (1991) concept of space (conceived, perceived, lived space) and a Foucauldian (1972, 1986) understanding of hegemonic knowledge the constitution of six case study sites is investigated by applying an integrated single-case design, as explained in the *Research Methodology* (chapter 4).

Ensuing from the research it is stated that in Beirut, the production of public space takes place in a bi-polar continuum which ranges from neoliberalism as one pole to sectarianism as its antipode. In both cases the development of inter-religiously shared space is hampered by dominant representations of space. They either negate any religious implications in space completely (neoliberal setting) or solely allow for certain manifestations by suppression (sectarian setting). According to that, a neutral but not neutralizing environment needs to be fostered together with certain incentives to make people mix up in and use public space (chapter 6) .

Further research about the broader political impact on public spaces, in the sense of clientilism, as well as the general understanding of “the public” in Beirut’s society would enhance the findings of the study.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Context: The Inadequate Understanding of “Public” according to Sectarianism, Civil War and Post-War Reconstruction

During the 16 year long civil war in Beirut - from 1975 until 1991- sectarian tensions manifested themselves in the cityscape in a much more radical manner than in the decades before the war. Especially the city of Beirut developed to partition itself into religious turfs by on-going processes of homogenization. These processes finally resulted in a complete division of the city into an Eastern (Christian) and a Western (Muslim) part, divided along the battle line running from North to South - the “Greenline”. The years of the civil war just rendered visible what already was subtly existent in the pre-war era: The separation of the existing 18 religious sects. Though Lebanon was traditionally multi-sectarian, a significant inter-linkage between politics and religion developed just later under the French mandate. The leading position of Christians within the governmental structures became questioned by the influx of Palestinian, mainly Muslim, refugees after 1948. On-going processes of militarization of the Palestinian population led to the outburst of armed conflicts with Maronite Christians in 1975. Other political and religious groups allied in various formations within the course of the war. In general it can be said that the divide during the civil war was mainly between Christian and Muslim groups, what is palpable from the geographical divide into East and West Beirut. Since the Israel-Hizbollah War in 2006 and the political crisis in 2008, the mayor divide is developing between Sunni and Shia Muslims rather than between Muslims and Christians.¹

1 By the end of the war the parliament became equally represented by Muslim and Christian politicians. Until today, the consociational system

Socio-religious Segregation

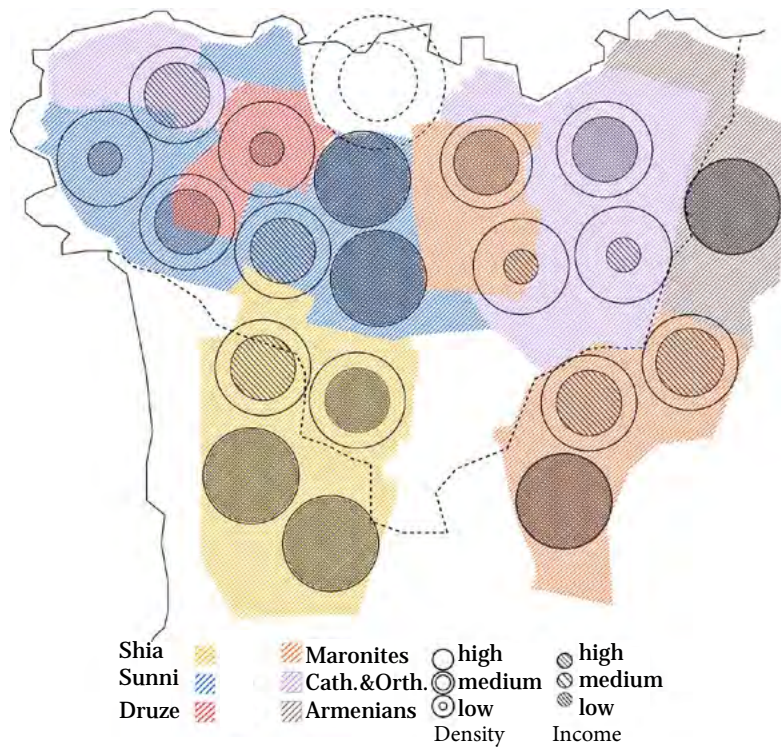


Figure 1. The City as Sectarian Enclaves after the Civil War, Source: El Chami, Jasmina (2013)
Beirut: From City of Capital to Capital City/ Projectivecities

(a Sunni Prime minister, a Maronite Christian President, a Shia Muslim spokesperson for the National Assembly) is in force – even though often accused to deepen the sectarian divide as well as hampering any decision-making and political ability to act by interposing veto against decisions of the opposed party. There is a rough split-off between the March 8th alliance (comprised of Shia Muslims and Secular Maronites) and the March 14th adherents (mainly Christian, Druze and Sunni Muslim), which finds also its reflection in the governmental system of the city of Beirut: The municipal council is opposed to the governor (Greek-Orthodox). While the municipal council (Sunni) is responsible for decision-making, the governor`s task is the execution and implementation of the decisions. This means that each side has the power to block every decision proposed by the opposition. As both bodies represent political parties with significant religious affiliation, every project becomes enmeshed in the sectarian complexities of Lebanon`s political landscape. Beirut`s Vice President is a Maronite Christ, while the mayor is Sunni. Other religious minorities (Druze, Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Armenian Orthodox, Armenian Catholic, and Protestant) are represented within the parliament yet do not occupy important positions in the political system of Beirut.

The Former Greenline of Beirut: Edging on Privatized Downtown/ Solidere in the North and Horsh Beirut in the South

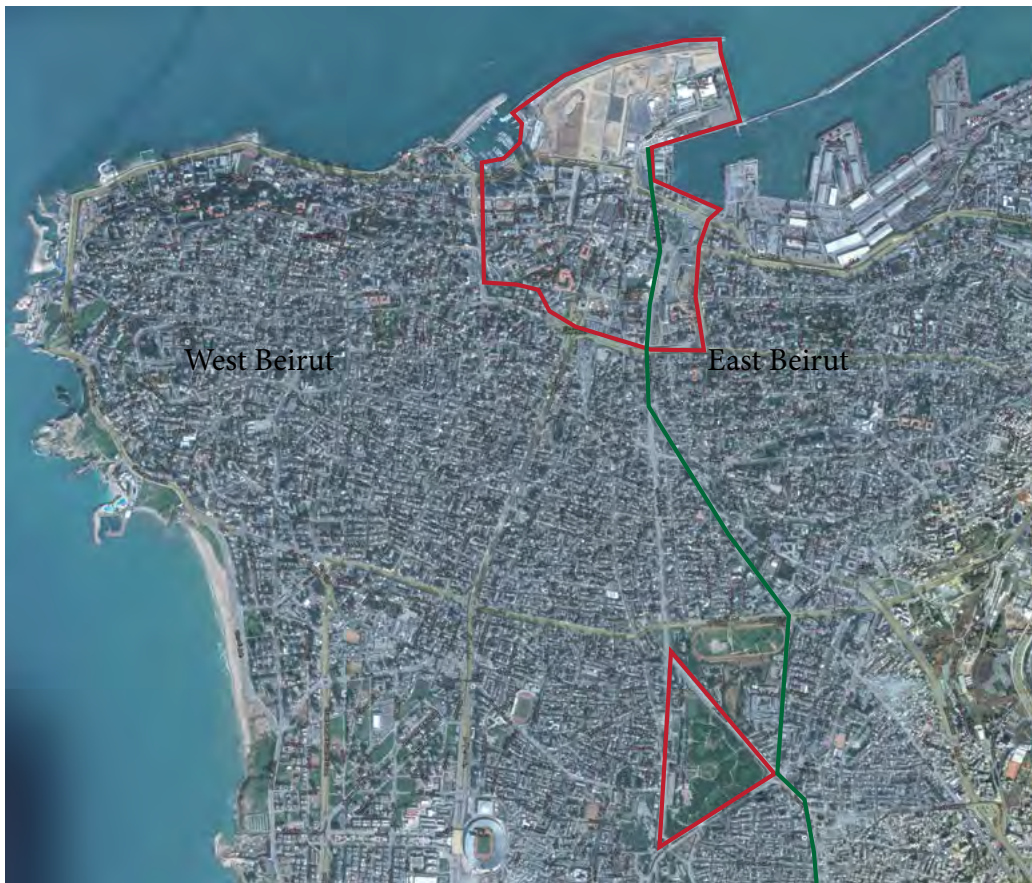


Figure 2. The Former Greenline dividing Beirut into East and West (own source)

Even though nowadays physical borders and separations have been abolished a long time ago, imagined boundaries still exist in the people`s minds. Spatial demarcations and territorialization by means of sectarian devices are maintaining the division of Beirut that should have long been overcome.

In Beirut sectarian demarcations are ranging from softer (graffitis, stencils, posters, flags, signs, symbols etc.) and also spatially very flexible forms (music with significant lyrics, clothes, names and spatial, religiously informed, practices) to rather hard devices, which resemble real physical boundaries that are prohibiting one from moving freely. For that reason, public spaces are so far not used in shared and unlimited manners as the mere structure of the city does not allow for unconfined movement or spatial claims (at least in the mindsets of the residents).

Accordingly, the study aims at investigating these circumstances in which the production of public space is taking place – thereby especially focusing on implications of neoliberalism and sectarianism. Doing-so the model of Lefebvre (1991) is taken to hand in order to de-construct the processes, which is constituting public space between diverse actors based on their agendas. Therein the strength is to not just investigate material elements of spatial production (regulations, signs, design patterns etc.) but also immaterial ones. Though solely arising from discursive formations, they are by far not less influential. The productive character of material and immaterial elements is approached by initially asking how neoliberal and sectarian representations are affecting the official urban planning in Beirut. In a second step, exactly these elements and their respective influence on users in specific public spaces are examined. Thereby the focus is on the particular constitution of the chosen case studies regarding their potential to function as shared spaces in the sense of an inter-religious rapprochement in a sectarianized environment. Drawing on constructivist assumptions of Lefebvre (1991) appears to be a promising approach in a complex setting such as Beirut. The involvement of many diverse actors and manifold semi-official linkages is actually very much influencing the handling of public spaces as can be understood easily from the current situation.

From the official point of view – relating to the urban planning of the city, it can be stated that there actually was no official, state-bound, urban planning during the civil war. The city development was not under responsibility of one official institution but was carried out by the inhabitants and their affiliated sectarian groups themselves. Until nowadays this historical occurrence is used to justify the lack of recent urban planning, what actually is resulting in a unbalanced and unequal distribution of public facilities; ranging from transportation and basic infrastructure to the existence or better non-existence of public spaces.

In an attempt to improve these shortcomings the privately-owned real estate company Solidere was founded by the late Prime Minister Rafik Hariri in 1994. For the first time in historical city development a complete district, namely Central or Downtown Beirut, was sold to a real estate company and thus privatized. In exchange for being held responsible for the public domain. Thereby, the area that was not included into the restructuring project of Solidere was nearly completely left aside. Besides some attempts to improve the housing stock as well as commercial flourishing areas, reconstruction or new development of public

spaces was entirely negated. This approach perfectly perpetuated the civil-war stance towards urban planning. The revitalization of Beirut's biggest green space, Horsh Beirut, is an exception and it will be portrayed in more detail later on. On the other hand, the privatization of an entire district together with a very complex and non-transparent security system (of Solidere, the City of Beirut and the Lebanese State) rendered the development of public spaces very difficult. The number of public spaces in Downtown Beirut is relatively high compared to the rest of the city. These spaces are characterized by a dense security apparatus as well as a significant focus on consumptive activities. Both factors bear the risk to limit accessibility.

To sum up, since the civil war ended the paradigmatic handling of "the public" (including public spaces) has been pursued in exactly the same vein it has been dealt with during the civil war. The notion of "public" has not been acknowledged so far as something to be worthwhile to the whole community, but rather underestimated in its basic function as a human right; Thus enabling the development of public spaces solely in areas that are economically beneficial and internationally representative – following a paradigm of neoliberal city restructuring.

In addition civil society until very recently seemed not able to capture any notion of public spaces or publicly owned goods adequately. Not being used to this kind of concept (by mere non-existence for decades), they are not

understood or at least appreciated in a sufficient manner. The misconception hence leads either to their simple neglect or even worse to devastation and demolition. The official planning institutions are using this as a welcomed excuse for no further financial support for maintenance or new development of public spaces. Although activism and the involvement of several NGOs has broadened the knowledge about "the public" (public spaces, public institutions, public sphere etc.) for some certain groups, the knowledge of the broad masses remains very vague.

Furthermore, the argumentation line relating to devastation together with the expressed fear of intensifying sectarian conflicts (by the mere presence of public spaces in specific areas) led to a closure or at least restriction of several public spaces. The most prominent example for such a proceeding is the case of Horsh

Beirut, which is still closed nowadays. Though Beirut's only real park has been revitalized comprehensively at the end of the civil war, it is solely accessible upon special permission either available when meeting certain criteria or by personal, unofficial inter-linkages. With the park being located in between a Christian, a Sunni and a Shia neighbourhood as well as along the former Green-line, it responds not only to the concept of unappreciated public goods but also to the already mentioned ideas of sectarianized and religiously divided turfs, that might lead to further conflict when being merged by a shared public space. Opposing to this argumentation-line are several grass-roots initiatives in the form of NGOs and civil society movements which have been claiming the right to public spaces in Beirut over the last years. Besides some groups being rather concerned with ecological and health reasons, stating that access to green spaces in Beirut needs to be approved due to tremendously high CO2 emissions harming health; other initiatives are claiming social implications as well as general rights to the city. For that, they state that people might never appreciate public goods in an adequate way when not learning about what means "public" at all. Similar ideas are applied to the case of inter-sectarian spaces, which might initially provoke conflict, yet leading to further rapprochement and reconciliation on the long-term. Instead of expecting ideal citizens that might fit perfectly to the neoliberal and globalizing paradigms the city of Beirut is pushing forward, they ask to accept imperfection as a certain stadium being vanquished on the way to become better citizens in a better city.

Taking all this into consideration, it seems that the constitution of public spaces is immingled in a network of various factors being highly interrelating to each other as well as mutually influencing. When trying to categorize them into main branches, sectarianism and neoliberal approaches can be exposed as such; relating to both are ideas of security devices, socio-economic status, financial benefits, historical fears, sectarian affiliations, clientilism etc.. Yet with politics and economics (the private sector and the public sector) being themselves prone to unofficial interconnections (sectarian or economic ones), the issue of public spaces gains even more intricacy – it would face solely by the historically developed patterns of sectarian fear, spatially manifested in religious territorialization.

1.2. Research Aim& Questions

Relating these assumptions to Lefebvre's idea of (public) space being produced

within a spatial triad, which consists of conceived, perceived and lived space (1991) – a basis is given to de-construct the very constitution of public spaces in Beirut. The aim of the master thesis is to analyze the so-produced public spaces that are located in a setting that is characterized by a paradigmatic neoliberal restructuring of the city on the one hand, and significant sectarian implications on the other hand. Sectarianism and neoliberalism are both portrayed as the dominant parameters in the production of space. The conflictual qualities of both prevalent concepts as well as their omnipresence within the Lebanese society render them highly productive in terms of spatial production. A produced public space is thus steadily challenged and produced from new or re-produced in its old form when being dominant enough by concepts of spatial representations. According to this, neoliberalism and sectarianism are understood as dominating processes under which the respective representations of space – as prevalent planning codices – are determined. While this understanding forms the overall framework of the thesis as indicated in the subtitle, the main title hints at a further dimension of the research: The relation between public spaces and interpersonal antagonism ensuing from religious parameters.

The term sectarian tension has an inherently processual implication. This interpersonal relation - the sectarian tension - can vary from a lower to a higher degree and also change within time and process. The thesis aims hence at investigating the specific constitution and eventual alteration of the relationship of tension in respect to public spaces. Thereby it is examined in how far public spaces in Beirut are fostering inter-religious rapprochement as representational space to develop– in an environment of representations of space (neoliberalism and sectarianism) that are rather limiting the development of such forms of reconciliation.

Elaborations on this topic are developed upon the two following research questions:

1. How is the official planning of public spaces – as representations of space in a Lefebvrian sense– relating to the concept of sectarianism?
 - Discourse about Public Spaces
 - Execution of Public Spaces

2. How are spatial practices in different public spaces (as reproduced forms of the respective conceived space) displaying religious affiliation? How does this specific constitution of the public spaces conducive for the emergence

of representational space in the form of inter-religious rapprochement (in the environment of sectarian tensions)?

Following this structure, the thesis first investigates the official side of urban planning, represented by the city Beirut, which is the main actor in forming the limiting representations of space. The unofficial side of urban planning and representations of space is embodied by several political, strongly religious and sectarianized parties and their respective representatives. Though not being officially charged with any urban planning responsibilities, these actors can actually be held liable for also setting up representations of space as they are occupying semi-official positions within the state. While acknowledging their very presence in the power apparatus, this study cannot perform a comprehensive and profound analysis of the complex structures as this would go beyond the scope of the thesis. Thus, it is not possible to investigate this side of unofficial, but still important representations through official documents (that do not exist) or interviews (that are not possible) within the first question. Not accounting for comprehensiveness, but offering a basic background knowledge the situation on-site is roughly sketched and illustrated based on the example of Tariq el-Jdideh in the second research question. In general, modes of urban planning and the emerging representations of space are set into relation with the concept of sectarianism. It is investigated in how far implications of sectarianism are of relevance in respect to the discursive formation of public spaces and their ultimate execution on the ground. By so-doing attention is directed to concepts that might be – at least in certain areas- of greater importance than sectarianism in the realm of urban planning; namely neoliberal implications of city restructuring.

The second question takes the findings of the foregoing one as a point of departure. Ensuing from this various public spaces are categorized along the religious affiliation displayed by their users. These spatial practices are then related to the previously described representations of space – taking on emerging limitations, dominant actors and their specific agendas. In a last step, it is questioned in how far diverging constitutions of public spaces are likely to foster the development of representational space in the form of inter-religious reconciliation. Inter-religious rapprochement can be understood as one form of representational space when the surrounding environment is dominated by representations of space that are either hampering it deliberately (sectarianism) or denying it (neoliberalism) entirely.

1.3. Overview of the Thesis Structure

In the following the general structure of the whole thesis is explained. Thereby more detailed information is given about the single chapters as well as their respective content and outcomes.

The thesis is divided in two main parts; a theoretical part as well as an empirical one showing the results of the research questions. The theoretical part, which enables a better understanding of the conceptual framework that underlies the research question, consists of the *Introduction* with a short overview of the context as well as the *Research Aim* and *Questions*. Chapter 2 analyses the *State of the Art*. Here it is described in how far the existing literature was so far able to combine insights from constructivist assumptions about space together with the neoliberal setting of Beirut to better understand the constitution of public spaces as a means to overcome the sectarian divide. Hence the topic is narrowed down from a quite broad perspective on *Divided Cities* in general to the specific case of Beirut. There is a continuously growing body of literature about spatial implications in Beirut; with the focus either on pure architectural phenomena (Downtown or Southern Beirut/ Palestinian refugee camps and informal settlements) or on the perspective of rather imagined, sectarian memoryscapes. What differentiates this research is the connection between so far separately approached topics of sectarianism, neoliberalism and space. Contrasting to the notion of space within literature about sectarianized cityscapes, the potential of space to bring people together is accentuated instead of its territorializing and dividing character. Such a perspective enables to not just look at spaces as final and invariant outcome of a divided society, but to emphasize the potential of public space to overcome those structures by its procedural character.

Chapter three forms the *Theoretical-Philosophical Framework* that is informing the understanding of space as a socially produced construct in the vein of Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad as well as its declaration as a site with and of emancipatory function for society. It also depicts neoliberal city restructuring in general – yet also in its specific relation to religion, hinting at the context of a divided city of sectarian turfs. Within the chapter, insights are given about the constructivist approach upon which the whole study is based; edging also on ideas of discursive formations as means of hegemonial knowledge in a Foucauldian sense. Moreover, implications of sectarianism and neoliberalism are explained within the theoretical part to provide an understanding of the setting the research is located in.

The fourth chapter sheds light on the research project itself by explaining more

about the accruing research questions in relation to the applied methodology. Thereby it is portrayed in how far the research questions and hence the way of data generation is also responding to the underlying concept of Lefebvre's Production of Space (1991). Moreover insight is given about Data Analysis and the evolving Research Limitations. The positioning of the researcher is also tackled within this chapter.

The main part (chapter 5), which holds the *Empirical Findings*, tries to answer the two research questions described in detail before. The official planning side/ the conceived space is investigated under point 5.1 – by looking at discursive structures about - as well as the execution and implementation of public spaces. The second part (5.2.) takes on the findings by relating them to a more specific context through elaborations on particular cases from the perspective of perceived and representational space.

The findings, recommendations as well as points of further research are presented in the *Conclusion*. By so-doing, again the impact of religious affiliation and socio-economic status on public space is emphasized by portraying the nexus of total user number, user diversity and respective representations. The findings are then represented within a categorization of the case study sites along their potential for inter-religious reconciliation.

According to the research it can be stated that public space does not necessarily function as shared space, when not giving certain incentives to the users for mixing up. Moreover it needs to remain totally neutral in terms of any political implication- yet not neutralized relating to religion per se.

According to the high complexity of the topic further research about other layers relating to it seems necessary; e.g. patterns of territorialization and customized habits, political aspects of planning as well as semi-official political involvement and political-economic inter-linkages (clientilism). For a full understanding of the actual case, potentials of neoliberalism in a more processual understanding as well as the notion of “public” itself should be of concern.

State of the Art

When revising the literature which is informing the case of public spaces in the specific sectarian environment of Beirut, the existing material needs to be approached in consecutive steps. With the subject being a complex one, also the relevant literature elaborating on it is relating to various research fields and edging on diverse spheres of interest. As can be seen from the graph below (see fig.3), on the broadest level the literature is focusing on Beirut (as one divided city out of many) shall be revised - from political, architectural and sociological, anthropological viewpoints. After that, narrowing down the subject by adding the implication of a division based on sectarian fault lines, when examining the state of the art. On this level especially literature about religion, religious practices, iconography and sectarian symbolism and its influence on the appearance of a city is tackled. In a last step, the material responding specifically to the thesis` topic – public spaces in the religiously divided city of Beirut – is taken in hand. Therefore having a closer look at research done on certain public spaces in Beirut as well as at the few papers elaborating on the relation of public spaces and sectarian tensions in particular. The topic is narrowed down from a more general research about divided cities to the specific idea of public spaces in a sectarian environment. Thereby it is tried to give a comprehensive overview of the research done in the field and on its edges; attempting to do justice to the high complexity of the subject that cannot be investigated adequately when reviewing solely a limited number of scientific debates – either concerned with very general implications or very specific elaborations on the topic.

For that, this research should fill the gaps described within the following literature review by shedding light on some of the layers that are affecting the

constitution of public spaces in their ability to serve as shared spaces under the paradigmatic implication of sectarian tensions. In other words, this research attempts to relate various aspects together, which had been solely investigated separately so far.

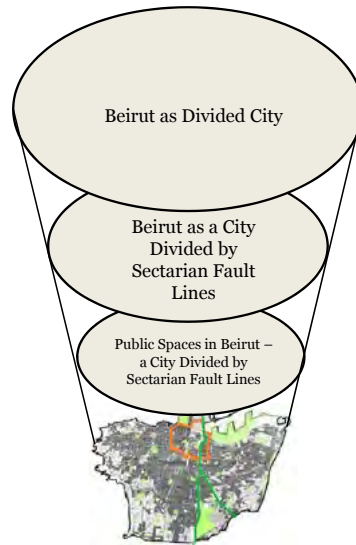


Figure 3. Structure of Literature Review State of the Art(own source)

2.1. Beirut as Divided City

Beirut – a city defined by its history of a 16-years long lasting civil war – has been of interest to many researchers coming from various disciplines. The main branches being concerned with it are political sciences, sociology and anthropology as well as architecture. The former ones mainly investigate the consociational, political system of Lebanon and its implications on the whole power structures of the country; as also the difficulties arising from it in terms of nation-building, democracy and identity-politics (Bollens 1999/2000/2007, Clark 2013, Hanf&Salam 2003, Meier 2013, Mermier 2013). Yet, as this kind of research is not concerned with any spatial implications it is not informing the subject of the thesis significantly.

A broad strain of the architectural literature focuses on the post-war reconstruction and the implementation of a “tabula rasa” concept of city renewal by Solidere (Clark 2010, Elsheshtawy 2008, Khalaf 2006, Larkin 2010, Nagel 2000/2002).

The description of the reconstruction-processes in Downtown Beirut is most times embedded in a broader discussion of its ability to account for the past – or the other way around - its complete failure in doing so by total neglect and common amnesia (Haugbolle 2010, Larkin 2012, Sawalha 2010, Friecke 2005). Ideas of memory-culture form also the interface between the architectural and sociological

research in the field.

Yet while public space in the former is understood in a pure architectural and inflexible sense as built environment, the sociological side sees the concept of space / public space rather in the light of socially produced memoryscapes (Khalaf 2006, Larkin 2012) or relating to memory narratives in the public sphere (Haugbolle 2010). Both are successful in informing the already existing literature about “Divided Cities”: From the architectural discipline it is mainly tried to give insights about how design features in (public) spaces do offer the possibility for rapprochement or – on the other hand – bear the risk of conflict intensification. In specific Ralf Brand (2013) acknowledges this by investigating the built environment as a mirror and mediator of radicalization (ibid. 7f); when speaking of socio-material phenomena of conflict, he lends substance to the idea that peoples’ actions need to be considered in relation to their physical surroundings (ibid. 15f). Similar ideas are put forward by several other researchers in relation to public space – yet not in the setting of divided cities (Gehl 2011, Watson 2006, Whyte 2001).

However Tülay Zivali (2013) relates these ideas to the case of a divided city, namely Mostar, in her master thesis. While especially the nexus between public spaces and social activities is of very much interest for the case of Beirut, the aim of this thesis is to approach in a first step the constitution of the spatial settings in the specific environment. Any implication on design patterns could follow just in a subsequent step; as the concept of public spaces is until today still an intricate one that needs some investigation first. Yet what can be learned from Zivali’s research is how to analyze movement patterns to then draw conclusions about people’s aim in public space. While she deduces from that direct design implications, in the case of Beirut the various layers that are affected by implications of neoliberalism and sectarianism need to be first investigated to render the implementation of any design proposal possible. Though acknowledging the very existence of emotional barriers (2013:242), she focuses on proposing quite enhanced ways to overcome spatial divisions by means of re-connection yet not by giving any recommendation how to then use or make public spaces used in a shared manner.

The manifold literature about divided cities, ranging from Belfast as example par excellence over Nicosia, Sarajevo and Jerusalem to Berlin, South Africa, Mostar etc., sheds light also on very diverse aspects (Brand 2013, Bollens 2012, Calame & Charlesworth 2009, Pullan & Baillie 2013, Shirlow 2003a/b). In general, main topics are historical development, forms of divisions (from soft / imagined boundaries to hard / physical borders) and alongside this, the evolution of narratives of fear, segregations based on conceptions of “us” and “them” as well as their spatial impact

in *Divided Cities*” (N.A. 2012). In the broader literature about divided cities more attention is actually given to “space”. Especially when compared to the literature investigating the very case of divided Beirut, it becomes palpable that the research done is still not tackling the topic of public space sufficiently; as all of it fails in relating space (as socially constructed product), the sectarian environment and the neoliberal paradigm of city restructuring. While some authors devoted several pages or even a whole chapter to concepts of public space, it still remains rather a by-product to inform other fields of research than a topic in its own right (Larkin 2012:96f, Khalaf 2006:112f). The architectural viewpoint emphasizes on the very physical side of neoliberal reconstruction and by so-doing solely investigating public spaces in the form of sanitized forums for consumptive activities as for example shopping malls; yet not speaking about public spaces, outside the neoliberal area of influence. Social sciences are concerned mainly with the public sphere and post-war narratives relating to it than with public space. By doing so, neglecting the fact that public sphere cannot develop adequately when lacking public space. Last but not least, concepts of shared space are partially taken into consideration by divided city-literature in the particular case of Belfast (Bell & Hamilton & Hannson 2008), yet so far not speaking about Beirut.

The characteristic of being a “divided” city is still very much broad. Being divided can result from many diverse causes: They can be of political, ethnical, socio-economic or religious origin and manifest themselves in as much ways as they originate from. While Johannesburg, Sarajevo, Mostar, Nicosia, Berlin, Belfast and Jerusalem can all be referred to as divided city, they are not sharing the implication of a city divided by sectarianism – as this is the case of Beirut.

2.2. Beirut – a City Divided by Sectarian Fault Lines

When narrowing down the topic, also implications of religion /sectarianism as source of conflict in Beirut need to be taken into consideration more closely. Yet it is still important to emphasize on the divergent character of religion per se (as distinct field of research) and sectarianism as a process developed on the base of religion but not acknowledging religion as the source of conflict in its own right (Brewer 1991:101). Keeping this in mind, research which has been conducted within the last years in the field of religious movements and fundamentalism as counterpart to neoliberalism, needs to be related to this topic (MetroZones 2011/2013). By explaining global religious movements and their influence on spatial settings and the urban environment light is shed on the very setting of

Beirut – as a city divided by sectarian fault lines. In a broader sense this kind of literature explains how and why religion takes on greater significance especially when people are being opposed to severe processes of neoliberal restructuring within their city. Yet further considerations regarding the implications for a distinct spatiality, which is very important in the case of Beirut – are missing. Exactly the spatially-formative character of religious – or even more sectarian – patterns is of tremendous importance for understanding the processes of territorialization. These processes are influencing spatial practices, which actually results in the formation of public space (Friedland & Hecht 2006).

On the one hand literature focusing on religious, urban everyday practices (Desplat & Schulz 2012) explains the place making in Beirut, yet on the other hand literature emphasizing the role of signs and symbols in a sectarian context cannot be left aside when investigating public spaces in Beirut. In an attempt to do so, Daniel Crostange (2012) has been surveying and listing religious iconography in Beirut in a very much comprehensive way. Yet not fulfilling a further step to relate his findings to broader spatial patterns of territorialization. This has been done by several other researchers within their investigation of specific areas and their dominating signs and symbols (Brand 2013:63f, Haugbolle 2010:161f, Larkin 2012:114f); but this kind of research remains limited in its extent so far. The most elaborate investigation of this nexus has been done by Heba Bou Akar and Mohamad Hafeda (2011) and Kathrine Wildner (2013), as they succeeded in combining substantial sectarian, behavioural patterns together with significant sectarian signs and symbols and exposing their spatial manifestations in Beirut's cityscape. In their research they achieve to show the productive character of solely imagined cityscapes. They exemplify how daily-life practices based on mental maps are manifesting themselves in space and hence become reality. A consequent engagement of their approach on the micro-scale of particular public spaces would finally inform the topic of this research entirely.

Ensuing from the previous review it becomes obvious that a specific focus on public spaces – not as final result of certain (sectarianized) processes but as a processual element– is still missing.

2.3. Public Spaces in Beirut – a City Divided by Sectarian Fault Lines

While most of the literature reviewed so far is rather edging on the thesis' specific topic, there is also some research done on certain public spaces /shared spaces in Beirut. To start with, there has been made an effort to cadaster the shoreline of Beirut, which has also been involved in profound processes of neoliberal privatization. The work of Abir Saksouk-Sasso within Dictaphone Group attempts to disclose the corruptive handling of actual public spaces / publicly used, yet privately owned spaces by political and economic key-actors (Dictaphone Group n.y.). By doing so, they are examining on on-going attempts to exclude certain user groups from the inner-city area. In the same vein, Fadi Shayya (2005, 2011) elaborated on the issue of closed Horsh Beirut. In his papers as well as the collaboratively issued research "At the Edge of the City: Re-inhabiting Public Space -Toward the Recovery of Beirut's Horsh Al-Sanawbar" (2010). He points at the oddities when it comes to the issue of public spaces in Beirut. Besides, investigating the historical setting of the park and suggesting certain design proposals, he also approaches more sociological aspects. He examines spatial practices taking place and patterns of sectarian divisions, territorial fears and last but not least he questions the nexus of access criteria and socio-economic status (Shayya 2005 /2011).

Starting from the case of Horsh Beirut the NGO Nahnoo has also published some analyse of the existing public spaces in Beirut, while categorizing them according to the paradigms of identity, typology, user group and usages (Nahnoo 2012). Though offering a very comprehensive scheme of public spaces and their constitution, the publication does not attempt in anyways to critique on the status quo or relate the findings to a broader sociological investigation.

Yet, Mona Harb (2013) is broaching this particular subject in her paper about "Public Spaces and Spatial Practices-Claims from Beirut", which forms just the initial starting point on broader research in that field. The paper examines public spaces in the sense of so-called "left-over spaces" that have not been integrated so far in the neoliberal apparatus of city restructuring and hence have the ability to serve public usage in a cross-social and inter-religious manner. She focuses on the Corniche /shoreline of Beirut, Daliyeh (what has also been subject to the project of Dictaphone Group mentioned before) as well as temporary public spaces in empty lots, sidewalks, corners, which are formed temporarily by the specific spatial practices taking place. She also examines spaces that are

highly related to consumptive activities, exemplified by the Sunday-Market taking place under bridges, flea-markets in the outskirts of Beirut and organic vegetable markets in Downtown. While all these spaces have the ability to bring people together from various social layers and religions, spaces relating to commercial or consumptive patterns are deliberately left aside within the research of this thesis, because it is believed that social encounters solely provoked by necessary activities such as shopping do not have a significant effect – neither on the spaces nor on the people.

Finally, when combining all the implications and thoughts with each other, the only research investigating the issue of public spaces and sectarian tensions so far in the sense of this thesis is conducted by Nasser Yassin (2012) in his paper about “Sects and the City: Socio-Spatial Perceptions and Practices of Youth in Beirut” and Christine Kollmar`s findings about perceptions of religion in Nejme Square, Beirut (2013). Though being rather short in its extent, Yassin`s paper exactly tackles the perception of public spaces in the context of sectarianism. While public spaces in the form of shared spaces also just appear as apparently neutrally perceived spaces in this research, the idea of functioning public spaces in divided cities is not narrowed down to neutralized or sanitized spaces as it has been done within common research on divided cities.

3. Theoretical- Philosophical Framework

To understand this research in an adequate way it is important to point out several significant scientific and philosophical approaches and their relation to concepts of space, neoliberalism and sectarianism. This chapter forms the conceptual framework. In the following part, information is given that forms the basis of the research by elaborating the particular epistemology and the paradigmatic implications arising from it for this research. The post-structuralist approach enables a better understanding of why specific spaces have been developing in a certain way. More precisely, Lefebvre`s (1991) analysis of the production of space is taken to hand. The model enables to disclose the process of space production by de-constructing it in its single components, which can be of material and immaterial character. Shedding light on the research topic from a post-structuralist perspective all processes taking place need to be conceptualized as relational in their character. Meaning, that any assumptions about essentialist substantiality needs to be discarded in favour of the acknowledgement that all objects intertwined within a certain process are subject to social constructions. Yet these constructions themselves need to be understood as relational. Relating to this study it means that spaces cannot be understood as a given, but a product of diverse actors with diverging agendas.

The approach relates to the first research question as it is elaborating on dominant planning agendas in Beirut and their respective actors, who are exerting a great influence on the representations of space. The second question approaches how the production of space is enhanced by cross-current practices of ordinary users, who find diverse ways of coping with those representations and consequently produce new (representational spaces). The relational

constructions between diverse actors are investigated according to their ability to serve as a forum for reconciliation. Therefore, the simple act of unfolding the underlying structures of processes is not sufficient, yet they need to be seen as open systems that proliferate in complex ways due to their unplanned and unpredictable relational systems between the objects and subjects within them (Murdoch 2006:9). These ideas are closely relating to constructivist approaches of “deconstruction”, which declare any aspect of physical reality to be perceived subjectively by individuals (Berger & Luckmann 1991); for that being highly generative for the production of knowledge. In the same vein, Michel Foucault elaborated on the hegemonic production of knowledge in the clutter of power-structures based on discursive formations (Foucault 1972, 1991). These reflections find also their expression when it comes to the various aspects of spatiality. The aim of this research is to shed light on the process of discursive formations about space and the impact on their spatial manifestation; in detail why certain spaces are more relating to sectarian narratives while others are more dealt with in the context of a neoliberal rhetoric. The produced knowledge about these spaces crucially serves specific actors with specific agendas. These agendas need to be laid open –in a de-constructivist act- to better understand why the spaces are then produced in their particular constitution; meaning who is responsible for what kind of representation (of space).

In the following paragraphs the theoretical framework will be explained in more detail. Initially, discursive formations resulting in hegemonial knowledge are portrayed as a tool to discipline space itself as well as spatial practices. The previously made assumptions about dominant forms of knowledge production are then related to the idea of space as a social product – especially in a Lefebvrian (1991) sense. Thereby the element of conceived space that is actually thought space is responding to the argument of disciplined and disciplining space. In a third step, it is elaborated on another element of spatial production, representational space, or put it another way space as emancipation. The element of resistance in the production of space appears to offer the possibility for space to be developed as a democratic forum representing inclusiveness, equality and as well as the appreciation of difference. In a last step, the constructivist paradigm is set in relation to neoliberalism and sectarianism to explain why both concepts are of significant importance for the production of representational space in the form of inter-religious reconciliation due to their processual character.

3.1. Discourse and Hegemonic Knowledge as Disciplining Tools in and of Space

According to Foucault and his depictions of discursive formations (1972, 1991) ways of thinking and knowing are distributed in specific ways, hence producing certain ways of knowledge and practice. The same process can be applied to spatial arrangements or relations that consequently are also constituted by the same discursive regimes (Murdoch 2006:31). What is pointed out by Foucault as “formation” is commonly understood as a form of disciplining. Within his elaborations on archaeology as an approach (Foucault 1972) he refers rather to limitations in the field of knowledge production (what can be known), while it is concerned with the very real consequences of disciplining in his genealogical approach (Foucault 1972, 1986). Here discursive formations are described as a power apparatus which has certain effects and impacts on spatial as well as social arrangements. For that discursive formations have a very significant effect on the materialization of space (Murdoch 2006:32). The moralization in the sense of a self imposed behavioural codex that goes in hand with the approach of disciplining can thus be considered as a means of restructuring space in certain formations and constitutions which are responding to the dominant power-structures.

The emergence of implications of safeguarding and protection in neoliberal approaches towards city restructuring corresponds perfectly with the ideas described beforehand; yet this will be analysed in a later part. In detail, according to Foucault there exists a discursive geography of micro-space, by what spaces are distinguished according to their adaptability to the ruling system of knowledge / power-structures. Within these spaces human beings are constructed and constrained alongside the moral-understanding of the knowledge-system; these spaces are referred to as “places of confinement” (ibid.:34). Foucault exemplifies his ideas by the paradigmatic spaces of hospitals, prisons and asylums, in which activities are underlying a rigorous regulation of time and space. In his elaborations on genealogy and discipline they are referred to as “spaces of unreason” versus “spaces of reason” (Foucault 1978). There, the idea of disciplining - according to the dominant form of knowledge/reason- becomes even more materialized by means of constant surveillance as well as the public portrayal of punishment. And vice versa, the material settings of these spaces are then highly productive for maintaining the discursive aspects they are based upon (Murdoch 2006:37f). Every individual bears the potential to threaten or even harm

the power-structure upon which the whole system of knowledge is based, thus demanding for actions to minimize the risk. In terms of governmentality this means that a institutional adoption of this certain programming leads also to “a harmonization of behaviour at the societal scale” (ibid.:41) by internalization. On an institutional scale it involves various fields, as for example urban planning. In an exemplary case this “conduct of conduct” would lead to a limitation of the government in favour of a civil society which then would organize itself alongside the fostered forms of normalization. By so-doing a specific world or at least space is constructed and within that rendered governable due to regulated behaviour in accordance to given rationalities (ibid.:48f). The programmatic use of a certain knowledge or truth is also implied in the context of public spaces in Beirut. According to this some behavioural practices are discursively produced as “uncivilized” or “back warded” etc. to ban those people applying the practices from the usage of certain spaces. When de-constructing these specific knowledge systems, it is possible to better understand who has what kind of interest in a certain constitution of space that is tried to be realized by controlling the users through their behaviour. Power structures can be laid open that significantly affect the users in their practice by the way spaces are embedded in the knowledge constructions from the official, dominant side.

In how far such forms of hegemonial knowledge and discursive formations are also affecting the production of space, when space is understood as manifestation of social processes, is portrayed in more depth in the following part.

3.2. Space as a Social Product

Ensuing from this way of thinking about knowledge-bound power-structures also space per se becomes an object of these processes. When discursive knowledge becomes an important tool for spatial production then space needs to be understood as a social product itself. This perspective suggests that different components and actors are involved in the process.

In the following a special focus will be on the very specific constitution and evolving of public spaces as part of the relational thinking of space. Lefebvre`s elaboration on “The Production of Space” (1991) will be taken into close consideration, as the findings of this study are based upon his spatial triad exemplifying the social construction of spaces (see fig. 4).

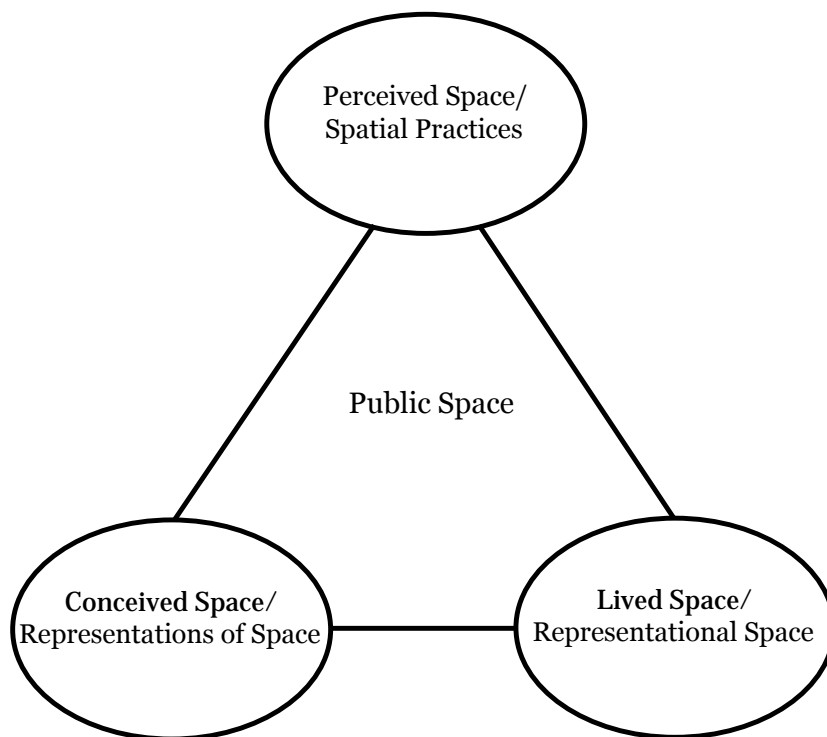


Figure 4. Lefebvre`s Spatial Triad (own source)

Opposing to former trends in geography that acknowledged space as a mere container of certain contents (Läpple 1991) since the beginning of the 21st century the understanding of space has been incrementally changed, interpreting it finally as being relational (Murdoch 2006); meaning a social product that is steadily constituted anew by the mutual processes taking place between objects and subjects as spatial agents. The most elaborate investigations of this approach – besides Lefebvre - have been done by Benno Werlen (1995), Dieter Läpple (1991) as well as Judith Miggelbrink (2002). In the same vein of “matrix-space” (Läpple 1991) and “ordinary, daily-life regionalization” (Werlen 1995), Miggelbrink acknowledges that public space is a product of social construction processes (2002: 338). All three concepts also correspondent with each other by recognizing that, symbols and signs are occupying an important place within this process of space-production. Material artefacts are restructuring space as well as social activities and vice versa (Läpple 1991:197). This process is divided into three separate forms of “geography-making” by Werlen; productive-consumptive, normative-politic and informative-significant. While the last one relates to the idea of appropriation of space by symbols and inter-subjective meanings, the former one intertwines with the assumptions of

power-laden structures being part of space-creation brought forward by Foucault (1986). Summing up, the creation of space is consequently a product of the people using it and the hidden agendas behind their acting. Lefebvre (1991) approaches this by categorizing the process in a threefold spatial triad consisting of “representations of space” / conceived space, “spatial practice” / perceived space and “representational space” / lived space.

Representations of space “are tied to the relations of production and to the ‘order’ which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to ‘frontal’ relations” (ibid.:33). They also refer to “conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanist, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent—all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived” (ibid.:38). Meaning the representations of space are highly corresponding to concepts of symbols and signs being used in a normative-political manner to discipline subjects and their behavioural patterns. It is naturalizing the respective order according to the ruling form of production.

Spatial practice is linked to the production and reproduction of spatial relations between objects and products. It also ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. “In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society’s relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance”. (ibid.:33). This form of daily-life practices is not reflexive and thus acknowledges the societal structures as being adverse to quick changes. By so-doing, producing and reproducing in a circular mode its own prerequisites (Lefebvre 1977).

In the very contrast to both of it, representational space refers to spaces lived directly “through its associated images and symbols and hence the space of ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’...” (Lefebvre 1991:39). These are the lived experiences that emerge as a result of the dialectical relation between spatial practice and representations of spaces. By being rather the discourse of space than the discourse on space, this aspect of space has the ability to challenge and subvert dominant systems, imagining diverging realities and bearing the potential for appropriation and resistance (Lefebvre 1977).

Keeping this in mind, it appears that space as “urban imaginaries” (Friedland & Hecht 2006), in the sense of “Lefebvre’s dichotomy also hints at the underlying contestation of public space and its essential condition of agonism by acknowledging its social constructedness, or spatiality” (Springer 2011:538). And further, this agonism opens up the inherent possibility of space to function

as space of emancipation – as it not just demands but also creates space (ibid.). In the context of Beirut these assumptions suggest that some spaces bear the potential for usages that are actually not responding to given representations, which are often neglecting religious implications completely or limiting them excessively. For that, confrontation between diverse religious groups can take place and consequently lead to an emancipation of the involved actors. A formation alike can be understood as the creation of a new, representational space. In how far inter-religious contact through any form of contestation can be interpreted as a highly generative aspect of space production is explained in the following paragraph. Thereby the concept of agonism and consequently the emancipatory function of space are emphasized.

3.3. Space as Emancipation

In the towards the upper social strata directed urban development a plan was The understanding of public space or even more shared public space is a highly democratic one. Those who are marginalized, disenfranchised or expelled from the “normal” life – being without any institutionalized power – find the opportunity to challenge the status quo solely in the existence of public spaces (Springer 2011:543). Many times the ability of protest is negated by regimes enforcing certain representations on spaces (Hee & Ooi 2003), so that any form of protesting or emancipation is rendered a crime – or at least a threat to the community (Carr et al.1992:xi). Consequently, the production of space can be seen as a measurement for the fragmentation of a society as well as the resistance to national, or at least dominant, representations (Haugbolle 2010:163). This kind of spaces - also known as differential spaces (Lefebvre 1976) - are in stark contrast to capitalist spaces, which are characterized by an actual loss of character; meaning the erasure of differences in favour of homogenizing processes creating a totally abstract space (Crang 2000:170f). The constitution of a space is embedded in the interplay of strategic elitist acts and the messy tactics of making a do as the “weapon of the poor” (ibid.:148f). Instead of interpreting the democratic paradigm of space as something negative it needs to be seen in the light of a positive constitution of power – according to the idea of agonism rather than antagonism (Mouffe 2004). As Foucault states in the “History of Sexuality” (1982), space and power are mutually constitutive to another; Meaning that power-structures can never be totally stable as long as the effective possibility of resistance exists. When this possibility is removed, power relations become uni-lateral (Murdoch 2006:53f). Activities of emancipation

include protests, threats to community, crime, subversion of property rights as well as forms of contestations and conflicts in the sense of agonism – in short it contains passion. This passion is crosscurrent to concepts of deserted space for deserted minds; not inclusive for vitality, creativity and critical thinking (Crang 2000:170). Out of a desire for security more than interaction and entertainment more than democratic politics (Goss 1996) passion is tried to be comprehensively removed from public space. Sorkin (1992) refers to this as “the end of public space”. Summing up, “when a society lacks a dynamic public space that allows for agonistic confrontation among diverse political identities, a more nefarious space may open, where alienation fosters alternative identifications along antagonistic divides like nationalism, religion, and ethnicity” (Springer 2011:552).

These ideas bring us to focus on broader conceptualizations of elitist restructuring of public spaces within two cross-current developments, which are both very much relating to the formerly described processes of disciplining and securing; namely neoliberalism and sectarianism.

3.4. Space-Production under Processes of Neoliberalization and “Sectarianization”

The post-structuralist approach with its acknowledgement of hegemonic implications is responding to concepts of neoliberalism, as neoliberalism can be linked to the idea of governmentality. Governmentality therefore is understood as “conduct of conduct” (1982) – indirect forms of governance by steering. Neoliberalism can be interpreted as an economic doctrine aiming at privatization with an economic policy serving the realization of the project on the ground (Pierre Dardot 2012). Thereby it is a means to control and navigate individuals by logic and practice, instead of dominating their thinking. As it has been said before it is an indirect way of influencing or controlling individuals - conformable to Foucault`s concept of conduct of behaviour (or conduct). This non-imposed standardization of behavioural patterns is realized by deliberately precipitated situations, which solely limit the freedom of choice instead of banal domination. When it comes to neoliberalization the produced situation is the prevalent logic of competitiveness. Theory on hegemonic knowledge and discourse can consequently be fruitfully applied to conceptions of neoliberalization

as it investigates the production of an accredited though systems in complex power systems. Impersonal and contingent power-systems are consequently established upon what is considered to be logic and reasonable (Foucault 1991)- in terms of neoliberalization this is the logic of competitiveness and economic striving, including the conscious exclusion and weakening of those who do not fit into the system of competition or threaten the logic. Yet what appears to be of greater importance when thinking of processes of neoliberalization in the context of public spaces in Beirut is the processual implication. Meaning that the hegemonic knowledge dominated by a competitive thinking is also subject to disjunctive formations as everything else within the society. Thus neoliberalization is not a monolithic apparatus but rather manifests itself in very much local forms of city restructuring (Larner 2003a/b). Though actually resembling in parts the very characterizations of neoliberalism from a rather Marxist viewpoint the manifestations are solely contemporary forms of social constructions, which might be altered again.

Alternative forms of producing space can be understood as an act of informal appropriation and contestation that are challenging the processes of neoliberalization described by Harvey (1973, 2013). The development of contested space or representational space is thus the expression of the processual character of neoliberalism in its local form. Phenomena of globalization, standardization and entrepreneurial city development (Harvey 1989, Hall & Hubbard 1998), appear very likely for creating a setting highly productive in terms of hegemonic knowledge systems with an exclusive spatial character. When investigating several significant parameters responding to the neoliberal restructuring of the city, it immediately becomes palpable that the same phenomena are highly important in the complex system of space-making/production. In detail, the hegemonic structures that are based upon modes of disciplining and securing can be found in the omnipresent system of surveillance installed in the neoliberal city (Belina 2006, Eick & Sambale & Töpfer 2007, Glasze & Pütz & Rolfes 2005). The wish for security manifests itself clearly in the rising importance of private property and privatization – as it had been explained by Springer (2011:543) also in terms of public spaces: “crime, for its part, is most often conceived in terms of property rights, and accordingly the poor and propertyless are repeatedly cast as transgressors of public space”. In the same vein, modes of privatization are described as inherently intertwined with the neoliberal restructuring of the city (Harvey 1998, Hall & Hubbard 1998). The exclusion of certain groups from

participating in the production of space – and consequently also from the urban sphere – is usually justified by attempts to reach a high living quality (in the sense of “best places”) for those fitting with the concept of an entrepreneurial city. The processes for that need to be understood as embedded in the inter-urban competition of becoming a global hub (McCann 2004, Sassen 2001). Moreover, this also finds its expression in the “Disneyfication” of the city, as a “sanitized, ersatz architecture devoid of geographic specificity” (Lees 1994:446). This sanitization is leading to the deserted space, which Crang (2000) understands as a threat to vitality and critical thinking. He also votes for a vibrant street-life that should develop in the form of joyful festivals (Crang 2000:170f) – yet actually more often, it remains in the status of a mere festivalization (Florida 2004, Goss 1996).

Contrasting to the extensive standardization of space which tries to exclude any local connotation or trait not fitting into the process of globalization, neoliberal restructuring often also results in a relatively stark reinforcement of religious movements (MetroZones 2011/2013). In the very case of Beirut, the reinforcement of religion through strong neoliberal (and also secular) processes of city restructuring is contrasted by a development of significantly religious movements in parallel. The religious implications appear in the form of territorialization by sectarianism which is in parts resembling fundamental forms of religiosity. Keeping this in mind, neoliberalization on the one hand and sectarianization on the other hand seem to form the two most important nodes that are limiting the production of space by demarcating notions of conceived space. In other words, the production of spaces takes place within a bipolar continuum that evolves in between processes of neoliberalization as one pole and sectarianization as its antipode. In terms of spatial production this continuum can be analyzed by social construction processes taking place in a certain environment. The specific setting is for that always prone to be dominated by a ruling elite that coerces its hegemonic knowledge on the space. Especially “symbolic representations and characterizations [...] employed by stakeholders either engaged in restructuring or committed to resisting it” (Mele 2000:629), are the most important means of spatial production. Yet, not solely the ways in which [...] spaces act symbolically (as well as materially) to include or exclude the disadvantaged [...]” (Hastings 1999:8) need to be investigated but also religious exclusion which is realized by it. Moreover, it is a matter of interest in which “ways [...] the organisation of space can contribute to the construction of

different kinds of identities and forms of behaviour” *ibid.*) as sectarianism is tightly relating to processes of identity-formation in the absence of clear nation-building. Referring to Vali Nasr, Zoha Wassem (2013) explains that “[sectarianism] can be [...] understood as a form of ethnic posturing: mobilization of a group identity for political ends in lieu of class, ideology or party affiliation’ [...]”. Though religion is an important part of the identity of the different communities, what has been pointed to as ‘stereotypical cue’ is more important in that context. The term describes the most significant difference between the communities by which they are normally labeled with (Jarman 2012). Religion is insofar important, as it functions as

“a social marker through which conflict is articulated rather than as a source of conflict in its own right... Sectarianism operates whenever religion is invoked to draw boundaries and to represent or reduce patterns of inequality and social conflict” (Brewer 1991:101).

Sectarianism as identity formation does not just function as designation of “otherness” but also involves internal processes of group formation. Thereby processes that are described in the broader framework of hegemony-theory are taking place; namely the “logic of difference”, the “logic of equivalence” and the “constitutive external” (Laclau & Mouffe 1991). These processes are substantially important when trying to explain the formation of social movements against elitist, hegemonial power-structures, which can be either of significant religious affiliation or totally negating any religious appreciation. Through the logic of equivalence a social identity is being produced. In the following step (logic of difference), complexity is added to the discursively formed identity by enabling distinction of discursive moments. Finally, by creating a border by a constitutive external, a shared identity consisting of diverse elements is created. This identity is given a particular name, meaning or symbol. In Beirut this can be examined along the formation of political parties being affiliated to certain religious branches. Their belonging is expressed by a distinct symbolism in forms of flags, graffiti etc. The constitutive external is yet no a fixed one, but can also change within time, as this was and is actually happening by diverging alliances within the politico-religious environment over the years.

By instrumentalizing these certain symbols, “memory scapes” (Nuttall 1992:39) are produced that can function as a “sort of elite manipulation to

establish hegemonic social control" (Halbwachs 1992). This is then referred to as "symbolic violence" (Crang 2000:241f). Yet on the other hand, memory recovery [can also function] as a vehicle for political revolution" (Haugbolle 2007:121f), in the sense of a "counter-memory discourse [against] the homogenizing globalization and revolution against the political establishment" (Larkin 2012:8); consequently taking up again on concepts of representational space and forms of emancipation.

3.5. Conclusion

To ensure a sufficient understanding of the most crucial issues the research project is referring to, the main points are again emphasized in the following.

Public Space As a (Threefold) Social Construct

To capture the processual character of changing user constellations and their relation to each other, space needs to be understood as social product that is formed by its actual users. It is not something that just exists and thus does not bear the potential to be changed in its form or function. By acknowledging this a basis is given to deconstruct the respective spaces according to their users and practices. Hence it is possible to disclose broader political and societal dimensions of space by analysing the actors' agendas. Instead of solely looking at the users Lefebvre's threefold approach also enables a investigation of the planning side and dominant paradigms, which are actually affecting the users' practices. This also includes reflections on material and immaterial elements. Instead of solely focussing on the material side of public spaces such as design elements, signs, restricting frameworks, a possibility is given to also include discursive formations which are influential for the production of public space.

Discursive Production of Hegemonic Knowledge

The notion of hegemonic knowledge and truth production within discursive processes becomes here very much influential. Especially (planning) institutions base their decisions on hegemonial knowledge, what renders unassailable to a certain point. Discursive processes are a specific tool to produce a broadly acknowledged truth, which is then inherited by “ordinary” people. This “self-government” of people along particular behavioural guidelines is also known as governmentality with neoliberal states.

Neoliberalism and Sectarianism as Cross-Current, Limiting Planning Parameters with Similar Outcomes

Especially in neoliberal states the idea of self-government becomes very important. Often, this means an orientation of peoples’ behavioural codices along economic paradigms. By looking at neoliberal modes of urban planning similar process can be observed – especially in the public domain (as ideally no one is excluded regardless of socio-economic status). Yet, in the case of Beirut also other parameters; namely religiously informed ones (by sectarianism) are quite important in forming space. The emancipatory function of space claims agonism/ ordinary controversies crucial or even necessary to overcome the respective controversial aspects in a society, hence leading to a more political formation of a society. The most controversially contested aspect in Lebanon so far is religion. According to this, public spaces under severe neoliberal influence as well as under strong sectarian affection are both rather limited in their function to foster representational space/ emancipatory space; when this form of controversy implies stronger and more diverse representations of religion in space. Interestingly, though totally differing within their agendas and also supporting rather cross-current processes (sectarianism and neoliberalism), outcomes are quite similar; namely, the dismissal or negation of religion in public spaces.

Ensuing from the last chapters, it has been made clear that public space relates to a social process much more than to a particular state of being; meaning, that in the following research public space is hence being understood as the more or less balanced interplay of conceived space, perceived space and lived space.

It is not – and this is made explicit here – referring to the programmatic understanding of public space according to a juridical sense. Whether space is semi-private/ private or public does not represent the main categorization – the effects of it in terms of production of spaces are subject to analysis.

4. Approach and Methodology of the Research Project

In the following chapter the proceeding on ground is explained in detail. The linkage between theory and research project is made explicit. It is explained how the research question as well as the data generation is responding to the concept of Lefebvre. Moreover context information is given about the case study selection, interview structure, research limitations and the self-positioning of the researcher.

4.1. Responsiveness of Research Aim& Questions to Theory

As already outlined in the introduction, the aim of this thesis is to investigate the three parameter of spatial production in their relation to sectarianism. Thereby the impact of sectarianism on the official side of urban planning shall be unveiled in a first step. By doing so, main actors and their agendas are laid open in parallel. In a subsequent step light is being shed on the users` side by elaborating on the spatial practices as well as on the development of space which are counteractive to the prevalent official planning paradigms that have been disclosed in the previous question. The following graph (fig. 5) illustrates in how far the research questions are responding to Lefebvre`s spatial triad that de-constructs the Production of Space.

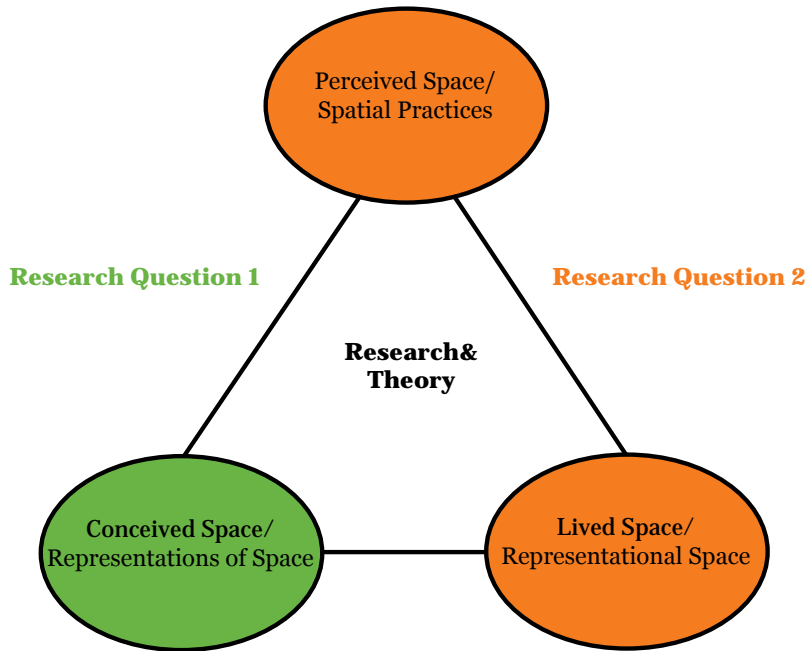


Figure 5. Responsiveness of Research Questions and Theory (own source)

According to the concept of representations of space/ conceived space, the first questions asks “How is the official planning of public spaces relating to the concept of sectarianism?”. By approaching this question, discursive formations about space are taken into consideration on the one hand, while on the other hand the actual execution, meaning the implementation and planning of the spaces are investigated. Responding to the parameter of perceived space the second questions looks at “how spatial practices in different public spaces display religious affiliation”. A further aspect of the question hints at the potential of counter-active, lived space by analyzing “how is the specific constitution of the chosen public spaces conducive for the emergence of representational space in the form of inter-religious rapprochement”. Besides this direct correlation between the research questions and the conceptual framework of Lefebvre (1991), the superstructure of the whole research is based upon several crucial implications that have been deduced from the previously made theoretical considerations (see chapter 3).

4.2. Research Design and Case Study Selection

As the research about Public Spaces and Sectarian Tensions in Beirut is highly relating to the sociological field of urban planning as well as to the social context of the described phenomenon itself, a case study design seemed to be best

responsive to the research aim. According to Yin (1984:13) “a case study [...] investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.” For the case study is concerned with specific situations that are informed by distinctively more variables than hard data/ factual data could actually provide, different sources for data collection need to be applied; thus combining the acquired, particular data by triangulation in a subsequent step (DFaF:102). The case study design is an integrated single case design (ibid.), meaning various objects of analysis (various public spaces) in one specific context (the city of Beirut). The theoretical (and also philosophical) framing, which has been explained in detail (see chapter two), is important for that kind of research design as it can be understood as a road sign informing the research (according to Yin (2003) based upon constructivist assumptions), the data collection and analysis. Yet, it is not thought to function as basis for any presumptive assumptions or hypotheses, which are then to be proven by the following research. The process thus can be described as theory building, which attempts to make sense of observations by inductive reasoning (WiRD: 5/6).

The case study design therefore is an analytical-explorative one; as the research is mainly conducted to “provide a better understanding of a situation [yet] it isn’t designed to come up with final answers or decisions” (EDCRD: 28). It is a mere initial investigation of the situation of public spaces in Beirut per se, this has not been done in a comprehensive manner (see chapter). As explained in the Context Review/ State of the Art in chapter 1.4 in more detail, investigation of public spaces within this analysis is neither a by-product of research focusing on post-war reconstruction, nor one of literature tackling the idea of sectarian memoryscapes in the city. For that the purpose is to explore how the different aspects (neoliberalism, sectarianism and usage of public spaces) are relating to each other. Moreover, it is then tried to categorize the different spaces along their particular constitutions.

The different objects of analysis have been deliberately chosen due to their ability to showcase different stages in between the continuum of neoliberalism and sectarianism. According to these paradigms they are compared with each other to inform about the influencing factors as well as the extent and type of affection on their constitution. In detail, the objects are ranging from sites being located in significantly neoliberal zones of influence in Downtown Beirut (Roman Bath Gardens, Khalil Gibran Garden), to spaces neither being massively influenced by neoliberalism nor by religious settings (Daliyeh, Jesuits

Garden/ Geitawi, Sioufi Garden/ Ashrafiyyeh) to those being in areas of severe sectarian influence and territorialization (Horsh Beirut, Municipal Football Stadium/Tariq el-Jdideh). As has been said before, public space here is understood in a broad sense. Meaning that also spaces are included which serve public needs though not being public from a juridical view-point.

Furthermore, the decision was taken to focus within the study on public spaces in the form of parks or spaces in similar conditions as for example Dalieh or the municipal football stadium. Public institutions such as schools or universities and also the public libraries of Assabil were deliberately excluded. The reason therefore is on the one hand the limitation of a certain age class, which is mainly including people who did not experience the civil war themselves. On the other hand, the institutional setting of schools and universities –even if being public – does neither mean the unlimited access of people nor an unaffected and free expression of opinion and thoughts. Moreover a majority of pupils and students is visiting private facilities. Public institutions, as the libraries of Assabil, are never seen as public and unbiased institutions as they are relating to political decisions and political parties within the municipality of Beirut.

Public spaces in the form of streets, plazas and squares were excluded from the research as the majority of them is lacking the characteristic element of spending time just for the purpose of leisure than for fulfilling any activity. In other words, spaces alike are most of the time occupied with a function that is not allowing for the public space being used in different ways. For example, Sassine square is mainly characterized by its traffic function. If people are there, they are solely crossing the place to get from A to B but not spending some additional time in it. The same applies for most of the streets, which are not pedestrian friendly and consequently are not receptive to users lingering and extensively interacting.

Some other spaces as for example empty lots, parking spaces, broader sideways or streets in residential areas are actually public and often occupied by groups of people (old men playing Taawula, children doing soccer matches etc.). But as these spaces are often embedded in the structure of residential areas, they rather appear to be used as private backyards, gardens etc. For that, they are not offering functioning as spaces that might be used by diverse user groups as they are also not embedded in the system of broader and far-reaching representations of space which are significant elements of this research.

Marking-off from other research approaches to the same topic (introduced in the State of the Art chapter) the thesis focuses on spaces, which are not relating

in any way to consumptive activities (e.g. organic markets, flea-markets, the Sunday-market etc.). Some of these spaces indeed might be used in a shared way, as they are offering economical benefits to their visitors (Sunday-market, flea-markets), yet in these spaces the necessary undertaking of shopping stands in the foreground. Moreover, any economic, consumptive activities always bear the risk to rather attract people of a certain financial, socio-economic level, while excluding others (organic markets). Last but not least, public spaces were not identified solely responding to concepts of “left-overness” or “un-created-ness” (as supposed by Mona Hard 2013) as it is believed, that also designed spaces and spaces designated as parks, gardens etc. can serve the public as shared spaces.

Though trying to shed light on various sites in Beirut as well as underpinning the findings by detailed investigation of the specific context, the research is far from being comprehensive and generalizing the results onto a broader level – either for the case of Beirut or other, by sectarianism divided cities. By combining various methods of data collection with each other it has been tried to ensure, that the case is not just investigated through one certain lens and to reach the highest level of objectivity possible within a quantitative research; Yet by doing-so still acknowledging a sort of analytical generalization.

The limited timeframe and research possibilities inhibit the research findings from being applied to a bigger context, a greater number of people and sites as well as outlining it as representative. Yet, it provides definitive explanations for the number of people and sites approached, what might later serve as initial starting point to more and also quantitative research in the specific field.

4.3. Data Collection& Analysis

Responding to this specific research design different forms of data collection have been applied; consisting of interviews (user interviews/civil society, key-person interviews and expert interviews), participative observations as well as analyses of already existing primary data (project descriptions, urban planning visions, archives etc.). In relation to the particular research questions specific methods for data generation have been tailored for them respectively. These specific methods are again linked to Lefebvre`s concept of space production as can be seen in the graph below (fig.6).

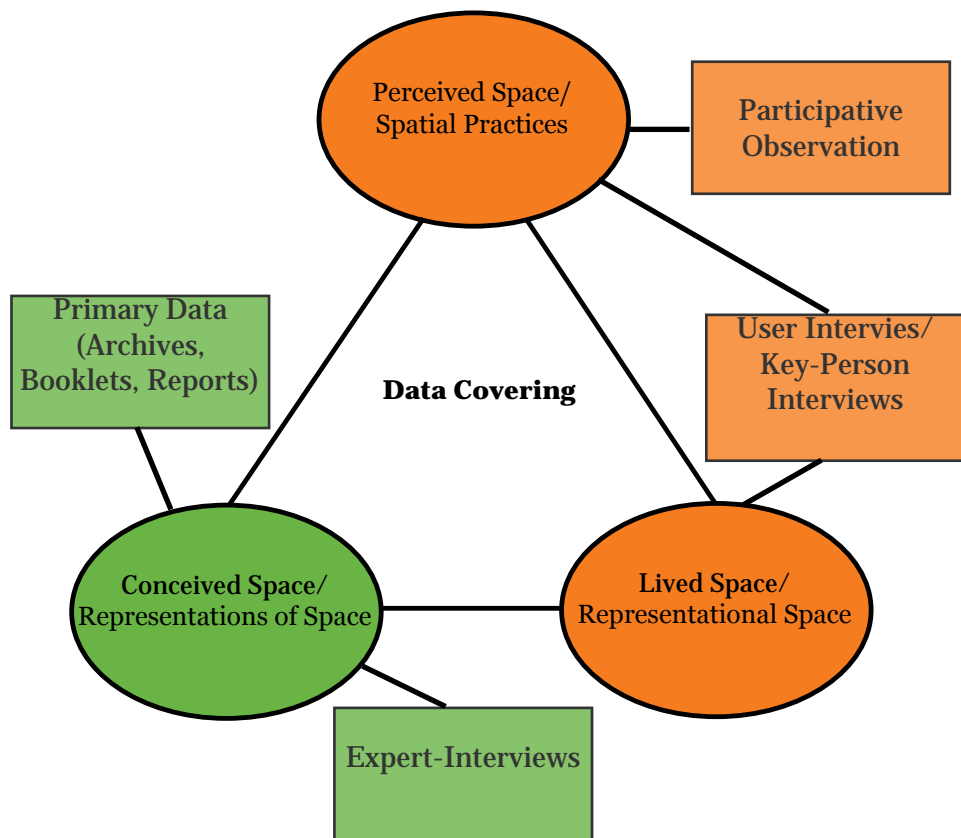


Figure 6. Responsiveness of Data Generation and Theory (own source)

In terms of the first research question, the most substantive information was gained from twelve semi-structured interviews. As the question tackles the official side of urban planning, the basic data was gathered through interviews with representatives of the city of Beirut (Vice President Nadim Abourizk and Maha Milki, head of the Department of Public Gardens) as well as a third one with Amira Solh, on behalf of the real-estate company Solidere, one of the most important actors in the field. A fourth one with the Governor of Beirut (Nassif Qaloush) was already arranged, yet not possible due to his sudden demission. Further information was gained by ten more interviews conducted with other actors relating to that field; representatives of NGOs and political parties, journalists, activists and academia.

The second question, which focuses on the actual users and their activities as well as opposed spatial practices, was investigated along 16 initial Participative Observations (PO) as well as several Random-User Interviews (RUI) within eight days and two locations each day (as second research phase). The data was

enhanced and in parts deepened or verified by Key-Person Interviews (KPI). Contact to key-persons was made within the first (Participative Observations) and second phase (Random-User Interviews) of the research on the respective sites. Solely in the case of Downtown/ Khalil Gibran Garden and Tariq e-Jdideh/ Municipal Football Stadium the approach was slightly adopted. So that Participative Observations and Random-User Interviews were merged to so-called Integrated Field-Researches (IFR) that took place independently of the other phases. In the case of Downtown the quite reduced number of visitors rendered a separated approach impossible, as any chance for user interviews had to be taken to gain sufficient data. Relating to Tariq el-Jdideh and the municipal football stadium, entering the area and approaching people were solely made possible after realizing the initial contact to the key-person. For that it took place rather belated within the whole field research. More detailed information about the data collection as well as the system upon which data is referred to within the empirical part, can be found in the Appendix under point seven.

Furthermore, interview samples presenting a rough structure along which the interviews were guided are also provided there. According to the interview-partner (relating to their position as expert, user or key-actor) the structure have been adopted respectively. In short questions within the Expert-Interviews are tackling the general vision for and function of public spaces, considerations about sectarian tensions and reconciliation in public space, actor constellations and decision making, the responsiveness of neoliberal planning paradigms with social inclusiveness as well as the nexus between socio-economic layering and sectarian conflicts, the role of religion in the society as a private or public issue. Users and key-persons were approached on the one hand with rather individual questions relating to their experience on-site; asking about their relation to the respective space as well as to other public spaces in Beirut, their usage patterns, activities and interactions with other users as well as about their religious affiliation and the religious setting of the particular space. On the other hand normative questions on a broader level are posed about the general role of religion in public spaces, the potential of sites to foster inter-religious rapprochement or conflicts, the role of religiously neutralized public spaces in the in the city and the cityscape in relation to sectarian structures.

None of the interviews has been recorded due to personal conviction that the anyhow delicate topic of sectarianism and religion in Beirut might have been even more difficult to be investigated when irritating people by officially

recording their statements. Moreover, some of the interviews with civil society have been conducted more in the form of informal talks, thus rendering any records or notes impossible and being later on written down as mere memory-minutes. For the same reason any photographs of participants were not possible.

4.4. Self-Positioning & The Role of the Researcher: Advantages and Disadvantages of Being of Non-Lebanese Origin

In terms of the self-positioning of the researcher it can be said that being of non-Lebanese origin was advantageous as well as limiting at the same time for the research. On the one hand, the clear dissociation of the specific Lebanese context in political and religious terms offered a possibility to approach people on a quite neutral basis. According to that I was never asked about my personal opinion relating to the actual case of Lebanon. Moreover people might be more likely to open up as I was not considered suspicious or of eventual warring side. Yet still the sensitive topic of the research together with the shortness of time allow not for very much deep-going revelations or manifestations – neither when being of Lebanese origin nor when personally not being enmeshed in the Lebanese context. On the other hand, the greatest benefit of researching in an environment one is originating from is definitely a better initial knowledge about the context and background. Not to mention fluency and entirely ensured understanding of the language – respectively Lebanese-Arabic. Though being able to communicate and conduct the Random-User Interviews as well as Key-Person Interviews mainly in Arabic, an absolutely complete and unflawed understanding cannot be ensured – especially when being opposed to very local and context-specific issues. Yet, it can be stated that people – though not speaking Arabic perfectly – highly appreciated being approached in their mother tongue as they appeared also much more willing to answer questions than when starting a conversation in English. In general, the research would have been not possible to be conducted when not speaking Arabic as the English skills of the interviewees were far not advanced enough to base a conversation upon them. French language skills could be in that case of great benefit, yet might be also not sufficient especially in certain areas or when talking to people of certain social classes who did not attend any form of higher education. Though being of Lebanese origin might be helpful in the very beginning in organizational

terms it might turn out later on to be rather a barrier. On the one hand, people might not open up so easily when being opposed to someone who is also part of their society, their history and the respective struggles. On the other hand, a researcher of Lebanese background might be also likely to step into the trap of being somehow biased and not able to conduct research on a neutral basis. Whether any research is ever conducted in a entirely unbiased manner – being of the case study`s origin or not- is yet explicitly questioned here.

5. Empirical Findings

In the following part the empirical findings are presented along the previously described structure of the two respective research questions. First, light is shed on the official side of urban planning in terms of public spaces. According to the theoretical framework not just the material side, represented by design patterns, maintenance, planning and distribution, is taken into consideration. Moreover immaterial aspects are also reflected upon by emphasizing the role of discursive formations about neoliberal development and sectarian implications in the planning process. In a second step, the findings are related to specific case study sites. Thereby the six case study sites (fig.7: Khalil Gibran Garden/ Downtown, Sioufi Garden/ Ashrafiyeh, Jesuit Garden/ Geitawi, Dalieh/ Raouche, Municipal Football Stadium/ Tariq el-Jdideh, Horsh Beirut) are analyzed by using the model of Lefebvre (1991). The cases are categorized according to their potential to function as representational spaces in the sense of inter-religious rapprochement by examining the display of religious implications as well as the attitude towards them.

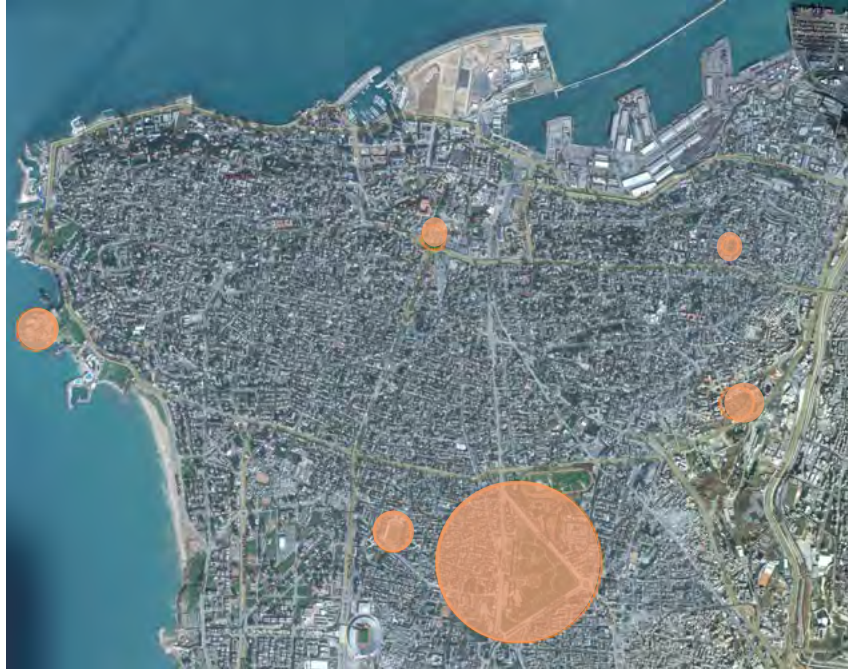


Figure 7. Case Study Areas in Beirut (own source)

5.1. The Integration of Sectarian Narratives as Part of the Dominating Neoliberal Discourse of Beirut's Official Urban Planning

This question aims to trace how a sectarian rhetoric and a neoliberal narrative of city restructuring – including public spaces -are relating to each other. In general it is questioned in how far the handling of public spaces is affected by a specific sectarian discourse from the official, planning side of the city or whether neoliberal implications are of far more importance. Hence, in a first step discursive structures concerning sectarianism and public space as well as neoliberalism and public space are unfolded; while in the following one the findings are set into relation to the neoliberal restructuring of the city by investigating the city's official planning vision for the next years. By doing so the previously elaborated implications about the relation of sectarianism and public space are illustrated.

Figure 8. Public Gardens in Beirut -
including the Case Study Sites (own source)





1: Krantina Garden

2: AbdouRahman el Hout G.

3: Leila Osseira& Capuchins Garden

4: Bashoura

5: Hawd el Wilayah

6: Debbas Square

7: Elias Awdi Garden

8: St. Nicholas Garden

9: William Hawi Garden

10: Sanayeh/ Renee Moawd

11: Sioufi Garden

12: Daliyeh

13: Municipal Stadium

14: Horsh Beirut

15: Khalil Gibran Garden

16: Jesuit Garden

17: Walid Eido Garden

18: Mufti Hassan Khalid

5.1.1. Discursive Structures: The Degradation of Sectarian Tensions as Ordinary, Socially Significant Problem

The official stance towards public spaces has been contentiously debated in the last years. The notion of “public space” has been steadily under discussion. Diverging concepts and the respective understanding of how a public space should be constituted and what function it should serve has been a matter of discussion. Also implications of sectarianism have been embedded in the debate as a discursive element. Especially after broad activism has been initiated by several NGOs (Nahnoo, Beirut Green Project, Assabil, etc.) who have been demanding unlimited accessibility as well as a better maintenance of public spaces. As their argument goes unlimited access and availability of public goods is a fundamental right to any civilian – apart from his origin, nationality, socio-economic status and especially religious affiliation (Nahnoo). By claiming this, the NGOs and activists are reacting to discursive formations of a particular understanding of public spaces and sectarianism, which is aiming at justifying why public spaces as Horsh Beirut remain closed until nowadays. This certain argumentation-line had been raised by Beirut’s mayor Bilal Hamad in 2012 during a conference in which the steadily postponed re-opening of Horsh Beirut was scrutinized by the NGO Nahnoo (NPPF). In the course of the discussion, he stated that he feels highly threatened to re-open the park due to various reasons. On the one hand concerns about proper maintenance and the general condition of the park were mentioned, while on the other hand ingrained anxieties concerning social implications were expressed – specifically about unsuitable behavioral patterns of users.

In terms of maintenance it was argued that the minor level of awareness for environmental sustainability and public goods would immediately lead to a devaluation of the revitalized park by littering, abuse and environmental destruction. Moreover the risk of immoral behavior and especially political fights (relating to sectarian tensions) appeared to be of greatest relevance on the side of social parameters (NPPF, part 2). The notion of sectarianism in this context is clearly reframed as an abstract threat to public goods rather than acknowledging it as a multi-layered product of interpersonal agonism in the sense of sectarian tensions. The denomination of political disputes as part of sectarianism in the same breath with littering, immorality and minor level of social consciousness degrades the topic to a simple problem of undesired behavioral patterns of an inadequate category of citizen; whereas sectarian tensions as broader societal

problem remain unsolicited.

These statements seem to perfectly respond to concepts of public spaces as sites of beautification and nature as decorative element instead of a lived environment, what was put forward by Bilal Hamad according to several NGOs (Dictaphone Group:2). Contrastingly, this stance was officially denied by Dr. Nadim Abourizk, the Vice President of Beirut Municipality, by stating that public space should not function as a solely decorative garden, but as an invitation for people to actively use it (EI2). Furthermore, public space – in his view – should function as site for unification especially in conflictive areas. Illustrating that, the example of Karantina Garden was mentioned as the attempt to create a mingling space for different sects in the complicated setting of a former industrial site. Yet, it needs to be emphasized that the case of Horsh Beirut, the site of sectarian tensions par excellence, was tellingly just mentioned on demand. Then being solely referred to as a site of religiously and socially “certain flavor”. Karantina Garden however was at large described as best-practice example for the development of an inter-religious site. The specific area is located at the edges of the inner-city area and solely characterized by various Christian sects, in the absence of Muslim representatives (see fig.8). Moreover, Dr. Abourizk (EI2) was quick to direct the notion of a supposedly well-functioning public space in the context of sectarianism to other positive aspects, e.g. ecological design, “green infrastructure” etc. The way sectarianism in public spaces was approached within the interview appeared to omit its relevance to a certain extent. A quite positive image on how to handle sites with sectarian background was given by mentioning a best-practice example of far less relevance than Horsh Beirut. The link to other positive aspects (ecological perspectives etc.), which are actually not related to implications of sectarianism appears to support this line of argumentation. The notion of sectarianism in public space as a individual societal problem comparable to littering or dating from the side of the mayor as well as its simplification by the vice-president seem both to not attach enough relevance to the problem per se. Discursive structures about sectarianism and public space are simply located in the field of general assumptions about visual appearance and representation of public spaces than being acknowledged as a dynamic problem in its own right. This appears to be especially alarming when taking into consideration that sectarianism in the sense of broader political power balances has been indicated as reason to keep Horsh Beirut closed on behalf of Beirut`s former governor Nassif Qaloush (EI8/R. Abdel Salam, EI9/A. Saksouk-Sasso, EI10/D. Summer).

The overvaluation of representational aspects in the sense of perfect citizens in a perfect environment can be traced when evaluating the interview with the Department of Public Gardens (EI3/M. Milki).

The contradictory posture towards public spaces can be made tangible when comparing the statements of Beirut's Vice President with those of the employees of the Department of Public Gardens of Beirut (EI3/M. Milki). Dr. Nadim Abourizk's (EI2) blame that a lack of education and awareness would render Beirut's civil society incapable of public goods was addressed by Dr. Milki Maha and her associates by stating that the municipality handles public spaces along a paradigmatic understanding of people being "perfect" and acting "ideally" (EI3). According to that everything what is not fitting into this specific understanding is being banned from usage. Though also conceding people's negative affection on public goods by abuse, destruction and disrespect it was still acknowledged that people need to be acquainted with these concepts instead of excluding them from their legal right. Within this also Solidere, the real-estate company "owning" Downtown Beirut was highly criticized for substantiating exactly the exclusion of people not fitting into certain concepts. By talking to Dr. Milki Maha and her colleagues it became once again obvious, that the discursive understanding of public space as a site of beautification is nearly always linked to discursive elements about adequate and inadequate behavior on the official side of urban planning (EI3). The "inadequate elements" range from practices destroying the environment over immoral, socially or religiously condemned ones. In parts also context specific patterns, e.g. political disputes, as well as specifically cultural practices, e.g. smoking water-pipe (shisha) are included. By doing-so, any spontaneous, unpredictable and divers practices (in the form of lived space) are demarcated inadequate and in stark contrast to "normed" forms of behavior, which are supposed to take place in public spaces solely. Evolving from this, spaces of "unreason" opposed to spaces of "reason" in a Foucauldian sense (1978) are discursively created. Hence the people using the spaces of unreason, their activities as well as the spaces themselves are criminalized. For that several sites as, for example the open part of Horsh Beirut and Daliyeh, which are not responding to the paradigm of decorative public spaces, have been described as immoral areas, places for drug dealers and junkies, mingling spaces for gangs etc. (EI2/ N. Abourizk, EI3/M. Milki, EI4/ A. Solh). The dereliction of these specific sites seems to be justified by the respective line of argumentation and vice versa the gradual decline of them – provoked not solely people's abuse but by a lack of maintenance - helps to sustain the argument

reflexively.

With many of this “spaces of unreason” being located in rather popular areas than in Downtown Beirut or on its edges, also implications of religious affiliation and traditional cultural elements are embedded in this particular discourse. Popular groups, which are in many cases still characterized by strong / stronger religious impetus than their secular counterparts in more international and globalized settings, become often associated with immoral or at least un-normed/ inadequate behavior; e.g. Shia youth meeting in public spaces for dating, kissing etc., Shia and Sunni adherents provoking fights over politics (EI3/ M. Milki). The mere heightened visible presence of Islamic religion in certain public spaces that are stigmatized due to the socio-economic constitution of the surrounding area supports the argumentation-line about negative religious-sectarian implications within the discourse about public spaces. In other words, the degradation of certain groups of people or social layers (Palestinian refugees, Shia and Sunni youth, recently Syrian refugees) goes in parallel with a general stigmatization of traditional cultural patterns. Starting with condemning particular practices, e.g. smoking shisha, picnicking, etc. (Bilal Hamad/NPPF: part2, EI2/ N. Abourizk), which is highly relevant in the Lebanese/Arab culture, the narrative of unwanted Arab-ness or at least Lebanese-ness culminates by opening Horsh Beirut solely for foreigners. As has been also stated by Pierre Feghali of the Department for Public Gardens (EI3) as well as Mohammed Ayoub (EI1), the director of Nahnoo, being Lebanese therefore becomes stigmatized as being uncivilized and of less value than internationals. While Horsh Beirut was initially solely accessible for specific people in high position or by “wasta” (unofficial linkages, kinship relations or partisanship) (EI1/M. Ayoub, EI6/R. Shamma, EI10/D. Summer), nowadays any foreigner – or in other words – anyone who does not appear to be Lebanese in terms of clothes, look, language or behavior can enter the park without even showing their passport (PO11.2).

Summing up, while the handling of public spaces was formerly just degrading in terms of inner-state inequalities, within the last years it developed to a far-reaching, international degradation in favor of an international elite. Within this narrative internationals are per se understood as better, more civilized and peaceful. Discursive structures indicating public space worthwhile when being sites of beautification and representation are being met by discursive formations of the respective users of those sites. Besides not using the spaces in a spontaneous, unbound manner the adequate user appears to also be a rather representative one; free of any significant cultural, religious or traditional

implications. Ideas of globalized neutrality are also resembled by modes of neoliberal city restructuring – in which the execution of public spaces in Beirut is embedded.

When having a closer look at the operation and handling of public spaces, delineated in the “Beirut Vision 2012” (Beirut Municipality 2010), the previously described discourses about beautification, representation and neutralization in a globalized and internationally oriented manner are illustrated.

5.1.2. Execution of Public Spaces: The Responsiveness of Planning & Execution of Public Spaces to the Paradigmatic Neoliberal Restructuring of the City

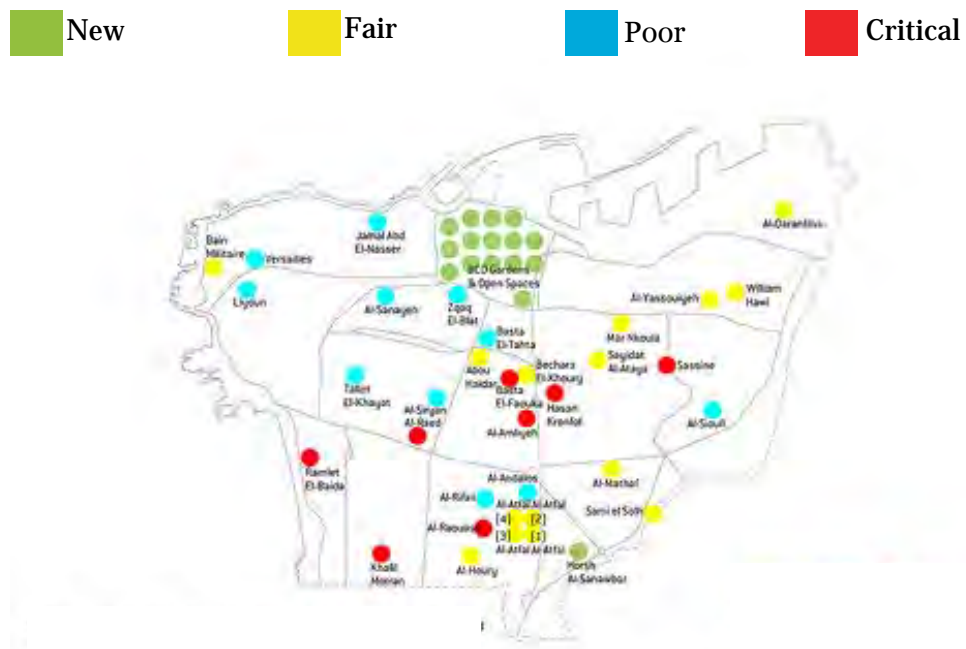
To start with a rather palpable fact, the distribution of public spaces as well as their specific constitution in terms of maintenance is indicating a close link between the socio-economic status of an area and its public facilities in the form of shared, public spaces. Thereby areas within the neoliberal influence zone (e.g. Downtown/Central Business District, Ashrafiyyeh, Hamra, Verdun etc.) (fig.10) tend to be well equipped with public spaces and those being far better maintained than spaces that are not of an integral role in economic terms or of prestigious importance (e.g. Tariq el Jdideh, Basta, etc.) (sketch / distribution & maintenance).

In several cases, the areas of minor financial value within a neoliberal approach are also not fitting in the more globalized, internationalized and sanitized image of an entrepreneurial city in the sense of inter-urban competition. Within that any individual, significant implications – as religious symbolism – are banned from space in order to align cities to the most successful examples of inter-urban competition. While these areas are commonly neglected in the specific urban planning, some places in the edges of the neoliberal influence zone are still incorporated. Hence Ashrafiyyeh, an economically and residentially flourishing neighborhood in East-Beirut as well as Hamra, under the influence of the most renowned, international universities (American University of Beirut, Lebanese-American University) in West-Beirut are hosting several parks or have at least been taken into consideration for revitalization programs (Beirut Vision 2012:86-120, Nahnou 2012:8-17). Especially the North-South connection leading from Downtown Solidere to the National Museum of Beirut could be revealed as an area of great importance to the neoliberal approach as this

connection is crucial to integrate Beirut`s biggest park, Horsh Beirut, and the Hippodrome to the inner city area (resembling a Central-Park in the heart of Beirut as has been said by Dr. Abourik (EI2)).

In fact this means - according to research conducted by Fady Shayya (2009:117)- that none of the public spaces indicated as new and of sound condition is located outside of Downtown Beirut; besides Horsh Beirut that remains closed for the public. While the adjacent quarter, Ashrafiyyeh, is equipped with most of the public spaces still being considered as “fair”, those of critical condition are found mainly in the South-Western region, including Bachoura, Mazraa, Mousaithbe). Though several sites in North-Western Beirut had been categorized as also of “poor” condition in 2009, there have been efforts undertaken in the following years to revitalize them, e.g. René Moawad Garden in Sanayah (see fig. 9).

Conditions of Public Gardens and Open Spaces in Municipal Beirut



(note of the author: some spaces have already been renovated in 2014, e.g. Al-Sanayeh)

Figure 9. Shayya, F., Abou Reslan, L., Hamad, N. (2009) Conditions of Public Gardens and Open Spaces in Municipal Beirut, in: *At the Edge of The City*: 117

Neoliberal Influencezone of Beirut

Figure 10. Beirut`s Zone of Neoliberal Influence (own source)





Degree of Neoliberal Influence:



Very High:
Downtown, Saifi



High:
Manara, Hamra, Ain
Mraisse, Zqaq el Blat



Medium:
Rmeil, Gemmayzeh,
Geitawi



Low/ Not at All:
Basta, Mazraa, Mar Elias,
Mousaithbeh

Areas of Prospective Re-structuring:



Planned:
Horsh&Hippodrome,
Rue Damas, Dalieh



Considered:
Tariq el Jdideh/ Stadium

This also becomes evident from the Beirut Vision 2012 (Beirut Municipality 2010:86f), in which solely two out of twelve projects that are tackling public gardens in Beirut are not focusing on the neoliberal zone of Beirut; namely Hadiqat Mufti Hadas Khalid in Moussaitbeh (ibid:102) and Hadiqat el Basta el Fawqa in Basta Fawqa (ibid:104), which is actually quite near to Downtown Beirut. Even more alarming, spaces used so far in a public manner in the neglected areas are prone to be abolished or restructured in also a neoliberal sense, consequently eradicating their public function. Namely the old municipal football stadium in Tariq el-Jdideh, which is nowadays used as a public space for various activities is threatened by this development.

In general the misdistribution and miss-management of public spaces in socio-economically weak areas is justified from official sides by a decade-long lack of urban planning within the war time (EI2). Yet unequal allocation of funding could not be explained by the same argument from any side. Instead, the unequal treatment and discriminative handling was immediately related to the presence or absence of PPPs to ensure and sustain a certain status (EI2/N. Abourizk). By doing so, not just responsibilities have been shifted on, but also it has been given preference to an integral item of neoliberal city-planning by introducing the concept of privatization and PPPs.

The deployment of PPPs has been pointed out as the way of salvation to maintain public spaces successfully in several interviews (EI2/N. Abourizk, EI3/M. Milki, EI4/A. Solh). The real estate company Solidere, which is operating in Downtown Beirut was thus named as example par excellence (EI2/N. Abourizk). Especially the acceleration of administrative procedures as well as financial benefits and economization have been named as main reasons (EI2/N. Abourizk). Participative planning approaches that integrated the design vision of citizens have been rare and solely realized by the Karatina Garden project (EI2/N. Abourizk). By so-doing, a general transition from public to private, or semi-public can be recognized. As mentioned before, Downtown Beirut has been entirely developed under Solidere and within that being completely privatized in exchange for public services / infrastructure (EI4/A. Solh).

In parallel many public spaces have been converted into semi-public spaces. The most famous examples for that is Al Nejme Square in the heart of Downtown Beirut. Together with the changes in ownership-relations also different

modes of surveillance are appearing; according to the paradigmatic understanding of adequate behavior in certain areas (EI9/ A. Saksouk-Sasso). The regulations being imposed on the users are varying due to the specific locations. While there are some more relating to the idea of consumerism when being located near to shopping facilities (fig.12), some others are more restricted due to functions of representation. The latter one is illustrated easily by the fact that politically or economically representative buildings can nearly always be found next to public gardens. For example the municipality and municipal garden, International financial institutions along Bank Street and Riad el-Soleh Street and the Roman Bath Garden, the UN-Headquarter and Khalil Gibran Garden, The Falling Water Garden, Hariri Memorial Garden and Grand Serail (see fig.14).



Figure 11. Plans for Underground Parking System under Elias Awdi Garden (source: SETS, 2013)



Figure 12. Beirut` Souks (own source)



Figure 13. The Private Resort Zaytouna Bay in the Back Opposed to the Still Undeveloped Public Waterfront Park in Front ()

The Respresentattional Function of Beirut's Public Gardens

Figure 14. (own source)

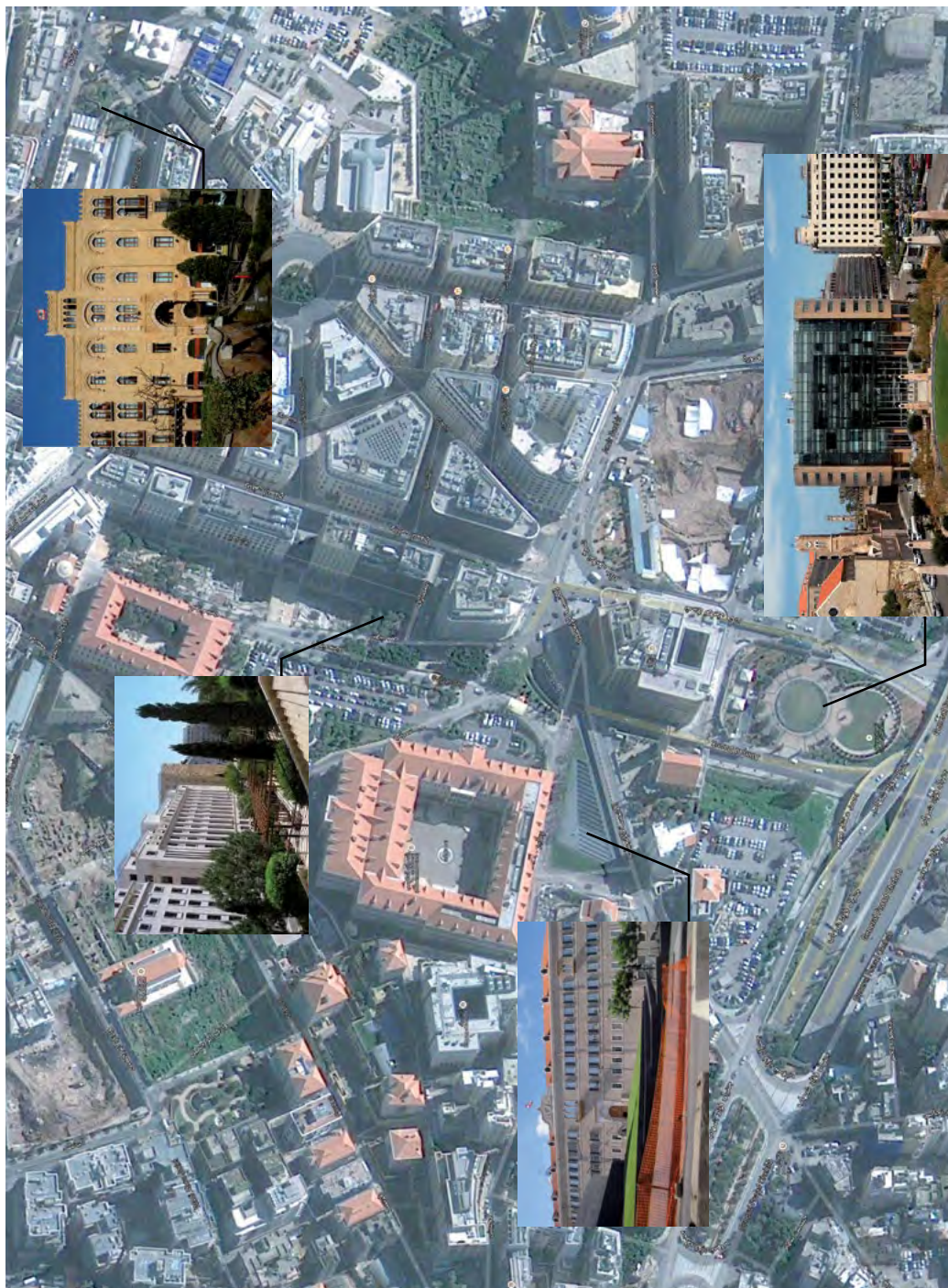


Figure 15 (down right). Khalil Gibran Garden Facing UN Headquarter (source: Solidere (n.y.))

Figure 16 (up right). Municipal Garden opposed to Beirut Municipality (source: munirnasr/ Munir Nasr (n.y.))

Figure 17 (down left). Hariri Memorial Garden Adjacent to the Grand Serail (source: Worldmapz/ Samer M. Ahmad (n.y.))

Figure 18 (up left). The Roman Baths, Leila Osseira Garden and Capuchin Garden Facing Bank Street (source: trekearth/ Radi Sadek 2006)

Both cases are responding to the idea of neoliberal city restructuring. On the one hand, modes of consumerism are supported by excluding people from public spaces when not participating in consumptive activities or when not being able to afford the facilities offered there (Restaurant, Cafés etc.). And on the other hand, internationally vital representations (international organizations, political functions, financial institutions etc.) are emphasized in a beautified, sanitized and neutralized form, which helps to locate the city within the network of competitive global cities of economic and political importance. Both ways significantly restrict behavioral patterns in more or less subtle ways. For that, many of these spaces are not used by people either because they are not designed for real usage (e.g. reduced number of benches, very clean and unwelcoming environment, spatial disconnection; (EI1/M. Ayoub, EI3/ M. Milki, EI5/G. Jammal) or because they are not fitting with the financial status of some social layers (expensive restaurants, cafés etc.). Together with the exposed restrictions in form of regulations and behavioral instructions as for example no eating, no shisha smoking, no immoral practices / kissing etc., no playing/running on the lawn (EI4/A. Solh, IFR1.2/guard), any form of usage is prevented for people of certain social layers.

The deliberate act of expelling any linkages to traditional forms of the Lebanese, Arab culture (which are displayed much more visibly in quarter of lower socio-economic status / less international importance) can be also read from the portrayals of the planning projects within “Beirut Vision 2012” (Beirut Municipality 2010). Specific cultural patterns are not represented at all – neither in terms of design nor in the depiction of people using the space, who actually seem of rather Western origin. The most obvious hint at a desired segregation of a globalizing Downtown from more traditional areas can be found next to Khalil Gibran Garden. The edge between financially flourishing Downtown and the rather deprived, strongly Shiit neighborhood of Zqaq el-Blat is physically segregated by a massive bridge that seems to literally cut off both areas from each other (fig.20).



From Left to Right:

Figure 19. Downtown Beirut (source: skyscrapercity/ Thomas Gustavo 2013)

Figure 19. Zqaq el-Blat Physically Segregated from Downtown Beirut by a Tremendous Car-Bridge (own source)

Figure 20. (source: The German Orient Institute (2005) History, Space and Social conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zkak El-Blat)

Besides Downtown Beirut, in general public spaces seem solely favorable in prestigious areas. The shoreline/ the Corniche along the sea in North-Western Beirut is one example of publicly used spaces. Although being a valuable area due to its location near the sea, until nowadays it is praised as one of the remaining public spaces in Beirut. Yet, with several real-estate projects taking place there, the area is threatened to also become a victim of severe forms of behavioral restrictions, usage-patterns and general surveillance as it already has been realized in Zaytouna Bay (fig.13). Today this area perfectly resembles the neoliberal approach of Disneyfication and entertainment – with 17 restaurants and cafés, retail outlets, a water sport center as well as a workshop (Solidere. The Chronicle- Annual Report (2012:13) instead of offering a truly public space for all social classes. Rather than realizing the long-planned public waterfront park, in which Solidere was also involved, until today solely the private waterfront projects of Zaytouna Bay have been realized (EI2/N. Abourizk, EI4/A. Solh).

The omnipresent, economic orientation of planning projects can also be understood from the crucial interlink age between newly built or at least planned public spaces and parking facilities (e.g. Municipal Garden, Jesuits Garden, Rene Moawad Garden/Sanayeh Garden, Mutran Audi Garden, etc.) (see fig.11). While this proceeding was vehemently defended as being the mere short-term project of a long-term vision for traffic-reduction in inner-city Beirut EI2/ N. Abourizk), it rather appears to be a strategic plan with a certain agenda. The provision of public spaces (of vanishingly low size) appears to rather function as a diversionary tactic for the implementation of new parking systems, which are most times not appreciated by the residents as it became obvious when Jesuits Garden in Geitawi was thought to be “revitalized” by a underground parking system one year ago(EI1/M. Ayoub). While Dr. Abourizk (EI2) ascribed the general rejection of those projects to a lack of trust in municipal activities as well as misscommunication, the representatives of the Department of Public

Gardens both accused the plans to be based on economical decisions for certain actors and the city as entrepreneurial project itself. While the park was partially planned residents, it was also thought of integrating them also into a city-wide parking system to the benefit of the municipality (EI7/ R. Noujaim).

The most elaborated project in this field being proposed within the “Beirut Vision 2012” (Municipality Beirut 2010:35f) is the re-design of the old municipal football stadium in Tariq el-Jdideh (see fig.23). Based on intensified sectarian conflicts over the last years, the municipal football stadium has been closed for public gatherings during the matches. For that, plans have been developed to re-design the stadium into a civic center with - not surprisingly - a parking space for 2500 cars as well as sport facilities and courts (ibid), which are thought to replace the public space inside the stadium that is so far accessible and available freely. According to Mona Amach of the Department of Public Gardens the decision to build a parking system in the heart of Tariq el-Jdideh seems to not be beneficial to the low- and middle-class residents themselves, who could most probably not afford parking there (EI3). Yet with a change in the legal status of the housing laws in that area, at the end of nine years, protection of tenants and rent control will be abolished soon. Meaning that rents can be raised more than 15% per years, as well as the legal right to expel long-term inhabitants from their houses and demolishing them according to financially more promising real-estate projects (EI8/R. Abdel Salam). In this light the proposed plan for transforming the stadium in an entertainment project appears to be much more “reasonable” - in economic terms. To sum up, the reason for closing the stadium and re-locating it in another, less hazardous area in terms of sectarian tensions (namely Horsh Beirut) ostensibly masks – at least partially – other motives due to other agendas. Such project would either be financially profitable for real-estate firms evolved in the building or maintenance or for the city Beirut itself in an entrepreneurial sense of city-marketing.

Last but not least, the most profound argument undergirding the hypothesis that public spaces in Beirut are much more affected by decisions of neoliberal city restructuring than by an expressed fear of newly arising sectarian tensions, is relating to the case of Horsh Beirut and the surrounding area. The park is – beyond other reasons – kept closed for the public according to the threat of bearing the potential for newly arising sectarian conflicts (Bilal Hamad/NPPF: part2). Yet, paradoxically the football stadium, which has been closed in Tariq

el-Jdideh as being a factor for heightened sectarian contestations, is planned to be exactly located in the area of Horsh Beirut (Beirut Municipality 2010). The football stadium is supposed to replace a football court currently used by various sports-teams for free, next to the open part of Horsh Beirut. Though not provoking any new conflicts so far, this public space is also exposed to the danger of being re-built for a fee-based entertainment facility. This single project needs to be understood as part of a complete design strategy within the neoliberal restructuring of Beirut. Not willing to open the Horsh to the public completely, yet still wishing to take advantage of its existence, it should be integrated in a tremendous park project (Vision 2012, EI2/N. Abourizk, EI4/ M. Milki). The Horsh together with the Hippodrome thus resemble a “Central Park” based on the model of New York (EI2/N. Abourizk). As Dr. Abourizk pointed out, the project should enable all people to benefit from the Hippodrome that is so far just used by a small number of people with a specific interest in horse racing. In his vision, the Hippodrome needs to be re-connected together with the Horsh to the central parts of Beirut; not leaving them left over in the outskirts of the city, which are not commonly used by the financially powerful elite of Beirut. While the proposal for these spaces is presented along a seemingly inclusive approach, the detailed design and organization is telling another story.

The Hippodrome therefore should be equipped with a golf academy, a music park, a artificial lake, the racing stadium, theme restaurants, an equestrian club as well as a car parking area (Vision Beirut 2012:31, fig.22). The Horsh is thought to be connected to it via an underpass, ensuing the overall sport-entertainment-theme of the Hippodrome by hosting the proposed football stadium. It can be assumed, that the nowadays vibrantly used, but behaviorally not normed part of open Horsh Beirut would be no longer fitting to the proposed surrounding. Hence it would be also falling victim to the neoliberal project that already conquered the inner city area. The area of the proposed Plaza, at the North-Eastern corner of Horsh Beirut already has been partially transformed by several high-rise buildings, which are still in stark contrast to the dilapidated houses along the Northern border of Horsh Beirut (fig. 24). To ensure the re-connection of the area to the heart of Beirut, namely Downtown, also the Damascus Road, which is connecting both areas is integrated into the project. As proposed in the Vision for Beirut (Beirut Vision 2012:50f) this street -as one of the most congested main roads- is designed as a car-free, pedestrian and bicycle lane. Though generally appreciating efforts to reduce traffic congestion,

it must be asked why similar projects are not being implemented or planned in other – more residential – areas. Yet with the street being a crucial element of the neoliberal axes of restructuring between the city center and the outer edges of Beirut, it remains the sole project so far. The neoliberal zone of influence can thus be extended from Downtown Beirut, the completely privatized seashore, Hamra and Ashrafiyyeh to the area of the National Museum and the Central Park of the Hippodrome and Horsh Beirut (sketch or reference to map).



Figure 22. The Planned Re-Design of the Hippodrome (source: Beirut Vision 2012:31)



Figure 23. The Planned Re-Design of the Municipality Football Stadium, Tariq el-Jdideh (source: Beirut Vision 2012:37)



Figure 24. Devastated Buildings Bordering on Newly Built Upper-Class Compounds at the Northern Edge of Horsh Beirut (own source)

Conclusion

According to the previously made findings, sectarian fear, which was several times used as an argument for a certain handling of public spaces seems not to have a crucial impact on decisions taken by the official side. Rather, sectarian narratives and stigmatization of more traditional forms of living seem to mask economical agendas, which have a significant financial purpose more than being concerned with security issues. Forms of surveillance and safeguarding need therefore to be read as means to restrict and control users as well as the way spaces are used. This is not to secure safety in terms of sectarian tensions, but to ensure a financially flourishing environment that is not disrupted by people of lower socio-economic status. This might lead immediately to direct financial losses and a significant degradation of the places in terms of international inter-urban competition on the long-term. The most crucial implications of sectarianism in the realm of public spaces and especially in the case of Horsh Beirut might be rooted in concerns of territorial power-balances. Instead of provoking real intensified conflicts between the people using the spaces, the fear seems rather related to the question who actually would control the territory when being opened to the public. This would not be necessarily realized in armed conflicts or military presence but in influencing the power balance in the area, which is actually affecting all daily-life structures – and also the economy of certain areas (EI9/A. Saksouk-Sasso).

The nexus of neoliberalism and sectarianism in the context of public spaces has been investigated in this chapter. By doing so the importance of processes that are impacting the constitution of public spaces has been emphasized - even though they might not be correlating to sectarianism in general. Yet, some of these factors have an effect on sectarian tensions on detours – as it has been explain along the neoliberal restructuring of Beirut and the negative connotation of socio-economic parts of the city. While these investigations were mainly focusing on the complex structures of the whole city, in the following chapter light is being shed on the constitutive aspects of both neoliberalism and sectarianism on public spaces in specific. When investigating Beirut, the official handling of public spaces cannot be adequately understood when not also acknowledging neoliberalism as one of the crucial layers. Both concepts are thus outlined as limiting factors for an unbound, free and buoyant social production of space in a Lefebvrian sense (1991).

This means that neoliberalism as well as sectarianism- in the specific context of Beirut - seem to be dominant in forming the representation of spaces. Ensuing from this, the perceived space/ spatial practices can be read as indicator where particular spaces can be localized within the structure of the city. For that a closer look will be taken especially at religious practices and handling of religious issues. It is tried to portray the influence of neoliberalism (going hand by hand with a secular approach and neutralization of space) and sectarianism (as counterpart to neoliberal restructuring in areas on the edges or the periphery of the neoliberal sphere of influence).

5.2. Diverging Modes of Handling Religious Implications in Public Space – Under Significantly Varying Representations Ranging from Neoliberal to Sectarian Ones

In this chapter the focus is on several, deliberately chosen public spaces/ publicly used spaces which have been investigated due to their specific constitution. It is asked whether and how they are conducive for the emergence of representational space and thus offering the possibility to serve any form of reconciliation between diverse social, religious and political actors; to finally overcome the sectarian divide which is perpetuated by the specific neoliberal or sectarian settings.

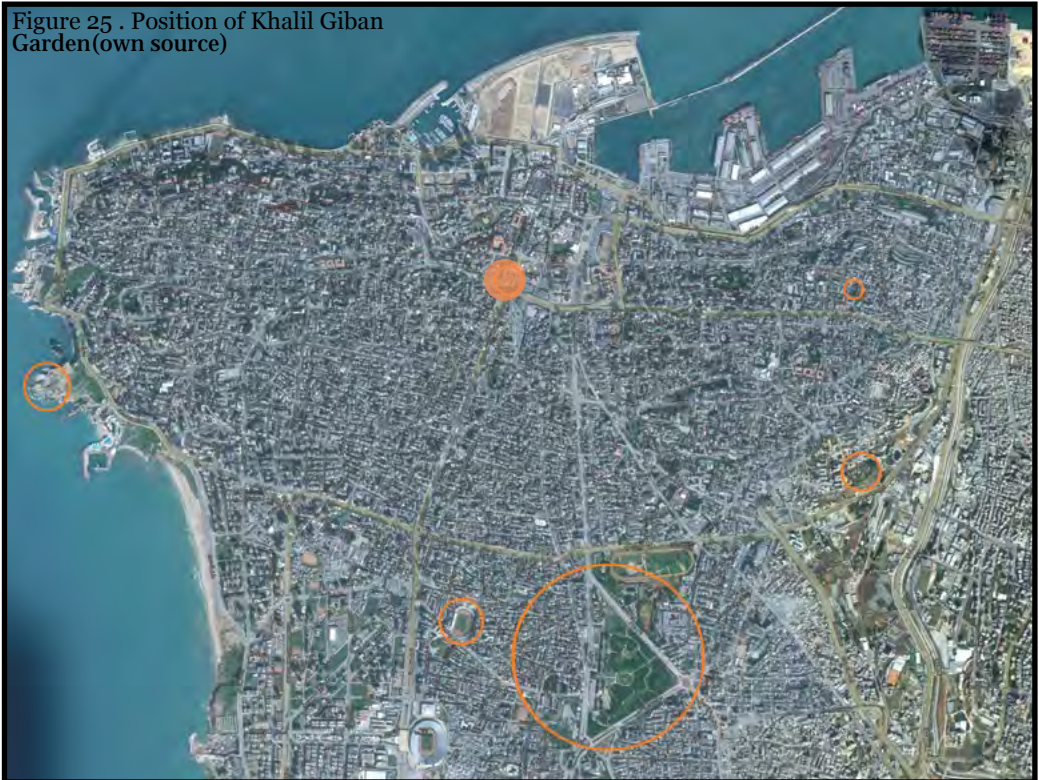
In the following the Lefebvrian conceptual triad is shortly explained again to call to mind the fundamental assumption upon which the spaces are being analyzed and consequently categorized. According to Lefebvre (1991) an ideal public space emerges when the three constitutive factors are more or less equally balanced; meaning, that especially the “representations of space”/ “conceived space” finds its counterpart in the existence of “representational space”/ “lived space” (see sketch). If conceived space gains too much power within the triad, “representational space” diminishes inversely proportional. With “spatial practices”/ “perceived space” stabilizing the “representations of space” in a materializing act of continuously lived and repeated practices, it is always rather in line with dominant forms than with reverse ones. But it is important to keep in mind, whether there are cases that “representational space” gains so much support that it takes over a dominant function in the form of “representations of space”; what actually could render than the now struggling, former dominant “representations” new “representational space” (among others).

When understanding neoliberalism as well as sectarianism as the two limiting factors of balanced space production by dominating the “representations of space”, each of them can function as counteractive element to the other. Thus, a bipolar continuum evolves ranging from neoliberalism as one pole and sectarianism as its antipode.

The spaces are described in the range from neoliberal settings to very much religiously influenced ones. Thereby the potential of representational space to develop is continuously increasing from neoliberal settings in Downtown, over rather balanced spaces in Ashrafieh and Rmeil to Dalieh, where the potential actually culminates. Then again it decreases in settings under greater religious influence, portrayed by examples of Horsh Beirut and the municipal football stadium. For each example, the respectively adjusted model of Lefebvre`s (1991) spatial production is provided.

5.2.1. Khalil Gibran Garden, Downtown Beirut: Total Neglect and Rejection of Any Religious Implications

Figure 25 . Position of Khalil Gibran Garden(own source)



From Left to Right:

Figure 26. Downtown Beirut (source: executive-magazine/ Thomas Schellen 2014)

Figure 27. Khalil Gibran Garden (source: Flickr/ Fouad Gehad Marei)



Figure 28 . A Car-Bridge Cutting off Downtown from Zqaq el-Blat (source: Flickr/Fouad Gehad Marei)

Khalil Gibran Garden is located in the center of Beirut Downtown. It is facing the UN house hosting the headquarter of United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA). On the opposite site it is confined by a congested bridge, which is functioning as the main road from Downtown Beirut to Hamra. Behind the bridge the neighborhood of Zqaq el-Blat is located – a rather deprived area highly influenced by Shia-Islam.

The garden in whole covers an area of 6000 square meter, consisting of two grass circles. Furthermore the area is equipped with some benches, a bust of the American-Lebanese poet Khalil Gibran and a modern stone sculpture. Planning and design have been implemented by Solidere based on the idea to create a main entrance to the city center by formalized landscaping (Solidere). Downtown is mainly a commercial area, including a broad variety of shopping facilities and also politically and culturally important institutions. The residential proportion of Downtown Beirut remains vanishingly low.

Khalil Gibran Garden represents the kind of public space, which is actually located in the heart of the neoliberal influence zone of Beirut- in line with the Roman Bath Garden, the Municipal Garden or Leila Osseiran Garden among others. As also explained in the first research question, areas of strong neoliberal affection are highly relating to concepts of positive representation within the setting of inter-urban competitiveness. The public spaces in Downtown Beirut are therefore designed and planned alongside this conceptual approach. The dominating institutions creating the prevalent “representations of space” are cooperating within the famous PPP of the real estate company Solidere and the governmental side of the municipality of Beirut. The produced hegemonic knowledge, the ideology of order is embedded in an overall neoliberal approach that goes in hand with the exclusion of lower socio-economic groups as well as a neutralization of space, including everything relating to religion. This idea finds its expression in the proposed design of Khalil Gibran Garden to function as a mere “entrance” to the heart of the city (Solidere), rather than a used and practiced space. Furthermore, this representation is supported by a wide and detailed set of behavioral codices that are mainstreaming what and who is allowed to be there. The set of regulations is implemented by the ubiquitous surveillance system that enables unwanted practices to be inhibited immediately by permanently present security guards (IFR1.1/1.2/1.3/1.4/1.5). As could be noticed within several observations (IFR1.3/1.4), any spontaneous activities (playing, running, stepping on the lawn, “picnicking” in the sense of eating more than one item etc.), even when performed by children (IFR1.5), is not tolerated. Yet, what appears to be even more crucial is the fact that the space is actually not used – besides very few times by very few users (IFR1.1/1.5: just passers-by, no users; IFR1.2/1.3/1.4: less than 10 users).

This observation perfectly fits with the imagined representation of the garden functioning solely as an entry gate. The same was verified by several interviews with ordinary users (IFR1.2/1.4) as well as activists (EI1/M. Ayoub, EI5/G. Jammal, EI7/ R. Noujaim) working in the field, by stating that the area is not used, expect from passers-by (IFR1.1-1.5). In addition the design of the garden - as personally experienced and approved from the official side of the Department of Public Gardens - is not considered receptive to users (EI3/M. Milki). On the one hand the limited number of benches, shadow-spending trees and further facilities does not offer manifold options to stimulate real usage, on the other hand the meticulously neat design and maintenance of the whole area renders any activity- expect passing-by - a destructive act. The painstaking tidiness got palpably illustrated by a gardener picking up single leaves for more than an hour - even though no one else was actually sitting in the garden and possibly feeling bothered by the few leaves on the ground (IFR1.1). And even more illustrative, one time the streetlights and surrounding fences were cleaned with a feather duster by one of the workers hired to keep the garden clean (IFR1.4). As it became clear, when asking people, Khalil Gibran Garden is by the majority rather considered a private garden belonging to the adjacent UN headquarter than a public facility (IFR1.2/1.3/1.4). The assumption, based on the omnipresent security apparatus in parallel with the reduced number of people using the site, evolves in a sharply reduced usage or even a complete shunning of the area (IFR1.1/1.5). The impression that the garden is a privatized one actually results in further reduction of users - thus resulting in a circular reinforcement of the described process.

Besides the limited amount of users mainly in the form of passers-by, the people actually spending time in Khalil Gibran Garden are consisting of a small percentage of teenagers and young couples (IFR1.4) and the bigger part of Syrian refugees with their children (IFR1.2/1.3/1.4). The activities of the teenagers are quite passive and limited to rather sitting and chatting as well as practices located in the field of self-representation, e.g. doing photographs (IFR1.4). The Syrian refugees gathering normally in bigger groups with their children are occupying the whole area as playground (as far as this is not prohibited immediately) (IFR1.3/1.4).

The observations as well as the interviews revealed that due to the short-lived character of the usage (IFR1.1/1.5) as well as the limited number of possible activities users are not engaging in any social interaction between groups of users who do not know each other (1.2/1.3/1.4). Besides the Syrian refugees, who are actually displaying a small range of religious symbols in the form of clothes (hijab, kaftan, tunica) and practices (praying the masbaha/ rosary) (IFR1.2/1.3) the whole space remains completely sanitized from any religious indicator. The neutralized setting is responding to the surrounding area of Downtown Beirut, which has been deliberately designed as such. This artificial segregation has been achieved by physically cutting off religiously more distinctive areas as Zqaq el-Blat through means of urban planning (e.g. car-bridges). Moreover, the “users” (including passers-by) of the Garden did not relate the life they are living inside Downtown area to any religious implications (IFR1.1/1.2/1.3/1.4). This relates first to the missing residential function, which renders a place a home-space (IFR1.1/1.3) and secondly public spaces were in general referred to as being kept free of any political or sectarian implication (IFR1.1/1.2/1.4). With the garden being solely receptive to users of a socio-economic better situation (EI3/ M. Milki, EI1/ M. Ayoub), which also tend to belong to a rather secularized elite (IFR1.4); Religion is consequently banished from the place. Consequently it cannot function as an initial starting point for religious rapprochement or various social encounters by the mere presence of religious implications. While the Syrian refugees do partially ignore the developed usage patterns under the paradigm of neoliberal urban planning, their presence is not challenging patterns of sectarian segregation as they are not seen as forming a part of this complex network of affiliations by Beirut’s residents (IFR1.1/1.4).

Relating the findings to the conceptual triad of Lefebvre (1991), official “representations of space” developed by the city Beirut and implemented by Solidere are clearly dominating within this space. They are formed by a discourse led by agents with a significant neoliberal agenda, which does neither give space to marginalized groups nor to specific traits of the Lebanese history in the form of any religious visibility. More than that, the discourse formed about Khalil Gibran garden renders it a transition area, so that “spatial practices” are being reduced towards zero. Yet those few people using the space do not challenge the status-quo, so that the produced conditions are maintained and even re-produced in an intensified form as explained before. Thus “representational space” that could emerge by subaltern usages of people refusing the hegemonic knowl

edge produced by the public –private partnership between Solidere and the city of Beirut is completely suppressed. Solely the Syrian refugees are actually implying some practices, which are cross-current to the “representations of space”; yet, their impact has not crucial effect on the sectarian setting of Beirut`s society- as they are not seen as part of it.

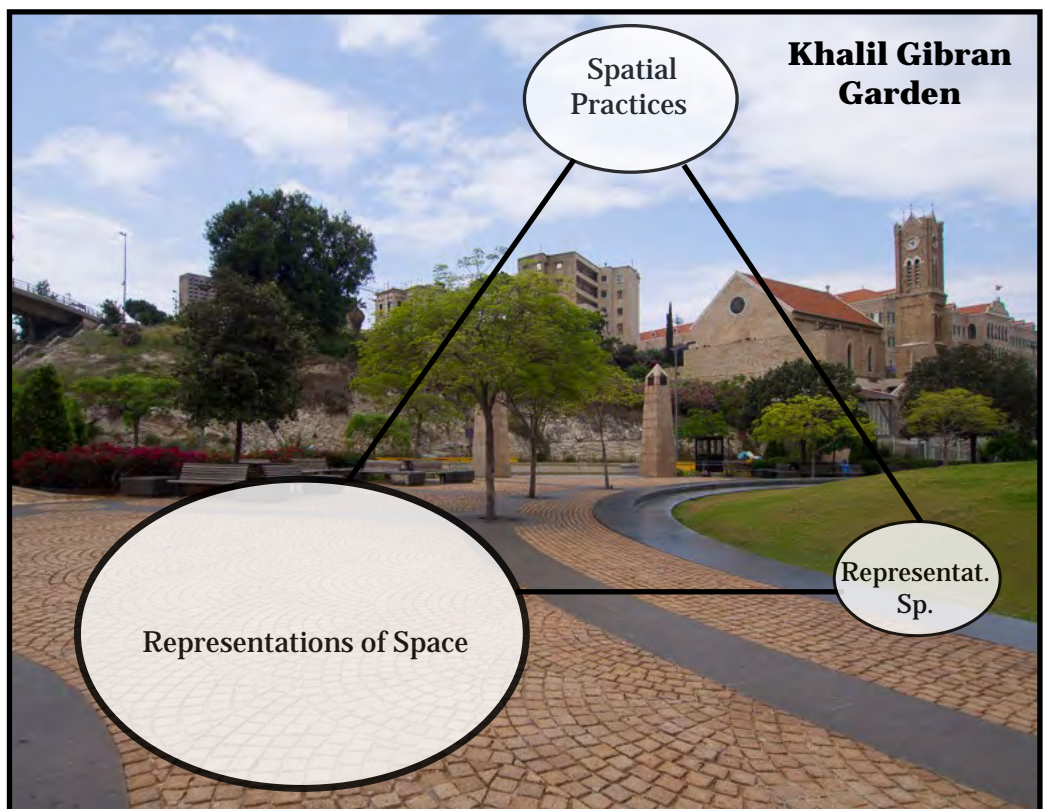


Figure 29. The Specific Constitution of Khalil Gibran Garden According to Lefebvre`s Triad (own source)

5.2.2. Sioufi Garden, Ashrafieh: Indifference Towards Any Religious Implications

Figure 30. Position of Sioufi Garden (own source)

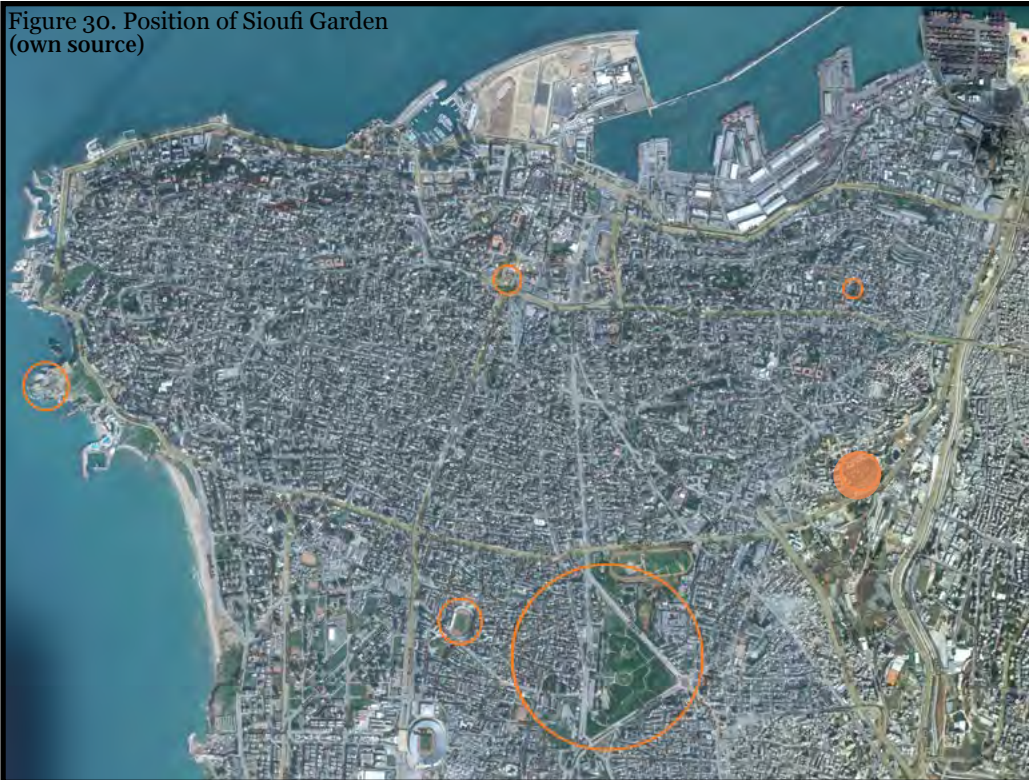


Figure 31-33. Sioufi Garden & Surrounding (own source)

The 20.000 square-meters of Sioufi Garden in Ashrafieh are located near Emile-Lahoud Avenue and the Beirut River. The garden also hosts the office of the Department of Public Gardens, several small ponds, two playground areas for children as well as various seating. In its direct surrounding mainly residential buildings can be found, mostly in the form of newly built high-rise towers.

The wider area is characterized by several landmarks, e.g. ABC mall, Sassine Square and American University of Sciences (AUST). Residential blocks as the “Sioufi Gardens” (70 meters away from the Gardens, starting by 205 square meters) are exemplifying the fostered neighborhood vision as an extension of the Saifi District next to Downtown; addressing first and foremost middle- and high-income classes (Sioufi Gardens).

Though being outside Downtown Beirut the garden is still on the edge of the neoliberal influence zone of Beirut. It forms the extension of the more residential part of Downtown, the high-class Saifi neighborhood. Besides the residential function it is also important as a commercial district, highly valuable in terms of investing and tourism. Many economic functions are hosted here – ranging from insurance companies to banks and office buildings. Furthermore Beirut’s highest tower, the Sama Beirut, is located in direct adjacency in Sodeco. Taking all this into consideration, the garden’s representations of space are still very much influenced by the neoliberal planning paradigm of the city. Though not being under domination of Solidere anymore, the district is still thought to develop in a similar way (EI3/M. Milki, KPI2). The garden’s design does not display the very sanitized and unreceptive features of public spaces in Downtown (palpable by the mere fact of a higher amount of benches and seating), so that it allures a broad variety of people using the site in their leisure time especially on weekends (PO11.4/12.3). This specific status is highly supported by the presence of the Department of Public Gardens, which creates a counter balance to the omnipresent neoliberal influence by its way of designing and thinking public space (EI3/M. Milki). Though many people are gathering in the park, the Lebanese visitors are still of minor proportion (PO11.2/11.4, PO12.1/12.3). According to several interviews with the official side (EI3/M. Milki, EI2/N. Abourizk, EI10/D. Summer) as well as from the user side, Lebanese people of the higher income-classes, who feel more integrated into the whole neoliberal construction of the city, do not tend to appreciate any public facilities, including public spaces (KPI2, RUI16.4). Most of the Lebanese people visiting the park are consequently directly from the area – as has been pointed out when being approached (RUI16.2:5 of 5 people asked, RUI17.3:6 of 8 people asked). The vast majority of them did not display any religious affiliation (PO11.2/12.1), neither in their observed practices nor in their answers when being asked (RUI16.4).

Religion from their side thus remains a very private (if not non-existent) issue that does not play off significantly when using public sites (RUI 16.4). By doing-so they follow and re-produce the neoliberal representations of the surrounding area of Ashrafieh as part of the globalizing and neutralized world, in which religion does not play an important role anymore (at least in public); to the benefit of a secularized society. Even though the park would offer possibilities to foster inter-religious and inter-social exchange due to its setting, design and specific representations resulting from them, the perceived space/ the spatial practices of the people are rather relating to the surrounding paradigmatic representations as affirmed by a guard working in the park regularly (KPI2). Besides the few Lebanese visitors, a greater amount of Non-Lebanese residents (Syrian refugees, African workers, Asian housemates etc.) is using the park regularly and extensively (PO11/PO12). With their spatial practices rather responding to the direct setting and representations found in the garden itself, they pose a counterbalance to the stark neoliberal representations and practices introduced by the city and the residents of higher socio-economic status. They relate their life and practices highly to religion in private and in public as well (PO11.4/PO12.1, RUI17.3). The religious affinity could be observed on the one hand by clothes (especially veiled women) (PO12.1), praying the masbaha (PO11.4), displaying religious symbols and signs (PO12.1) and on the other hand, was also affirmed directly and indirectly when talking to them (RUI 16.4/17.3). Yet by the other users remaining bound to the neoliberal representations with their practices an exchange between different groups did rarely take place (KPI2, PO11/12). Even though the area would be rather likely to lead to various forms of representational spaces as the representations of space have been observed by far not as strict and exclusive as in Downtown Beirut, such processes could not be documented.



Figure 34. Specific Constitution of Sioufi Garden According to Lefebvre`s Triad (own source)

5.2.3. Jesuit Garden/ Geitawi Garden, Rmeil: Acceptance of Divers Religious Implications

Figure 35. Position of Jesuit Garden (own source)



Figure 36. Residential Surrounding of Jesuit Garden (own source)



Figure 37 Old Man Sitting in Jesuit Garden (Beirut Green Guide/ Nadim Kamel)



Figure 38. Religious Imprint (Catholic) of Jesuit Garden (own source)

Jesuit Garden or Geitawi Garden is located in Rmeil, an old, mainly residential district in Ashrafieh. Though being relatively small in size (44.000 square meters) the garden is still well equipped. One half of it functions as a playground for children, while the other one includes the historical site of the garden, which its mosaics and ruins dating back to the Phoenician ages. The historical site is faced by a small fountain as well as benches that are arranged along the whole edge of the garden. Furthermore, the park hosts a public, municipal library that has been implemented by the NGO Assabil in cooperation with Ile de France.

Even though the area is also located in Ashrafieh, it is not affected by the neoliberal restructuring of the city. First, the economic activity of the quarter is kept on a very low level or at least mainly dominated by local, long-established residents. Secondly, religion seems to be still important in the public life, not being secularized as in other, more globalized areas under strong neoliberal influence.

With the garden not being under strong neoliberal influence the representations of space are more affected by a religious paradigm. This becomes palpable on first sight by the centrally located statue of Virgin Mary in the middle of the garden. Moreover the whole area surrounding the garden displays a much higher level of religious affiliation (Christian, Christina-Maronites) than the districts described before. This might be also relating to the office of Al-Kataeb in the garden's direct adjacency. Besides the office manifold symbols of religious affiliation can be found, e.g. Virgin Mary statues, shrines and particular graffiti. The spatial practices from the side of the local, Lebanese residents as well as from the side of the foreign community are highly impacted by religious affinity (PO11.1/11.3, PO12.2/12.4). The people using the site display quite openly their religious affiliation within their practices, yet also within their talks (PO11.1). Religion is not kept out of their conversations, but rather discussed openly. In several cases, the users were debating religious topics and the respective claim of truth for fun (PO11.1). Yet, the political dimension of it was never accentuated. People visiting Jesuit Garden are showing in general a quite good ability to intermix and overcome social and religious boundaries within their practices in the garden. Meaning, that groups did not remain segregated from each other, individuals coming in the park alone were integrated in existing formations, children and their parents, mates, sitters were interacting relatively free (PO11.3/12.4). The display of various religious practices and symbols was never mentioned as being a source for conflicts or negatively connoted (RUI16.3/17.2). According to one of the users, who visits the park on a daily basis and resides in its direct neighborhood, the park is open to all and everybody is welcome – no matter of which religious background (KPI1). The same is expressed by other users of various social, national and religious backgrounds (RUI16.3/17.2/17.4). Yet, still religious practices or symbols are never interfering tremendously in the sphere of others in an attempt of distinct

spatial appropriation - what might provoke more delicate situations. Accordingly, public praying was neither observed (PO11.1/11.3, PO12.2/12.4) nor referred to as a common and welcomed practice (RUI16.1). Though in general accepting other religions and their members (KPI1), Christianity/ Maronite – Christianity appears to play a dominant role in this specific space (KPI1, RUI16.1, 17.2). Other religions – especially due to the high influx of Syrian refugees of different affiliations – do not seem to create boundaries, albeit racism towards the refugees was noticeable from time to time. Yet it was never related to religion in specific (PO12.2, RUI17.2). According to this, the more religious representation of the space (even though mainly Maronite-Christian ones) seems to open up a forum for better inter-religious exchange. The spatial practices taking place are echoing this constitution. The chance for representational space to develop is therefore much higher than in the previously described spaces; this was well exemplified by the protests that took place in summer 2013 when the park was threatened to fall victim to a new underground parking (KPI1). To prohibit this from happening, a huge number of people using the park formed a civil movement that actually was able to at least postpone the project. As one of the key-actors in the protests reflects, the people took part into the protests despite any social, religious or political implications as a united group fighting for one shared objective (KPI1). The high potential of the public space to function as a forum for inter-religious, inter-socioeconomic, inter-age encounters was proven by this common activity. Representational space thus seems to intensify with the space offering shear zones that might lead to negotiations but also shared activism.

Figure 39-40. Protests against the Planned Underground Parking Sytem at Jesuit Garden 2013 (source: Unknown, Handed over by Joseph Karam/ Participant)





Figure 41. Specific Constitution of Jesuit Garden Accoding to Lefebvre`s Triad (own source)

2.4. Dalieh, Raouche: Appreciation of Diversity – also in Terms of Religion

Figure 42. Position of Dalieh (own source)



From Left to Right:

Figure 43. Visitors of Dalieh Protesting Against the Planned Privatization and Closure of the Area (source: beirutreport/Habib Battah)

Figure 44. Visitors of Dalieh in Summer (source: beirutreport/Habib Battah 2014))

Figure 45. Concrete Blocks are Heraldng the Prospective Construction of a High-Class Complex - as Already Realized

Dalieh, a small peninsula near Raouche in West Beirut, is the only part of the shoreline in Beirut remaining open to the public until now. Even though this space is not considered public from a legal point of view, the usage of the space renders it a public one –when understanding public space rather as procedural than an essentialistic one. Besides various people using the space in changing formations, since decades it has been squatted by fishermen; continuously handing it on to their children.

By them the place has been furnished with several inexpensive cafes providing visitors with food items, drinks and shisha/ waterpipe. Moreover, the fishermen are offering boat-trips in the near waterside. Legally the place has been sold to real-estate investors who are actually claiming nowadays their right to built on the area. Although the entire privatization of the shoreline and growing restrictions of access to the sea (as a public good) was officially forbidden in zoning laws, unofficial linkages (wasta) have subverted those regulations since the end of the civil war. These recent occurrences are going in hand with the general development in the surrounding area. As already described before, the shoreline has been integrated in the neoliberal planning paradigm ensuing from Downtown Beirut. This is exemplified by high-class development projects as Zaytouna Bay.

With the setting being completely different to the former ones, also the representation of space is (at least until now) are very much divergent from either neoliberal representations or religious representations. The area of Dalieh/ Raouche is surrounded by neoliberal development projects, which already managed to transform the rest of the shoreline into a completely privatized area. Dalieh itself succeeded in resisting this process so far successfully. Surprisingly, the representation of this specific space is not influenced by the neoliberal paradigm, but – due to its inhabitants (the fishermen) oriented into another direction. With them themselves not relating to any legal status in the area and consequently not obeying to any legal system or laws, the representation of the space becomes also a blurred one. In this specific case, a subaltern group of people managed to gain (at least temporarily) a dominant position in the area by their mere presence – as well as the absence of another group claiming the right to appropriate the space by completely reverse paradigms. The representation therefore is – according to the convictions and believes of those creating them – rather unrestrictive; in other words – as has been stated by one of the fishermen and café owner – everybody in this area is allowed to live and practice along his/her own “guidelines” (KPI3). By applying this, most of the moral boundaries, which have been set up to control other spaces, are here uninfluential. For that, a broad variety of spatial practices (that are normally forbidden or at least not welcomed) can be found here. They are ranging from drinking alcohol in the public (PO11.3/12.2), kissing, dating (PO11.1/12.4), but also the abuse of

drugs at certain times of the day has been reported (KPI3, RUI17.2/17.4, EI1/M. Ayoub, EI3/M. Milki, EI10/D. Summer). Moreover, the paradigmatic, liberal toleration of any kind of behavior also embraces religious practices. While for example in Jesuit Park religious “otherness” was accepted, in the case of Dalieh “otherness” – also in terms of religion – is welcomed according to one of the regular users (KPI3). Though it was admitted by the owner of one of the cafés that political issues and partially also sectarian affiliation is not debated in general, the presence of diversity is not understood as a disruptive element (KPI3). This attitude is also affirmed by statements of visitors, who on the one hand are not attempting to hide their religious affiliation or try to avoid the topic (RUI16.3/17.4). And on the other hand, by users who appear to treat their religious affinity as mundane part of their lives. Consequently they are rather paying little attention to religion as topic per se, as it is seen as quite ordinary or unimportant (RUI16.1). Due to this, Dalieh was the only place where public praying could be observed, even though members of other religious groups were gathering in the same area. Moreover Dalieh attracts people from a broader variety of districts of Beirut than the other spaces (including districts located in East and West Beirut) (KPI3, RUI16/17). With the fishermen being themselves of rather unorthodox religious affinity (KPI3), religion is neither dominating in certain forms nor denied completely. The spatial practices by the users reproduced the representations of space that are rather bordering on the society’s edges (at least in this area). The clientele is mixed up in its composition by students and internationals coming from nearby Hamra – a quarter that is also known for its open-mindedness (PO11.3/12.4). Yet marginalized groups ranging from lower- to middle-class, e.g. Syrian or Palestinian refugees, unemployed, beggars, vendors and homeless etc. remain prevalent. With these specific groups gaining a dominant function in the creation of public space, who are normally rather involved in the process of representational space, other users and groups might be marginalized instead. As has been stated in several interviews (EI1/ M. Ayoub, EI10/ D. Summer) and also during a discussion at “City Debates 2014” (American University Beirut, 08.03.14) Dalieh whereas acting inclusive for certain marginalized groups, in parallel is excluding some others. These modes of in- and exclusion are arising from a radical valorization of anonymity and anarchy in terms of representations of space. For one example women are excluded from using the space – at least at certain times of the day. As they are also prohibited from certain activities, as for example swimming publicly according to the perceived space, which allows this solely for

men (RUI16.3). Moreover, in many cases it was stated that people from higher socio-economic layers would feel highly threatened by the mere existence of this gathering area for the “social underclass” (EI2/ N. Abour-izk). According to this, the dominant position of the fishermen in Dalieh has been under severe threat in the last months. As has been said before, the legal owners of the place have been starting to reclaim the space by destroying the cafés of the fishermen as well as positioning already building material in the area in calendar week 14 (KPI3, PO11.1). The building material hints at the planned start of construction of a new high-class beach-resort in the next months. This act renders the ruling knowledge produced by the fishermen in this site not a completely dominant one anymore.

Nor does it already apply the hegemonic knowledge of the neoliberal affected real-estate developers as solely authoritative for Dalieh so far, even though a newly built fence and security guards are already indicative (RUI17.4). To sum up, both representations are currently in a state of confliction over the dominant position – yet, it can be assumed that the fishermen will lose ground. The fishermen and the advocates of a “neoliberal-uninfluenced” Dalieh are already ousted from their dominant position becomes obvious by the fact that a movement against the new development has been formed, unifying diverse actors with each other (artists, students, academia, fishermen, users, etc.) – apart from any religious affiliation – claiming the space back by their forms of representational space. Besides the general aim to save public space in Beirut, their strongest arguments to stop the conversion of Dalieh from happening is about the unique religious inclusiveness of Dalieh. The integrative character of the space has until today been proven by the annually celebrated Kurdish Newroz that took place this year on the 20th Marc (PO12.2)



up: Figure 46. Protests Against Further Constructions by Solidere along the Shoreline (source: beirutreport/ no author)

down: Figure 47. Protests Against Proceeding Real-Estate Projects on Dalieh (source: greemresistance/ no author)

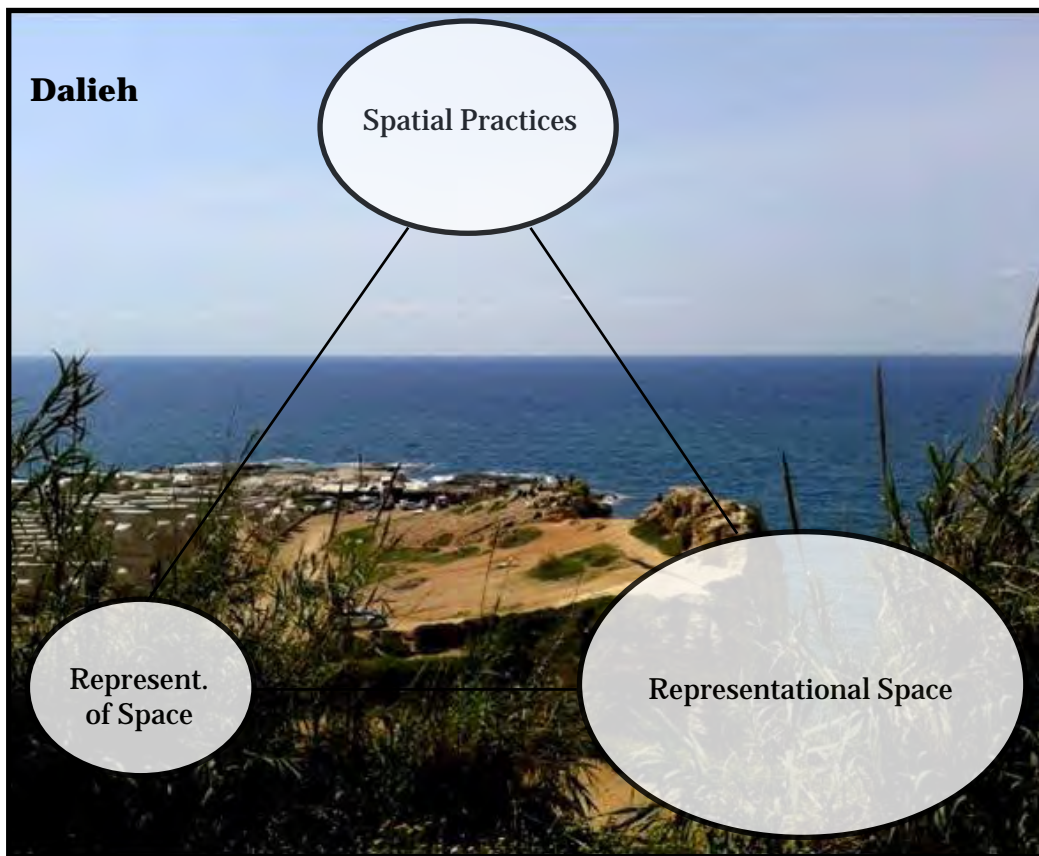


Figure 48. The Specific Constitution of Dalieh According to Lefebvre`s Triad (own source)

5.2.5. Municipal Football Stadium, Tariq el-Jdideh: Suppression of Religious Diversity to the Favour of Specific Religious Implications



Figure 50. Tracks of Religiously Influenced Lifestyles in Tariq el-Jdideh



Figure 51. A City of Concrete Surrounding The Municipal Stadium (source: discursive formations/ The Daily Star 2013)



Figure 52. Tracks of Religiously Influenced Lifestyles in Tariq el-Jdideh (own source)

In the middle of Tariq el-Jdideh the old municipal football stadium is located. The sports arena was traditionally hosting football matches – even after the civil war ended. Yet with new tensions arising since the July-War in 2006 – especially while the matches took place - the old municipal football stadium has been closed for visitors. Since then the 30.000 square meter space has been used by ordinary people as a public space – due to the complete lack of any real public

spaces in the area of Tariq el-Jdideh. According to its former function the stadium is providing quite many possibilities for seating as well as an area for sports, which also can be used as a playground. The steps leading upstairs from the lawn to the entry are also used for various functions; sitting, playing and sport activities. The area is highly protected by military and opening hours are determined by them, normally between 7 or 8am to 6pm. With Tariq el-Jdideh being located outside the neoliberal influence zone of Beirut, it is not significantly influenced by the sky-rocketing building boom so far. Yet due to a lack of urban planning in its initial development phase the area lacks any master planning including the availability of public spaces. The area itself is characterized by its Sunni affiliation and even more by the manifold conflicts arising between Sunni and Shia affiliated groups within the civil war but also again since 2006. The surrounding is for that palpably shaped by a certain religious imprint more than any neoliberal implications.

The absence of neoliberal representations of space does not lead inevitably to a dominant, liberal toleration of “otherness” as in the case of Dalieh. Exemplified by the municipal stadium in Tariq el-Jdideh representation of spaces are highly related to the particular surrounding: Especially if the space itself is not inhabited or occupied by someone creating a certain kind of knowledge, which might be counteractive to the knowledge that is dominating the vicinity of the space. With the neighborhood being highly influenced by the religious symbolism of Sunni Islam and the affiliated parties (IFR2.1), also the space of the stadium is used under this dominant representation (IFR2.1/2.2). According to a long-term resident (KPI5) the space is used by a very small percentage of Non-Sunni Muslim people, who are all also living in Tariq el-Jdideh. Despite this fact, it is widely perceived as an exclusively Sunni area that appears to be dangerous to be visited. This was especially affirmed in relation to Shia affiliated Muslims, but in few cases for Christians as well (IFR2.1). Still, it needs to be mentioned, that none of the people approached within the research phase was of non-Sunni affiliation (IRF1-4). The overwhelming majority in the stadium displayed their religious affinity distinctively within their clothes (veiled woman and children, men dressed sometimes in the so-called Kaftan), related symbols (also including prayer bumps) and their efforts to not miss one of the five prayers per day (IFR2.3/2.4). Respectively, the spatial practices in the neighborhood and also within the stadium render it a place of significant religious content (e.g. number of mosques, number of shops selling decisive religious items, sound of prayer

and prayer call) and thus reduce the number of the variety of its users in terms of religion. Relating to the socio-economic background, the area is also known as quite popular including partially middle-class residents (KPI5). By some people who are rather feeling affiliated to the international and globalized side of Beirut it was stated that shunning the area is relating to an assumed backwardness and lack of lifestyle caused by the financial situation as well as the religious background of its residents (IFR2.1). Though being used by a small number of Non-Sunni Muslims (KPI5), the space does not appear to create real, representational space. While in the case of Downtown representational space was delimited by the mere absence of any people using the space, in Tariq el-Jdideh representational space seems to be banned by the absence of people claiming a cross-current usage (IFR2.2/2.3). The overall representation and the spatial practices re-producing the image of the space are not motivating other people from other neighborhoods to join the space (IFR2.1). Even though “other religions” are not excluded from the usage by real force or prohibited from entering (as it was acted out in some Shia districts under the domination of Hizbollah, for example in Chiah before august 2013 (KPI5/R. Abdel Salam)). The created narrative of a radical Sunni neighborhood does actually prevent Non-Sunni people from using the stadium as public space. The military personnel, who is supervising the entrance is examining people due to the risk they might pose to the public according to their origin and religious affiliation. This proceeding is further maintaining a certain narrative of fear which might disrupt people in their free and unlimited usage of space (IFR2.3/2.4). On the one hand this relates to a real physical border of entering (for those considered to be of risk) but on the other hand it relation to produced, imagined boundaries of territorial fear. Consequently spatial practices are in this case are reproducing the thought space of a public space under Sunni representations nearly up to 100 percent. Thus not offering the possibility for representational space to develop – in terms of a religiously mixed space and rapprochement.

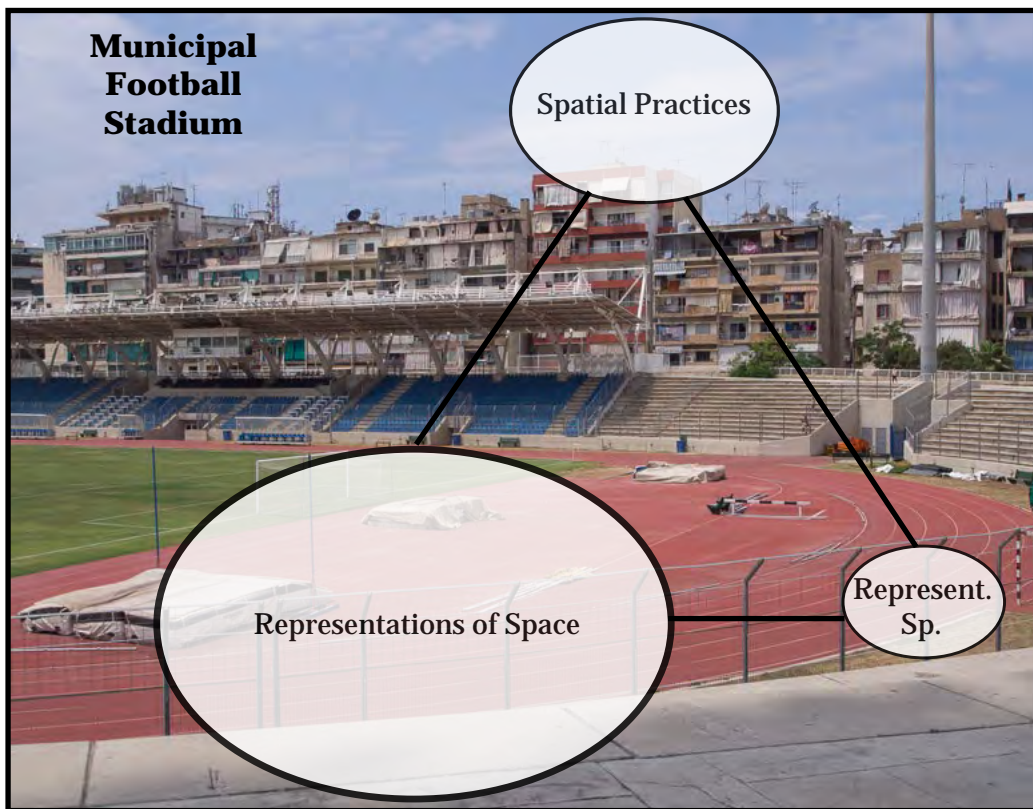


Figure 53. Specific Constitution of the Municipal Football Stadium According to Lefebvre`s Triad (own source)

5.2.6. Horsh Beirut, in between: The Exceptional Case of Religious Implications in a Non-Public Public Space and a Public Non-Space

Figure 54. The Religious Surrounding of Horsh Beirut (own source)



Sunni Muslims
Sunni Muslims



Shia Muslims
Shia Muslims



Chistians
Chistians

Horsh Beirut, the oldest and biggest green space in Beirut is located in the Southern-Central region of Beirut- exactly where the former Greenline was dividing the city in two parts.

The triangular-shaped park is therefore edging on three quite different districts; namely Sunni Tariq el-Jdideh in the West, Christian Ain el-Remmeneh and Furn el-Chebbak in the Eastern direction and Shia Chiyah as well as Dahiyeh in the South. After several bombings during the civil war, the park got revitalized by Beirut's municipality in cooperation with Ile de France in the early 1990; since then it remained closed to the public. The park contains an area of 333.000 square meters, yet solely one third of it is opened to the public on the Northern boundary. The closed part, which is accessible upon a special permission, semi-official relations and family ties or just by being a not Arab / non-Lebanese, is endowed with various seating, sandy walkways that are also compatible for any kind of sport activity, flowers, trees, bushes and most recently a particular area for children to gather and learn about nature and environment. The closed area and its equipment were and still are maintained quite well.

The closed area and its equipment were and still are maintained quite well. In stark contrast to that, the open park solely contains some more or less demolished seating in the form of concrete cubes, some fountains that lack water or are instead filled with rubbish as well as some, unused, metal constructions for advertising, which are re-used as a network for any kind of ball games. The ground is either concrete or gravel, lawn is barely found. Responding to that, also the playground area for children is a construction of concrete hills together with some palm trees, trying to resemble a beach scenery. Outside the open park, several sport courts can be found that are offering space for various activities; ranging from football to tennis and basketball. The courts are available upon reservation.

The area is neither dominated by significant neoliberal representations (so far), nor is it clearly dominated by religious ones. In general, the specific case of the whole area – its division into a closed and an opened section as well as its crucial location – render it quite different from the previously described spaces. Especially the closed area is quite divergent in its setting as it is in principle public, yet not usable in a public manner. The representations of this space are rather oriented towards a decorative space of beautification with “decorative users” alike according to statements of Bilal Hamad (NPPF: part1/2). Neoliberal implications are – at least until today – not of crucial importance, as the surrounding is not part of the neoliberal restructuring so far.

he park should as best remain entirely untouched by people, so that the newly grown plants are not threatened by any human activity (PPNC, EI2/ N. Abourizk, EI3/M. Milki). Yet, as the park is at least opened to some specific people, who are considered to behave according to the framework (KPI4, RUI16.2), the representations formed by discursive structures are merely directed towards a normative state of “being good” and “behaving adequate”. In this sense all other implications, ranging from socio-economic status to religious affiliation – are subordinate to this paradigmatic understanding. According to this, youth is not considered in general to behave adequate and totally denied access (EI2/N. Abourizk). Also smoking shisha and having picnics – a traditional Lebanese practice that was conducted for decades in this park – is rendered not suitable anymore (EI2/N. Abourizk, EI3:M. Milki, KPI4). Immoral behavior as kissing or dating is located in the same range (KPI4) –often referred to as being practiced by youth escaping religiously fundamental areas in Southern Beirut (EI2/N. Abourizk). Last but not least any form of political, or religiously inspired discussion is banned from the area – in specific pointing at the Sunni-Shia conflict potential (NPPF: part2). The so conceived space is ensured by guards supervising the entrance as well as supervising the users and their activities inside (PO11.2/11.4, 12.1/12.3). Moreover, in an act of alleviating surveillance, several trees and shrubs had been cut down in the recent past, so that the hilly area can be observed more easily (KPI4).

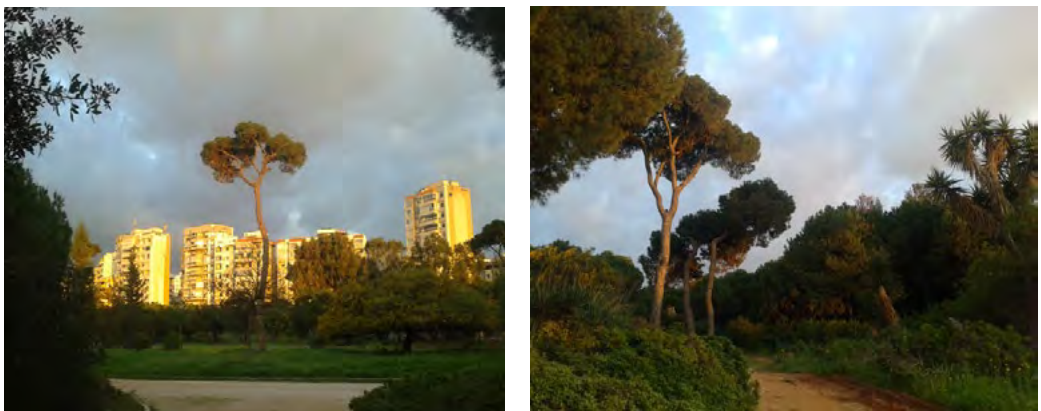


Figure 55-56. The Well-Maintained Inside of Horsh Beirut (own source)

The representation of the space perfectly corresponds with the idea of a Foucauldian space of reason whilst the space of unreason is located outside this very area (EI2/N. Abourizk, EI3/M. Milki). Such an understanding is also carried by the actual users of the park – who continuously deny any kind of disruptive elements. By doing so, they are especially referring to the absence of a sectarian fear or tensions inside the park by emphasizing the well-educated users of the space in contrast to those not able to use it (RUI16.4). Religion is described as a private issue not influencing the interaction between people at all – though several users were hesitating to answer immediately when being asked about their spatial or religious origin (RUI16.4/17.3). Religious or sectarian implications were downplayed as solely being an underclass phenomenon of people without education (RUI16.2/16.4). They contrast their statements especially with the open space of Horsh Beirut, which served as example for the uneducated, unaware and troublesome potential of other users (RUI16.4/17.1). While people of all different religious branches are actually using the space and displaying their religious affiliation (PO11.4/12.3, RUI17.1/17.3), their normed behavior along the representation of the space (of beautification and harmonization) (PO11.2/11.4, 12.3)- is preventing any action that would question their status as an “ideal” or “perfect” citizen – also in terms of religion. By doing-so they are granted eligibility of access. All people interviewed were quite cautious to represent themselves in the very light of normative perfection and obeying to the rules. Doing so by underlining their rule-conform behavioural patterns, e.g. not picnicking / eating in the park, using always the waste bins, not walking dogs, not being loud or listening to music, not accessing certain areas etc. (RUI17.1). As they were also fast and convinced to state that not everybody should be allowed to get inside the park (RUI16.2, 17.1). Spatial practices/ perceived space are perfectly reproducing the representation of space by selecting people who are anyhow willing to obey to the rules entirely (KPI4). By establishing this artificial public community, the possibility of representational space to arise is minimized towards zero. When people not fitting in the paradigm of perfection are not granted access at all (EI2/N. Abourizk), any space loses its character of publicness. For that, the closed Horsh Beirut can so far not be considered to be public, as there is no chance for representational space to develop at all. Even the spaces under severe neoliberal and severe religious representations are bearing more potential for that; due to the fact that access is limited solely by imagined boundaries or a set of rules, yet not by restrictions in a physical form.



Figure 57. A Space of “Reason”- The Perfect But “Non-Public” Part of Horsh Beirut (own source)



Figure 58-59. A Space of “Unreason” - The Imperfect But Public Part of Horsh Beirut (own source)

The open Horsh instead is nearly perfectly responding to the opposite implications of imperfection or even ugliness. As the open Horsh is used as a main argument to keep the rest of the park closed (EI2/N. Abourizk, EI3/M. Milki), the representation of it is rather referring to a non-space, a no-go area or precisely a space of unreason. This means that everything happening there and everyone using the space is seen in the light of not fitting into the scenery of the adjacent park – justifying their rejection (RUI16.2/17.1). From the omitted efforts to maintain this part of the park explained by inadequate maintenance through a private firm especially in comparison to the closed section) and its general neglect in future planning (Beirut Municipality 2010) it can be prompted that it is rather tried to create an image of a non-space than a public space. Moreover, the sparse design (in terms of furniture and plants) justified by suggested vandalism (EI3/ M. Milki) through its users substitutes the hopeless appearance.

The representation that is created from the official side is further incorporated and lent substance by the people working in the area for security issues. For that, it is not just the users, but actually those responsible for keeping the section safe, who contribute to its devastation by publicly urinating and littering inside the area (PO12.1). In the same vein, the visitors are not aware of their responsibility to participate in maintaining the environment by collecting their waste for example (PO11.2/11.4). Yet, as neither the guards are coercing them to act responsible (PO11.4, KPI4) nor is a proper maintenance motivating practices alike, the spatial practices of the people using the section are reproducing the negative image of the park. Even though the area – and especially the sport courts – are functioning quite well as a zone for diverse social and religious encounters (RUI16.2, 17.3), the overall negative image is dominating the whole area.

Many people referring to the open part appear to be still skeptical about security issues and expressed a certain sectarian fear to go there (PO11.2, RUI 16.2). Consequently further usage and deepened contact between the people is prevented from happening. For that, the space is mainly used by people from the direct neighborhood of Tariq el-Jdideh as well as recently from many Syrian refugees of various religious branches (KPI4, EI10/D. Summer, EI11/M. Khalaf, RUI16.4, 17.1). The representations of space are slightly affected by a religious (Sunni) imprint. Yet its impact remains limited as the park is not located directly in the influence zone of the residential Sunni neighbourhood. The narrative of a sectarian fear based on the civil war history and more recently the happenings since 2005 (EI11/M. Khalaf, EI16/R. Shamma, EI18/R. Abdel Salam, RUI16.4) together with many of the visitors displaying a strong religious affiliation (PO11.4, 12.1) creates a sectarian narrative. This narrative is most of the times related to the general condition of the park, so that religious people using the side were often referred to being in general uncivilized and for that also “religiously” suspicious (RUI16.4).

This together with the bad maintenance of the park renders it quite unattractive for people from other areas and thus the user circuit remains limited. These processes are consequently reinforcing the impression of a particular religious setting. In this very case, representational space – the possibility for an appropriation of space by people of various backgrounds – is prohibited not by a neoliberal paradigm, nor by a clearly sectarian one - but rather by representing

the space as an actual non-space. By this, failing in bringing people from different areas as well as social and religious settings together by the production of a negative and partially religious fundamental, sectarian imagination; even though this does not reflect the reality. The sports courts adjacent to the open Horsh are an exceptional case as their users are coming from various districts in Beirut (KPI4, RUI17.3). But, any spontaneous, newly developing and mixed group formations are hindered as people have to register in advance as fixed groups. Thus even the courts are used by diverging actors as playgrounds they do not develop into shared spaces (KPI4).



Figure 60-61.. Outside versus Inside - The Horsh From Different Perspectives (own source)



5.2.7. Conclusion: The Impact of Religious Affiliation and Socio-Economic Status on Public Spaces

Ensuing from the foregoing analyses it can be stated – as also Lefebvre has elaborated in his thoughts about the production of space (1991) - that representations of space and representational space are both constitutive parts within the creation of public space. Yet in the same time, they are acting inversely proportional to each other. This means that an unproportional dominant formation of representations of space/ conceived space inevitably leads to a diminishing manifestation of representational space/ lived space – as they are counteractive to each other (fig. 62).

Relation Representation of Space - Representational Space

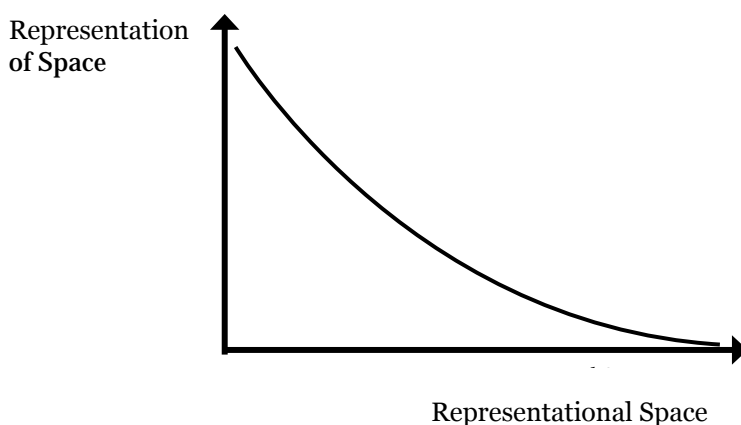


Figure 62. The Relation Between Representation of Space and Representational Space (own source)

Relation Representation of Space - Usage of Space

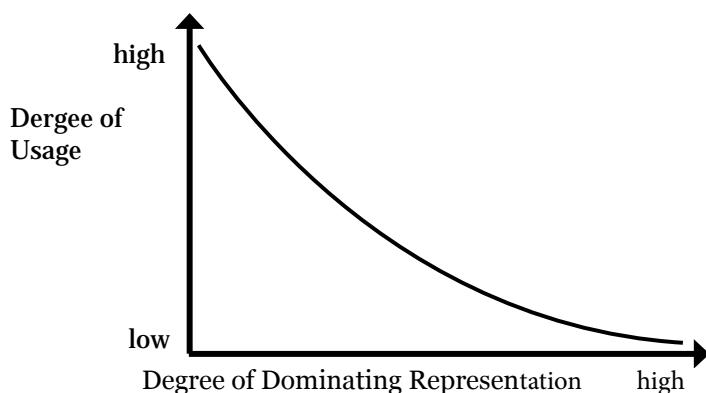


Figure 63. The Relation Between Representation of Space and Usage of Space (own source)

Strong representations are implemented from official sides (they might be economically motivated along a neoliberal agenda or religiously inspired fulfilling certain political/ sectarian aims) in order to create a particular hegemonic understanding of space. Thus forming the basis for a normative behavioral coding in a certain area that is then challenged by ordinary people, who are actually living the space. In the case of Beirut, the most important representations are both relating to religion; the neoliberal paradigm in so far as it attempts banishing religion per se from the public, since it is not fitting into the global and international portrayal of the developing city. And the more sectarian representations relating to the idea that space should not be kept free of religious implications, but instead should serve solely one certain branch, excluding consequently all other religious sects – in the sense of sectarianism. Representational space accordingly challenges the status of completely banned or partially banned religion.

When taking into consideration the socio-economic structures of the city together with the residents' perceptions of and relation to public space as well as their usage patterns – it appears that public space is rather devaluated in areas of higher socio economic status. Moreover, people belonging to more affluent social layers, who were interviewed or observed in the public spaces, did rather not display – at least publicly - a certain religious affiliation. While, users of spaces in middle-class or socio-economic deprived areas tended to publicly expose their religious membership (fig. 63,64). This finding corresponds well with general assumption about a cross-current process of globalization and secularism on the one hand and stronger religious identification on the other hand concerning social groups that fail to adapt to the global, neoliberal restructuring of the city. For that it appears that groups from lower social classes and higher religious belonging (at least publicly displayed) are valuating the use of public spaces higher. For sure, there is no direct correlation between religion and usage of public spaces. But the correlation between religious belonging, socio-economic status and usage of public space is indeed relating to sectarian tensions or fears. Just because religion is more visibly represented in certain (socio-economic significant) areas, the public spaces there are often considered as meeting points of fundamental or sectarian religious groups. Due to this, public spaces are often highly entangled in the complex structures of sectarian narratives.

Relation Usage - Display of Religious Affiliation in Public

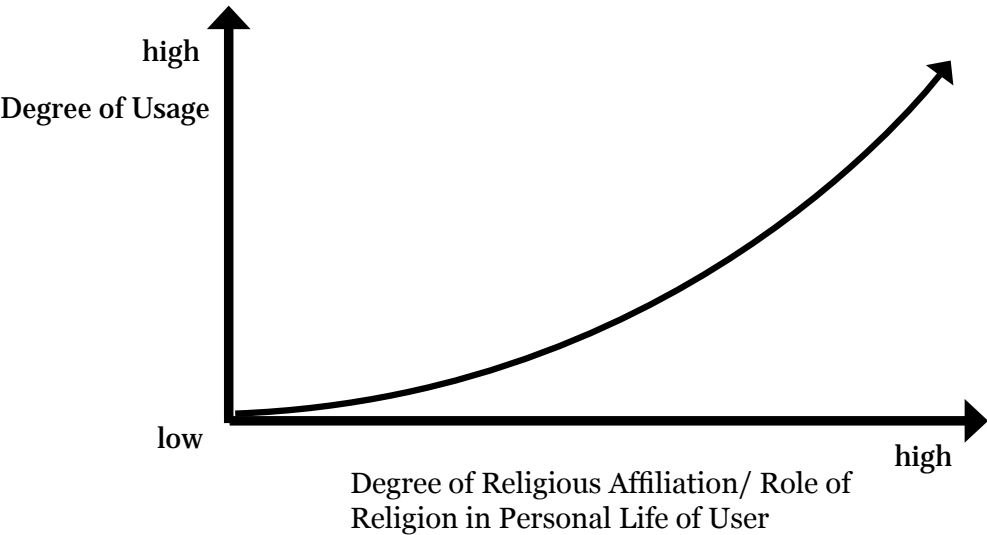


Figure 64. The Relation Between Usage Patterns and Religious Affiliation in Pulic Space (own source)

CONCLUSION

6. Conclusion

6.1. The Potential of Public Space to Foster Religious Rapprochement Responding to the Overall Attitude Towards Religion in Public Space

Based on the findings of the first and second research question, the different sites can be arranged along their stance towards and handling of religion in the space and the inherent potential for representational space to develop (see fig.65):

While the x-axis ranges from representation of space to representational space, the y-axis explains the general attitude towards religion according to the representation. Strict sectarian and neoliberal settings demarcate the two respective poles of representations and consequently religion in general (as in the case of Downtown) or specific sects (for example in Tariq el-Jdideh) are banned from space or suppressed. In both cases representational space in terms of inter-religious rapprochement is hampered in its development. In Sioufi Garden, where diverse religious believe can be practiced yet is nearly not questioned by originally Lebanese residents due to their near-complete absence from public spaces in this area – religion is downgraded to mere unimportance; a state that is actually not leading to any form of reconciliation either. Jesuit Garden/ Geitawi Garden instead bears the potential for developing representational space in the form of socially and religiously shared activism as religious diversity is accepted as a general part of life; yet not within a political context. The highest range, where “other” religion is not just accepted but welcomed as lived diversity, is exemplified with Dalieh. The free enjoyment of otherness as representational space per se allows also for religious implications to develop free

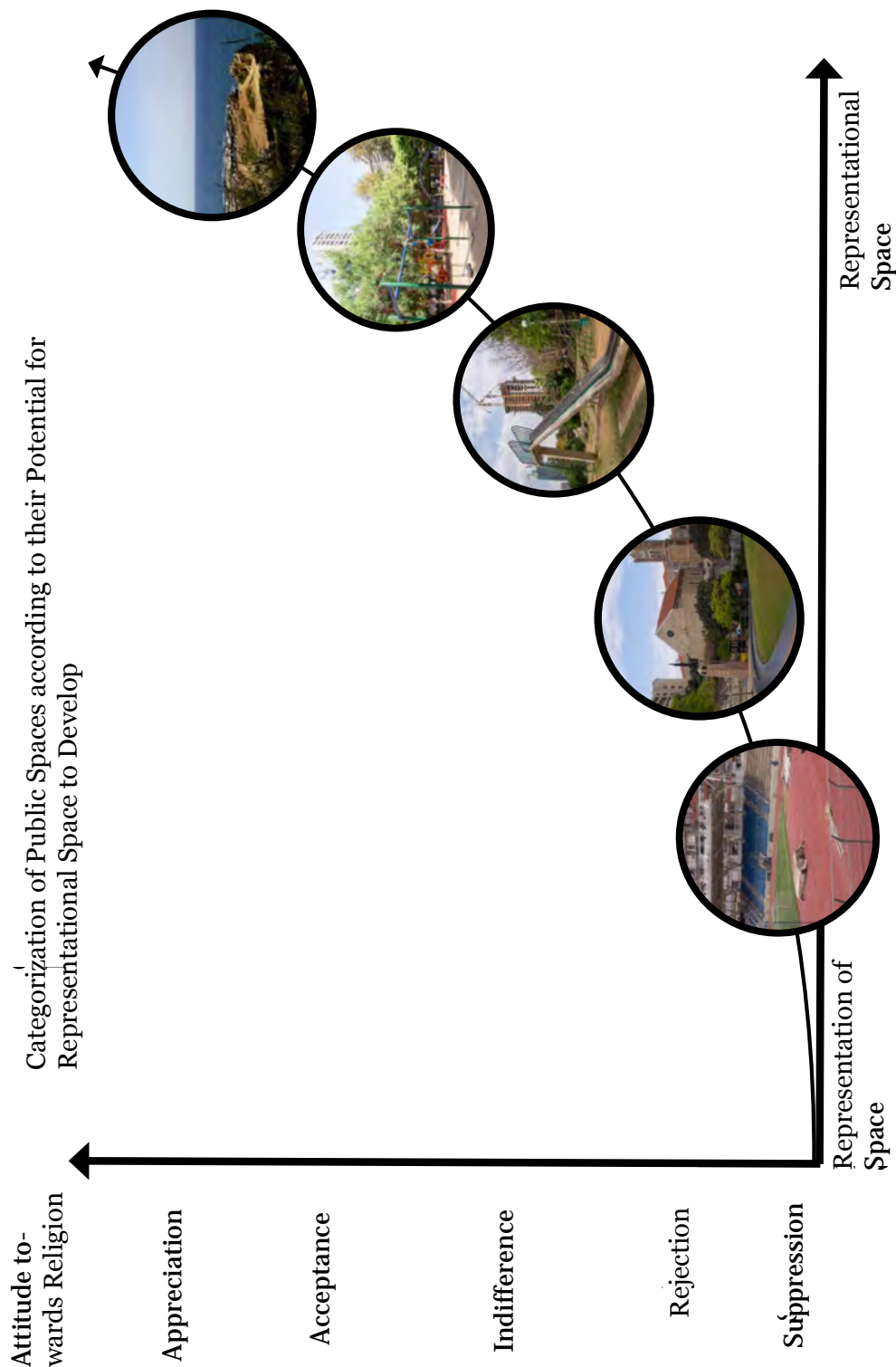


Figure 65. Categorization of the Case Study Sites According to Their Potential for Representational Space to Develop (own source)

Last but not least, in the following graph the relation of representation of space, degree of user-diversity and total number of users is illustrated (fig.66).

Relation between Representation of Space, User-Diversity and Total Number of Users

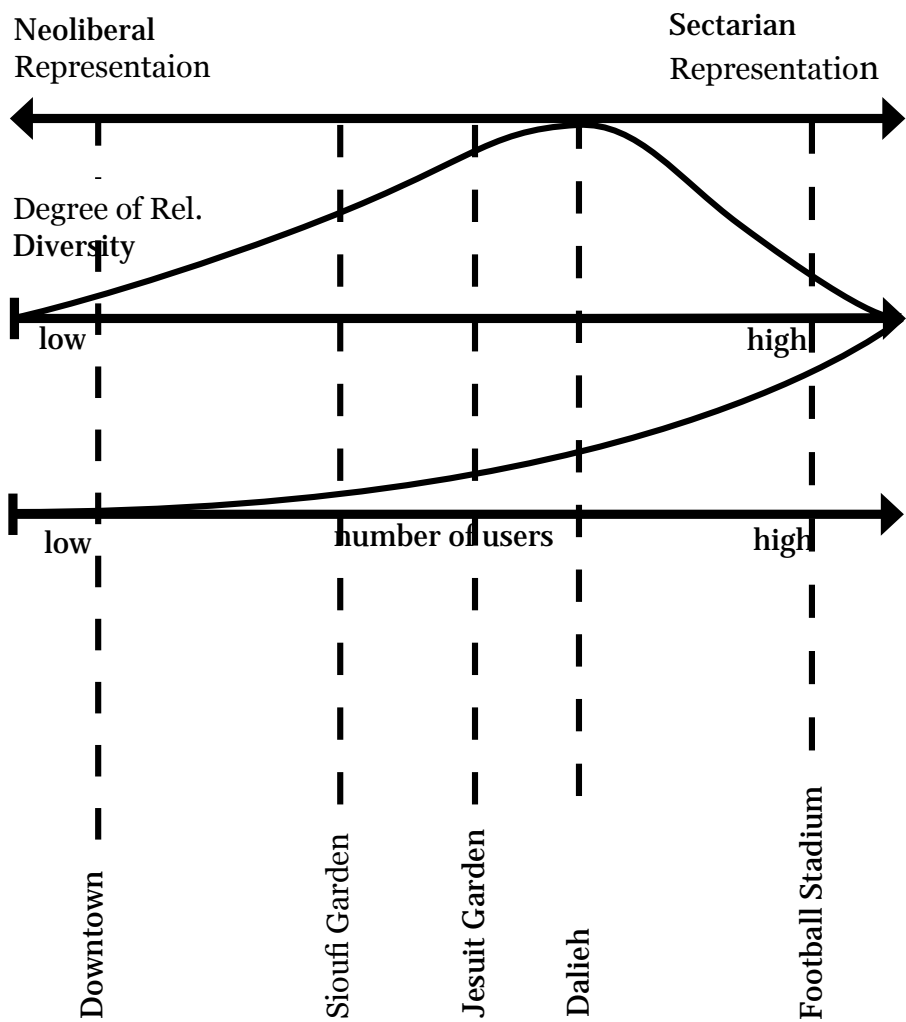


Figure 66. Relation Between Representation of Space, User Diversity and Total Number of Users (own source)

6.2. Recommendations for Fostering Inter-Religious Rapprochement in Public Space

Ensuing from the empirical data conducted in this study and related to the specific research questions, some recommendations about “how to use space adequately to overcome religious divisions” can be made. Through investigating the reality of public spaces in Beirut, it became clear that according to certain usage patterns (might they be of sectarian origin or just customized habits) space is not inevitably used in shared manners just because it actually is public and inclusive to a relatively high degree. Moreover, even when being used in a shared manner, it is not indicating that people using the same site are also interacting; especially when being of diverse, religious background. To foster religious reconciliation or rapprochement significant incentives need to be given to the people. Either to make them break through their usage habits and visit public space that are not within their normal radius. Thereby outstanding offers need to be made which visitors could otherwise not enjoy - as it happened in several cases in Saida by implementing new parks in Abra and Kessine (EI6). Or through organizing and supervising mixed, religious happenings in spaces that are actually used by divers actors but not provoking inter-religious contact so far as it was successfully realized in Beirut while Ramadan 2013 in Bourji Abou Haidar in Beirut as well as in Jabal Mohsen and Bab el-Tibbeneh in Tripoli by the non-sectarian NGO Offre Joie.

By doing-so the most crucial paradigm is to remain neutral in the framing of activities, their implementation and execution. Though giving space to religion per se, any sectarian implication needs to be excluded entirely as Melhem Khalaf, the co-founder of Offre Joie, emphasized vehemently (EI11). Instead of provoking new sectarian contestations or tensions such activities offer a way or at least an initial step to overcome the long-lasting conflicts. Yet, to remain neutral should not be commingled with a complete neutralization or even sanitization of space from any religious implication as this does not open up possibilities for reconciliation, as has been portrayed within the study upon the case of Downtown Beirut. Assumptions about political functions of space appeared in the context of Beirut, which is anyhow over-politicized, so far not realized as also advisable to be supported. The prevalent stance of the users decisively showed that even when accepting religious diversity in public space, the subsequent step to relate this also to political implications was deliberately

excluded. While public space should be constituted of the type that it opens up possibilities for emancipatory/ representational space in the sense of agonism to develop by being inclusive and shared, a political function so far appears not to be beneficial as this has led to several outrages in the recent past.

6.3. Multi-Layering of Sectarian Implications in the Context of Public Spaces and Further Fields of Research Interest

This study has shown that – totally contrasting to previous assumptions – implications of sectarianism or sectarian tensions do not appear to play off so obviously when investigating public spaces in Beirut. Neither the official planning side nor the users are relating both topics directly to each other. Instead, neoliberalism/ neoliberal urban planning with all its implications could be extracted to be of much greater importance than considerations about sectarian tensions. While users tend to dismiss notions of sectarian fear or tensions by depicting their exclusionary usage patterns as mere habits arising from convenience. Yet, this means not that sectarianism and public space are not interrelating at all. Rather it suggests that the topic of the thesis needs much more investigation, which should try to tackle the manifold layers in which it is embedded in.

As already shortly introduced before relating to the recommendations for inter-religious reconciliation, it would be worth having a closer look at modes of territorialization as one certain layer. Thereby it should be asked in how far usage patterns really resemble patterns of fear or religious territories or whether they are rather mere habits. Within many user interviews it was mentioned that the choice of a certain public space is relating to distance, transportation fees, time management etc. instead of having a significant sectarian component. Still, it would need to be investigated whether this way of thinking and answering arises from personal restraints to open up, which could be overcome when being on-site for a longer period of time. Furthermore, when approaching the layer of territorialization/ habits, it always should be questioned in how far an entirely inclusive city with people sharing everything and intermixing everywhere is more a utopian imagination than rooted in reality. For that, there should be the openness to also see usage patterns as customized habits to make sense of one's own living reality than interpreting it as solely sectarianized.

Moreover, the very political aspect of public spaces and sectarian tensions is another layer that needs to be investigated more profoundly. From the side of official parties that clearly have a sectarian background as well as from semi-official political actors, who are presenting much more fundamental tendencies – which actually impact the sectarian environment in Beirut. Many times, it became clear that especially the greater political superstructure is of much more influence within the complex network of public spaces and sectarianism. The usage patterns of ordinary people did not exert a significant impact on public spaces relating to sectarianism – in contrast to political actors and their affiliated parties: For example, Doris Summer, coordinator of Assabil, was compelled from official side to realize an equal dissemination of public libraries in East and West Beirut, regardless much higher densities in West Beirut (EI10). Moreover Downtowns biggest public space the Garden of Forgiveness has not been revitalized or opened until today due to the deployment of parliamentary security units. A case to which Amira Soleh referred to as “being taken hostage” based on the direct adjacency of the park to the parliament (EI3). On the semi-official side of political motivated activism, cases are known where inter-religious shared spaces as Asir es-Salam, a Shia-owned juice bar in Tariq el-Jdideh, was burned down several times to maintain sectarian boundaries within the society (EI8). Last but not least, the alliance of politics and economic, as in the case of former Prime Minister Hariri and Solidere, adds a further facet to the anyhow blurry setting; so that official urban planning and the neoliberal restructuring of the city would need to be investigated much more in-depth to the effect of disclosing the sectarian implications of neoliberal urban planning, which are actually not visible within the spaces themselves.

By doing-so attention should be also directed towards the question in how far neoliberal city restructuring in Beirut can be understood as a monolithic apparatus that just causes harm or rather – as introduced within this study – from a more processual viewpoint. From a more practical viewpoint, it should be asked how neoliberal elements, for example in the form of PPPs to maintain public spaces, can be also beneficial. With Horsh Beirut being planned to be re-opened in August 2014 under maintenance of a private partner, an interesting case is given to further investigate this aspect. When taking this into closer consideration, it is hoped to not run the risk of solely condemning capitalism and neoliberalism in a strongly Marxist view, but opening up possibilities to rethink the very local forms of seemingly globalizing neoliberal elements. By doing

so searching for ways to beneficially handle the very realities of public spaces in Beirut instead of blocking one`s own mind by opposing him/herself to an omnipresent and superior antagonist. This either leads to a complete incapacity to act or to immature agitation without offering real suggestions to improve the current situation.

To fully understand the relation of Public Spaces and Sectarian Tensions in the case of Beirut, it appears to be crucial to elaborate more on the notion of “public” itself. Within a society that did not experience anything relating to “public” over the last decades, also conceptualizations of public space remain very vague. From the side of users of higher socio-economic background a nearly complete negation of public space could be observed, while from the opposite side complete appropriation (often including devastation) based on a total lack of knowledge could be extracted. Both ways of dealing with public space are hampering approaches to functionalize public space as site of inter-religious reconciliation in an environment that is either impacted by quite fundamental forms of sectarianism or extensive forms of neoliberalization and globalization.

7. Literature

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8. Appendix

8.1. Interview Samples

Expert-Interview (EI)

- What is your vision of public space? How should a public space be like, look like, be used etc.?
- What is the ideal form and function of a public space?
- How is this vision responding to the reality in Beirut? (differences, similarities, challenges)
- How could public space in Beirut develop to fit this vision?
- What role are sectarian tensions/ is sectarianism playing in relation to public spaces?
- What role does religion play in public space?
- How are users handling public space and religious implications?
- What can specific can you tell me about the case of Horsh Beirut?
- Are there other spaces with a specific background relating to sectarianism?
- How do you think inter-religious reconciliation could be fostered? Especially in relation to space?

- Who are the main actors involved in sectarian processes in relation to public space?
- Do you think more religious implications in public space lead to a rise in sectarian tensions?
- How does the planning, execution and maintenance of the public spaces function? Who is involved and responsible? Why is it not sufficient so far?
- Do you think public spaces in Beirut are inclusive and welcoming to society? How could this be achieved?

Random-User Interview (RUI)/ Key-Person Interview (KPI)

- Are you from this area/ which area are you from?
- How often do you come here?
- What do you do here? Which activities?
- What are the specific usage patterns (time, day, regular, companionship etc.)
- Are you also visiting / using other spaces?
- What is your idea of a public space? How should it be like?
- Whom are you meeting here? Do you know the other visitors? With whom do you speak and interact? Do you speak with all or just people you know?
- How do you react to new users?
- How do you react to new users of a clearly diverging religious background?
- Is there anything significant religious in this space (signs, symbols, usage, etc.)? How do you/ would you react to this?

- How do you interact with people of other religious background?
- Are there many people with diverging religious background?
- Are there religious conflicts in this space?
- Do you know any public space where religious conflicts are taking place?

8.2. Data Analysis Scheme

Participative Observation (PO)

PO11: CW 11: 10.03.14-16.03.14

PO12: CW 12: 17.03.14-23.03.14

PO11	PO11.1 Tues (11th)	PO11.2 Thurs (13th)	PO11.3 Sat (15th)	PO11.4 Sun (16th)
10am-3pm	Jesuit Garden (J)	Sioufi Garden (S)	Dalieh (D)	Horsh Beirut (H)
3pm-8pm	Dalieh	Horsh Beirut	Jesuit Garden	Sioufi Garden
PO12	PO12.1 Tues (18th)	PO12.2 Thurs (20th)	PO12.3 Sat (22nd)	PO12.4 Sun (23rd)
10am-3pm	Horsh Beirut	Dalieh	Sioufi Garden	Jesuit Garden
3pm-8pm	Sioufi Garden	Jesuit Garden	Horsh Beirut	Dalieh

J = Jesuit Garden; S = Sioufi Garden; D = Dalieh; H = Horsh Beirut

Random User Interview (RUI)

RUI1: CW 16: 14.04.14-20.04.14

RUI2: CW 17: 21.04.14–27.04.14

RUI16	RUI16.1 Tues (15th)	RUI16.2 Thurs (17th)	RUI16.3 Sat (19th)	RUI16.4 Sun (20th)
10am-3pm	Jesuit Garden (J)	Sioufi Garden (S)	Dalieh (D)	Horsh Beirut (H)
3pm-8pm	Dalieh	Horsh Beirut	Jesuit Garden	Sioufi Garden
RUI17	RUI17.1 Tues (22nd)	RUI17.2 Thurs (23rd)	RUI17.3 Sat (25th)	RUI17.4 Sun (26th)
10am-3pm	Horsh Beirut	Dalieh	Sioufi Garden	Jesuit Garden
3pm-8pm	Sioufi Garden	Jesuit Garden	Horsh Beirut	Dalieh

J = Jesuit Garden; S = Sioufi Garden; D = Dalieh; H = Horsh Beirut

Integrated Fieldresearch (IFR) -Participative Observation & Random User Interviews-

IFR1 Downtown (DT)	IFR1.1 Sun (02.03)	IFR1.2 Thurs (06.03)	IFR1.3 Mon (17.03)	IFR1.4 Sat (05.04)	IFR1.5 Fri (11.04)
Time	10am-12.30pm	11.30am-2pm	4pm- 6pm	3pm-5pm	7pm-8pm
IFR2 Municipal Football Stadium (MFS)	IFR2.1 Sat (26.04)	IFR2.2 Sun (27.04)	IFR2.3 Wed (30.04)	IFR2.4 Tues (06.05)	
Time	9.30am-11.00am	3pm-5pm	4pm-6pm	1pm-3pm	

DT = Downtown / including Khalil Gibran Garden; MFS = Municipal Football Stadium / Tariq el-Jdideh

Expert Interviews (EI)

CW 9/2014 – CW 20/2014

Expert Interviews (EI)	Interviewee	Position / Profession	Date
EI1	Mohammad Ayoub	Executive Director of Nahnoo	26.02.14
EI2	Dr. Nadim Abourizk	Vice President Beirut Municipality	04.04.14
EI3	Dr. Maha Milki (on behalf of her colleagues: Pierre Feghali, Mona Amach, Maya Rahbani)	Department of Public Gardens Beirut	07.04.14
EI4	Amira Solh	Senior Urban Planner, Solidere	08.04.14
EI5	Gaby Jammal	Independent Journalist	09.04.14

Expert Interviews (EI)

CW 9/2014 – CW 20/2014

Expert Interviews (EI)	Interviewee	Position / Profession	Date
EI6	Rami Shamma	Coordinator Tajaddod Youth / Executive Committee Member & Project Manager of „Development for People and Nature Association“ (DPNA)	10.04.14
EI7	Raja Noujaim	Independent Consultant & Civil Society Activist (e.g. Save Beirut Heritage)	15.04.14

Expert Interviews (EI)

CW 9/2014 – CW 20/2014

Expert Interviews (EI)	Interviewee	Position / Profession	Date
EI8	Raji Abdel Salam	Manager of START World Org.& Program Assistant of Palestinian Human Rights Org.	20.04.14
EI9	Abir Saksouk-Sasso	Architect, Urban Planner/Researcher & Activist at Dictaphone Group	25.04.14
EI10	Doris Summer	Geographer, Urban Planner , GIS Expert& Executive Coordinator of Assabil	02.05.14

Expert Interviews (EI)

CW 9/2014 – CW 20/2014

Expert Interviews (EI)	Interviewee	Position / Profession	Date
EI11	Dr. Melhem Khalaf	Managing Lawyer at Khalaf Law Firm, Lecturer and Director of „Law and Computer. Department “ at St. Joseph University, Beirut& Co-Founder and Secretary-General of Offre-Joie	06.05.14
EI12	Fadi Shayya	Architect, Urban Planner,&Independent Spatial Researcher / Activist	12.05.14

Key-Person Interviews (KPI)

CW 13/2014 – CW 17/2014

Key-Person Interviews (KPI)	Interviewee	Location	Position	Date
KPI1	Joseph Karam	Jesuit Garden	Regular User & Activist	25.03.14; 25.04.14
KPI2	George	Sioufi Garden	Security Guard	29.03.14; 17.04.14
KPI3	Mohammad Abou Omr; Inet	Dalieh	Café Owner/Squatter; Regular User	14.04.14; 01.05.14
KPI4	Mohammad Abou Hassan	Horsh Beirut	Gardener	02.04.14; 18.04.14
KPI5	Raji Abdel Salam	Municipal Football Stadium	Longterm Resident	20.04.14; 22.04.14; 26.04.14

ملخص: الأماكن العامة و التوتّرات الطائفية.

انتاج المكان في سياق الطائفية والليبرالية الجديدة.

كلمات مفتاحية:

الأماكن العامة، خلق المكان، الطائفية، الليبرالية الجديدة، مدينة مُقسّمة، المصالحة بعد الحرب، إدارة النزاعات.

تهدف هذه الأطروحة الى تقصّي الأماكن العامة و ما يربطها بالليبرالية الجديدة و(الطائفية). ثم معرفة لأي مدى يمكن للأماكن العامة أن تستخدم كمواقع للتقريب بين الأديان. لتحقيق هذا تم الاستعانة بنموذج لبيفير حول خلق المكان (١٩٩١) لتجزيء العمليات المكونة للمكان العام بوجود جهات فاعلة مختلفة وذلك حسب مآربها. و في هذه المسألة فإن المقدرة ليست محصورة فقط على تحري العناصر المادية الموجودة في المكان كالقوانين والإشارات و أنماط التصميم و ما إلى ذلك، و إنما ايضاً على تحري العناصر غير المادية. تم الوصول إلى طبيعة العناصر المادية و الغير المادية من خلال السؤال عن كيفية تأثير الليبرالية الجديدة و الأشكال الطائفية على التخطيط العمراني في مدينة بيروت. وكخطوة ثانية يتم تفحص هذه العناصر و تأثير كل منها على مستخدمي أماكن عامة معينة. لهذا فإن التركيز يكون على تكوين محدد من هذه الدراسات المُختارة و ما يتعلّق به من قدرة كامنة أو واقعية على كونه أماكن مشتركة تمكّن من الوفاق بين الأديان. ما يميّز هذه الدراسة عن غيرها من دراسات أخرى في هذا المجال أنها لا تركز على وجهة النظر العمرانية لوحدها ولا تتكلم فقط عن الانعكاسات السياسية الاجتماعية كما تم توضيحه في *State of the Art* (الباب الثاني)، و إنما تدرس العلاقة بين كلتي الناحيتين و ذلك فيما يخص الأماكن العامة.

النتائج التجريبية (الباب الخامس) مبنية على الإطار النظري الفلسفي (الباب الثالث) و الذي يرفض وجود آثار جوهرية و بدلاً عن ذلك فإنه يعترف بمنشئية أي عنصر من العناصر المجتمعية متضمنة الأماكن العامة و النقاش حولها. وفقاً لـ(لبيفير ١٩٩١) مفهوم المكان (المتصوّر و المُدرّك و المُعاش) و فوكالديان (٢٧٩١ – ٢٨٩١) فإن إدراك المعرفة المهيمنة لستة مواقع يتم الدراسة عليها يكمن في تطبيق تصميم واحد متكامل كما تم توضيحه في الجزء الخاص بمنهجية البحث (الباب الرابع).

وقد جاء في البحث أن خلق الأماكن العامة في بيروت يتم ضمن التواصل بين قطبين و هذا التواصل يترواح بين الليبرالية الجديدة كقطب و الطائفية كقطب معاكس. و في الحالتين فإن تطوير الأماكن المشتركة للتوافق بين الأديان يُعرقل من قبل ممثلين مهيمنين في المكان. فهم إما أن يلغوا أي أثر ديني في المكان أو أنهم فقط يسمحون بمظاهر محددة. وفقاً لذلك فإنه ينبغي تعزيز البيئة المحايدة (لا أن تُجعل محايدة) و ذلك بوجود بعض الحوافز لجعل الناس تختلط مع بعضها و تستخدم الأماكن العامة (الباب السادس). إن مزيداً من البحوث حول التأثير السياسي على الأماكن العامة ضمن سياق المصالح السياسية فضلاً عن الادراك العام لمفهوم (العامة) في مجتمع بيروت من شأنه أن يعزز النتائج التي توصلت إليها الدراسة.

إقرار

هذه الرسالة مقدمة في جامعة عين شمس وجامعة شوتجارت للحصول على درجة العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام. إن العمل الذي تحويه هذه الرسالة قد تم إنجازه بمعرفة الباحث سنة ...

هذا ويقر الباحث أن العمل المقدم هو خلاصة بحثه الشخصي وأنه قد اتبع الأسلوب العلمي السليم في الإشارة إلى المواد المؤخذه من المراجع العلمية كل في مكانه في مختلف أجزاء الرسالة..

وهذا إقرار مني بذلك،،،

 التوقيع:

الباحث: ارمتراود إيكارت

التاريخ: ٢٠١٤/ ٠٧/ ٢١ /

الأماكن العامة و التوترات الطائفية

انتاج المكان في سياق الطائفية والليبرالية الجديدة.

مقدمة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام

أعداد: ارمتراو د إيكارت

لجنة أشرف

أ.د. يوهانسن يحيي عيد
أستاذ التخطيط العمراني
جامعة عين شمس

أ.د. نينا جريبات
أستاذ العمران الدولي
جامعة شتوتجارت

لجنة الحكم

التوقيع

أ.د. هشام جبر
أستاذ التصميم المعماري
جامعة القاهرة

أ.د. محمد صالحين
أستاذ التخطيط والتصميم المتكامل
جامعة عين شمس

أ.د. شادية حسيني
مدرس بقسم الجغرافيا
جامعة البرازيل

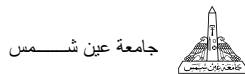
تاريخ المناقشة:

الدراسات العليا

أجيزت الرسالة بتاريخ:

موافقة مجلس الجامعة .../.../...

ختم الإجازة
موافقة مجلس الكلية .../.../...



جامعة شتوتجارت



.../.../...



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إعداد

ارمتراد إيكارت

المشرفون

أ.د. يوهانسن يحيي عيد

أستاذ التخطيط العمراني

جامعة عين شمس

أ.د. نينا جريبات

أستاذ العمران الدولي

جامعة شتوتجارت

د. شادية حسيني

مدرس بقسم الجغرافيا

جامعة البرازيل