ID 1391 | REINSTATING SOCIAL PRACTICES FOR SOCIAL INTEGRATION: EXPERIENCING THE BADARO- PINE FOREST AREA IN BEIRUT

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ABSTRACT: This paper addresses how the reinstatement of everyday practices in urban public spaces could lead to social encounter and coexistence within unstable urban contexts, specifically those witnessing political instability and an influx of refugees. The context for this investigation is in Beirut, Lebanon with a focus on the area referred to as Badaro at the southern edge of the administrative boundary of the capital city. This area currently witnesses a juxtaposition between real estate development catering for market-led needs, and bottom up initiatives to generate rhythmic social practices that are affecting Badaro's within role in Beirut. The name Badaro is given to an area holding a street with the same name, which is bordered on one side by the Damascus Road, the capital's war time demarcation line, and on the other side by the pine forest that was the buffer area or no-man's land separating east from west during the fifteen years of war. Badaro was encapsulated in between, which meant the preservation of an urban fabric with pre-war architecture, and other features lending themselves to bottom up initiatives supporting social interaction and encounter, which were lacking following the war period. Examining Badaro's socio-spatial development is based on Lefebvre's approach to everyday social practice as well as the understanding of the role of collective memory in urban spaces in reference to Hebbert. The paper examines the spatial development of Badaro before the war, its dormant state during the civil war period between 1975 and 1989, and its recent reawakening after the rise of bottom up initiatives since 2005. Based on empirical data collected in 2015 and 2016, the conceptual framework linking everyday social practices and collective memories is used to trace the spatial and temporal diversities within this area and the contributions of initiatives to support coexistence among various social groups, in the absence of a planning strategy proposed by the municipality or the planning authorities. These initiatives seek to reinstate public spaces and everyday urban practices. In particular, the initiative for reopening the pine forest focuses on empowering citizens and raising awareness on the importance of public space in offering a healthy everyday urban life. The paper concludes by reflecting on the actions and results of some of these bottom up approaches in enabling the coexistence of diversity in a previously fragmented socio-spatial context.

1 INTRODUCTION

Among the diverse and equally important roles of public spaces in cities, is their role in meeting social needs, and in particular that of facilitating through encounter the integration of different users regardless of their backgrounds. Meeting social needs in situations of uncertainty requires an understanding of the context and its specificities through creative tools for the acquisition of information (Christensen, 1985). One such tool is enabled in public spaces, which is the formation of informal networks of communication (Hillier, 2000) that allow for the exchange of information among individuals and groups, enabling them to identify social needs, and search for opportunities to materialise them (Holston, 1995). This is particularly essential in unstable contexts.

Reflecting on population displacement as a highlight in the recent years in cities worldwide, in 2016, Habitat III in Quito emphasised the role of public spaces as conducive to coexistence, and the nurturing of shared values (UN Task Team, 2015). Among public spaces, streets persist through history and often link different layers of a city over time (Hebbert, 2005). Streets are representations of cities' characters and the urban life reflected in their past, present and potential future (UN Task Team, 2015). They are affected by instability and equally impact people's everyday practices, and activities. The density and duration of activities taking place in streets are indicators of their role of integration (Gehl, 1996). Under unstable situations, the density of activities decreases, perceptions and memories of a space become intertwined with feelings of insecurity, which could lead to avoiding the space (Khalaf, 1998). Reinstating everyday practices changes this perception of insecurity in a space, which is necessary in unstable contexts.

To explore this reconciliatory role of public spaces, this paper unfolds two key terms: everyday practices, and spaces of memory. The former relates to shared activities by people of different backgrounds, reflecting how people live and imprint space. The latter considers public spaces as mnemonic spaces charged with collective memories, but also as contributors to collective memories. The retrieval and reinstatement of the everyday as remembered by different coexisting groups, becomes a potential link to social integration in the present and possibly the future.

To demonstrate the role of public spaces in situations of instability, the past and present of the capital city Beirut-Lebanon is chosen as a context; a city long known for its ability to assimilate differences and influx of people (Khalaf and Kongstad, 1973). In particular, an area known as Badaro will be examined and presented in relation to Beirut's reconstructed city centre.

2 EVERYDAY PRACTICES IN URBAN CONTEXTS

In contrast to programmed events, everyday practices including "the right to stay inactive" (Kostof, 1992, p. 123), are shared and usually inclusive and tolerant to diversity and differences. They are a nexus to approach social integration. Everyday practices could be referred to as:

> *"those minuscule events, barely remarked at the time, on which posterity retrospectively confers the greatness of origins, … there are those nonevents that are immediately charged with heavy symbolic meaning and that, at the moment of their occurrence, seem like anticipated commemorations of themselves." (Nora, 1989, p. 22)*

Practices are based on shared understandings of routine activities that are embodied in individuals. This shared understanding establishes a mutual relation between society and practices. (Schatzki et al., 2001). Social practices are "more persistent and more likely to structure other domains of thought and action when they constitute social relationships" (Swidler, 2001, p. 95). Social relationships among various groups could start in public spaces with their significance of enabling new social practices. Rather than repetition in itself, "the visible, public enactment of new patterns so that 'everyone can see' that everyone else has seen that things have changed" (Swidler, 2001, p. 96) leads to new practices. This relation between individuals with shared understanding, social practices and public spaces are intertwined (Madanipour, 2004). Shifting research from public space as object to research on these relations allows for establishing congruence between what is intended in the space and what is socially needed (Knierbein, 2015), especially in unstable contexts.

A relational perspective is used to understand practices and their spaces, based on the understanding that the nature of practices and their transformations are affected by and affect these ever changing spaces (Shcatzki et al., 2001), which are closely knit to dynamic social, political, economic, and other factors (Knierbein, 2015).

In contrast to the relational perspective stand representations of space (Lefebvre, 1991), which fall into the danger of becoming abstract spaces, devoid of meaning (Knierbein, 2015) and disembodied. Public spaces delivered through the tools of design and planning are often out of pace with the users' changing identities due to population mobility or even displacement. Such spaces often carry the symptoms of neglect and deterioration (Madaniopur, 2004). If there is no sense of attachment or emotional belonging, public spaces could be dominated by specific rather than all user groups and could easily be changed to other uses or simply stay neglected. Differences among user groups emerge in city spaces where multiplicities occur (Holston, 1995). In cases of political instability, and raised security alert, control often results in the "city's disintegrating public spaces and abandoned public sphere." (Holston, 1995, p. 447) resulting in the loss of shared and transformative social practices. This disintegration is manifested in the erosion of public space by protective concrete elements and barbed wire (Németh and Hollander, 2010) that are a common sight in Beirut and other cities nowadays. Other forms of disintegration include closure, long-lasting effects of misuse, or even leaving these spaces on drawings without ever being executed and implemented as planned. The situation differs when there is a sense of attachment to space experientially: either mentally or physically.

On the one hand, mental experience includes the visual and the mnemonic, which act as anchors relating people to spaces imprinting them in their memory through language and names, "iconic elements,

soundscapes, graffiti, media contents" (Tornaghi, 2015, p. 30). Street names serve as a recall, (Hebbert, 2005) or "communal register" and "the safeguard of those continuities of culture and place that made us as street users vastly and substantively older than our age." (Kostof, 1992, p. 243 in Hebbert, 2005, p. 583) This dissipation of clues customises a space according to its local culture and society. It is this network of non-verbal communication, which informs people about the space, allowing them to interact with it.

On the other hand, and as explained earlier, physical experience related to spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1991) takes place in urban space, and defines the routine activities or practices of urban life including encounter, which supports the development of "social relations" (Knierbein, 2015, p. 42). Spatial practices occur in lived space over time, and are essential to healing schisms occurring in unstable contexts. The everyday traffic, buzzing and flow of people in streets are indications of 'balanced' life, as opposed to calm periods following a natural or manmade disaster, where city life comes to a halt. Restoring balance and practices pertaining to it become a shared objective among people. A balanced life in streets refers to: "the normality of street life [that] is a consolation during times of crisis – the impersonal flux of people and traffic 'calms and steadies us'." (Hebbert, 2005, p. 584)

This balance is related to rhythm, and familiarity where reinstatement means regaining the sense of security, promoting a sense of attachment, and reversing a stigma that could become associated with a space or locale (Madanipour, 2004). Rhythm facilitates appropriation through recurrence, yet allows for variations (Lefebvre, 2004). Disasters and conflicts cause changes, and yield instability, which annihilate contextual everyday urban life rhythms, disrupt them or completely alter them, affecting how people experience their cities. Thinking of public spaces relationally as practised space, the combination of non-verbal communication, memories, and social practices allows for exploring possibilities for social change (Holston, 1995), as social integration is one such change. When individuals are given the opportunity to participate in practices (Schatzki, 2001), the possibility for integration occurs, and in turn, antagonism towards the 'other' would diminish with opportunities of encounter in public spaces. In other words, conviviality is realised when individuals are: "… integrated (to varying degrees) into the ways of proceeding that characterize extant practices, where these matters are conserved and novelty and transformation take their start." (Schatzki et al., 2001, p. 21) The transformation of social practices through public spaces requires the consideration of three aspects over time "resources, spatial situations, and strategies" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 356), which in this paper are related to streets as public spaces, shared everyday practices and collective memory as a strategy.

3 MEMORY AND URBAN SPACE

Everyday encounters in public spaces result in individuals sharing an urban space, which is the glue holding the urban fabric intact (Gehl, 1996). If such practices persist, they lead to embedded collective memories within these public spaces establishing mutual effects between memory and space (Hebbert, 2005). Through memory, spaces and people become intertwined, and associations within spaces help people recall activities and practices (Hebbert, 2005). This is related to memory's nature, which is a dynamic manifestation of "living societies" in constant change, "susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived." (Nora, 1989, p. 8) Linking people to their present in contrast to history that represents the past.

What is of interest in public spaces is the collective memory, shared by individuals through socio-spatial interaction that allows for the transmission of shared values (Boyer, 1994). Collective memory is perpetuated by "... the living experience of a group or individual." (Boyer, 1994, p. 66) It supports this shared sense of belonging among individuals, so that "The less memory is experienced collectively, the more it will require individuals to undertake to become themselves memory individuals." (Nora, 1989, p. 16). The street as a public space becomes the "locus of collective memory":

> *"It can express group identity from above, through architectural order, monuments and symbols, commemorative sites, street names, civic spaces, and historic conservation; and it can express the accumulation of memories from below, through the physical and associative traces left by interweaving patterns of everyday life." (Hebbert, 2005, p. 592)*

This view is used to examine how a street imbued with memories could support "maintaining, repairing and (sometimes) inventing an everyday public realm that will help its occupants to be ... 'older than their age'."

(Hebbert, 2005, p. 583) This brings us back to relational public spaces as opposed to representations of public spaces.

Hebbert (2005) indicates that one trend in memorialising cities is in fact exclusionist rather than collective, and focuses on the limitation of the preservation of a desired image rather than the lived everyday or as Boyer (1994, p. 54) states: "... these restored city streets and districts turned parts of the city into new visual spectacles and revitalized theatrical decors." These representations mask the users' perception of the space's reality, and without the social practices in these spaces, what is 'real' in the city gets lost (Boyer, 1994). These representations are solely based on the visual and pictorial rather than the experiential. Two contrasting approaches to reinstating public spaces in situations of instability are presented: the tabula rasa approach or selective urban renewal, both resulting in an urban story without a collective memory. Market-led development and its neglect of collective memory often introduces novelty while erasing the past and its extension in the present, and so:

> *"At a moment in history when urban renewal was destroying more of the city's historic patrimony than war and neglect had done, architectural ruins and ornamental styles held out a seductive and nostalgic allure." (Boyer, 1994, p. 54)*

> *"Today our treatment of the city as an essential manifestation of life is determined not by the model of tabula rasa which modernism used to sacrifice existing substance and make way for the new, but by dialogue with the features of place and memory" (Burg, 1997, p. 19 in Hebbert, 2005, p. 591).*

In a relational perspective this situation is avoided through considering architectural buildings as an assembly forming a street or a public space rather than as individual monuments (Hebbert, 2005), allowing for this porous mnemonic vessel to be imbued and to nurture the timeless everyday practices encapsulated in a past, transforming in the present, and reaching out to future generations (Hebbert, 2005; Nora, 1989).

Keeping collective memory alive becomes the strategy that enables public spaces to support encounter and shared social practices, which are required for social integration.

4 THE CASE OF BADARO IN BEIRUT

As explained in the previous section, lived spaces with everyday practices and collective memories establish a rhythm extending diverse users' experiences over time, and enabling a projection into the future. So what about the case of Beirut, whose public spaces have witnessed annihilation, closure, disembodiment, and remodelling due to instability?

The starting point is Beirut after the war period 1975-1989. The "fault line" (Holston, 1995, p. 444) marking differences in this case is the demarcation line that cut through Martyrs Square in the city centre and reached to the pine forest and Badaro at the southern edge of the administrative city (see Figure 1). Examining the relation of the two poles Badaro and the city centre, serves to explore the role of everyday practices in public spaces in reinstating encounter, once in a representation of space, and once in a relational space. First an overview explaining the development of Badaro within Beirut is presented prior to examining its current state. Within an urban planning framework, the following periods are marked: towards the end of the Ottoman Empire around 1900, the French Mandate period between 1920s and 1940s, and the golden period of the Lebanese Republic in the 1950s and 1960s, which was followed by the devastation of the war period between 1975 and 1989, then post-war reawakening.

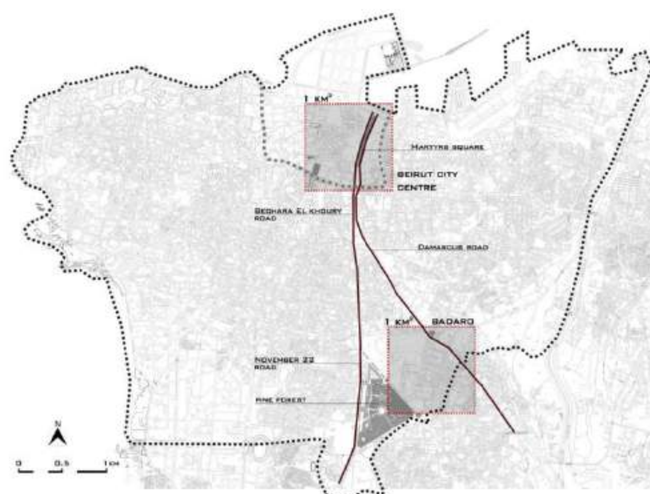

Figure 1 – Location map of Badaro and the city centre

4.1 AN OVERVIEW OF BEIRUT'S DEVELOPMENT

Towards the end of the nineteenth century urban planning in Beirut was marked by the Ottoman emphasis on 'modernizing' Beirut (Hanssen, 1998; 2005), which at the time was confined to its medieval city walls, and Martyrs Square was extra-muros as well as Damascus Road (Davie, 2001) linking Beirut to the hinterland. Beyond the medieval city to the west and south, the peri-urban condition prevailed, characterised by evenly spread coarse and fine urban grain (Saliba, 1998), which was the case along Damascus Road (Debbas, 1986), with cemeteries marking the southern city edge. Following the fall of the Ottoman Empire, French urban planning proposals prevailed between the 1930s and 1960s. Among these proposals was the development of Martyrs Square in the image of the French culture with its cafes and cinema; the square was equally a hub for political, and social practices (Khalaf, 2006). Emanating from it, the formation of a geographically significant axis connecting agglomerations of French presence along Damascus Road- the main trade route for French commerce linking the port city to its hinterland. The agglomeration included the St. Joseph University established by the Jesuits in 1875 (Eddé, 2000), the French Embassy, the Pine residence next to the newly relocated hippodrome, military barracks and hospital, leading southward to the pine forest, which was traversed by a path linking the French quarters to their cemeteries. The Pine Forest dominated the southern limit of Beirut, with Damascus Road and Sidon Road traversing dense pine landscape as reflected in photographic documentation (Debbas, 1986: 160). Saliba's (1998) study of the growth patterns in Beirut, based on the 1932 Danger Plan by two French planners, marked merely rural presence in Badaro during that period, an area that was still marginal and of little urban planning concern, yet abutting the French quarters concentrated in that area.

In the period between 1958 and 1964 under President Fouad Chehab, urban planning was characterised by the modernist approach to planning under the influence of the French planner Ecochard, yet with an emphasis on the development and expansion of road networks (Salam, 1998; Tabet, 1996), the essential infrastructure for trade. Within a physical approach to planning, this emphasis on transportation infrastructure, and establishment of land exploitation zoning (Salam, 1998) disregarded the specificities and needs of each area within the city and its social practices. The state favoured entrepreneurial development as part of its free market economy, neglecting the significance of public spaces. This period was also characterised by regional turbulences resulting in the influx of people and investment from the neighbouring Arab countries (Khalaf and Kongstad, 1973). The bank secrecy policy in Lebanon attracted regional Arab investment to the country (Boudisseau, 1997; Davie, 2001; Davie M. F. 1991; Tabet, 1996), and Beirut witnessed a financial boom, accompanied by real estate development.

During this period, the city centre was predominantly commercial, expanding to the immediate surroundings, and requiring affordable urban land for residential development further out following topography and proximity to main roads (Tabet, 1998). To the east of the centre, the area of Ashrafieh was not attractive due to its steep topography. To the west and in the vicinity of the American University of Beirut established in 1866, Hamra Street in the area of Ras Beirut was developed with its commercial strip, cultural and leisure activities. To the south, the emerging middle class settled around Mazraa and

Moussaytbeh (Khalaf and Kongstad, 1973). In particular Badaro street developed next to Beirut's largest open green space, the pine forest with an area of 300000 m2 (Shayya, 2010). In addition to the presence of pine trees, events, promenades, and music concerts entertained Beirut's residents, particularly those living in the forest's vicinity. This area acquired significant buildings by Lebanese modernist architects (Khalaf and Kongstad, 1973), among them and next to Badaro street the palace of justice constructed by the Lebanese architect Petro Trad in 1959 (Tabet, 1998). Thus, both areas: Hamra and Badaro played the role of 'transition zones' (Khalaf and Kongstad, 1973, p. 5) in relation to the city centre during this period and similarly after the war period.

4.2 THE SCHISM: WAR AND PUBLIC SPACE IN BEIRUT

Similar to the case of Berlin after the fall of its wall (Hebbert, 2005), the dissolution of the division of Beirut into east and west happened physically, but this border severing Beirut generated mental scars still evident to date (Bollens, 2012). Among the so-called war landmarks and associated meanings generated by the war (Khalaf, 1998), Beirut's demarcation line changed at least until the 1990s, how people referred to the eastern and western city parts (Fregonese, 2009; Yahya, 1993). The demarcation line remained as the 'communal register' even nowadays, 28 years after the declaration of the war's end. War disrupted city life, both Martyrs Square and Badaro lie in proximity to the demarcation line running along Damascus Street. The starting point of the demarcation line, Martyrs Square was sanitised of its context, which was completely demolished by bomb shells or bulldozers later during reconstruction. Although located east of the demarcation line, Badaro was encapsulated: to the west it abutted 'no-man's land' the pine forest, and despite its proximity Badaro lost its link to it due to military presence and closure; to the east Sami El Solh Avenue stretching between the Tayouneh roundabout to the south, and to the north the National Museum, and the east-west Abdallah Al Yafi Avenue, which defined the checkpoint with the 'west' at the Museum (Tabet, 1996). Badaro's residential buildings were deserted; scars of fighting across political groups are still evident on some building facades along Sami El Solh, and namely to the south towards the Tayouneh roundabout, where exposure of two neighbourhoods in conflict was maximized. The war not only burnt down the forest, but also resulted in post-war decisions to confine it within highways. Accessibility to the forest was limited, and its closure to the public for 40 years meant that it became a gap in the memory of the urbanites. Khalaf (1998) indicates how after the war, the Lebanese population got stuck between remembering and forgetting. The Beirutees were deprived of their heritage of the pine forest through the burning down and enclosure of this forest, which nevertheless survived in the form of their collective memories. The National Museum with the concrete casings protecting its contents was equally frozen in time until the late 1990s when it reopened.

Following the Taif Agreement in 1989, repopulating Beirut took place gradually and in seemingly selected areas. The vitality to Beirut, and its recreational and leisure activities emerged in specific areas after externalising them from community halls and the living rooms of private dwellings, the familiarity and safety of the known (Khalaf, 1998), to the sterilised shopping centres with their security control. These leisure activities started emerging in the previously 'demarcated' areas around 1994-1995 while the city centre was under reconstruction. These areas offered affordable rent, and spaces not polarised by the war. The displaced population from different parts of the country required time to come to their bearings. War-affected and even war-damaged residential properties were temporarily occupied by refugees. This image resurfaced with the Syrian refugees around 2015 occupying deserted constructions in Beirut. The 'transition zones' of the 1950s-1960s Hamra and Badaro, came back to life after 2005, with everyday practices slowly flowing back into them.

5 CURRENT STATE AND LESSONS LEARNED

This section explores the difference that everyday practices, and collective memory play in establishing and sustaining relational spaces for encounter within unstable urban contexts. Two approaches are considered: the tabula rasa approach with only selected conserved buildings as one approach, and the assembly of buildings, with punctual incisions within the streetscape as a second approach. In both cases, the street network remained as the constant in times of instability, once usurped from its memories, and once along with these memories.

Hillier and Hanson's (1984) emphasised the relation between morphology and social behaviour indicating that increased connectivity and integration in the street network is conducive to social practices. Similarly, the UN Habitat report considers the extent of street allocation and their intersections as indicators of the provision of public space that might be conducive to shared public practices (UN Task Team, 2015). This quantitative tool is used to compare the city centre and Badaro before the war with their current states. As a demonstration, within one square kilometre, the extent of streets, their intersections, and that of open spaces are calculated (see Table 1).

	1961		2016	
In 1 km²	Badaro	City Centre	Badaro	City Centre
Area of building footprint in m²	122108	50747	223689	256852
Percent roads	18.0%	33.5%	16.4%	28.2%
No. of Intersections	54	250	113	182
Open space	6.95%	0.75%	7.40%	1.47%

Table 1 – Example

While before the war the city centre had a significantly higher percentage of streets and intersections than Badaro, this difference decreased at present. Note that no new roads have been opened in Badaro, yet in the city centre, the urban fabric was modified according to the reconstruction plan adopted by the real estate company Solidere within a new parcellation plan. Regarding open spaces, Badaro's proximity to the hippodrome and pine forest makes the availability of open urban space higher than in the city centre (see Figures 2 and 3). This overview serves at least to indicate that the two areas differ in terms of their street networks spatially, as resources for public spaces, yet falls short of informing about the spatial practices and memories in these spaces. These are explored through considering the approaches to the two areas' revitalisation after the war.

Figure 2 – Figure ground plans of Badaro and the city centre based on a 1961 map

Figure 3 – Figure ground plans of Badaro and the city centre based on a 2016 map

5.1 THE CITY CENTRE

Solidere's reconstruction project for the city centre, or the Beirut Central District or BCD realised under the decree 117/91, had two facets. The first reflected the country's rise after the war, and the reinstatement of its governmental institutions, and its ability to regain its economic momentum within the region. The second introduced a business district, standing on land owned by shareholders, and reclaimed landfill, which in the absence of residents changed to a ghost town, were it not for some restaurants and commercial activities. What was a melting pot for Lebanese from all walks of life before the war became an exclusive terrain, not yet integrated in the minds of the population (Deeb and Harb, 2013). The calculated demolition of the urban fabric within the city centre, and eradication of its open spaces, leaving only few highly controlled spaces and edifices to be admired as objects in an open air museum, and replacement of everyday practices with events together resulted in the loss of the collective memory, and its replacement with kitsch and globalised trends (Khalaf, 1998). A disconnection with social practices and mnemonic spaces resulted from these representations of space. Even remaining streets were changed, the

peripheral ones widened into avenues, disconnecting the city centre from its immediate surroundings. The city centre was transformed, and uprooted from its past, despite Solidere's motto: 'Beirut an ancient city for the future'. Control and surveillance, physical barriers and the sense of heightened security together meant that some parts of the city centre were extracted from people's daily rhythms, and consequently from collective memory. With the progress of the reconstruction, life and recreation slowly crept into the city centre with the exception of areas protected by the military such as the Parliament. Following the assassination of the former prime minister Hariri in 2005 and consecutive demonstrations in the city centre, leisure activities started withering, and the pulse of recreation and leisure started spreading to the immediate vicinities to the east (Gemayze) and west (Clemenceau) again initially in the areas bordering the demarcation line, with former architecture lending itself to spaces of gathering and encounter. Then similar to the boom of the 1950s-1960s, a spill over effect took place after 2005 into Hamra and later Badaro, while demonstrations in the city centre demonstrations prevailed and suffocated any leisure activities around 2014. This is when Badaro returned to the mental map of the population.

5.2 BADARO

With scarce documentation on Badaro, newspapers become a valuable reference on its activities in addition to site visits and observations conducted between 2015 and 2016. While in 2011 the newspapers reported street robberies and complaints by residents about feeling insecure at night, Badaro's media coverage switched to a different representation in 2014, marking its awakening (Iqlimos and Barrak, 2015; Maddox, 2014; Rahhal, 2014; Al Sahily, 2016; Yaghi, 2015). For example, the Arab Centre for Architecture ACA (http://www.arab-architecture.org/) started organising walks in Badaro, introducing visitors to the area's layers of architecture dating to the French mandate and Lebanese modernist periods. The encapsulated area allowed the recalling of events and participation in everyday practices. Badaro's sidewalks are conducive to a culture of street cafes and promenades. These routine activities enable encounter and the engagement of different people. The reuse of ground floor spaces transformed Badaro Street into a lively street hosting panoply of daytime and night time activities, in addition to occasional street festivals, enhancing the existing mixed-use character of the street.

Around 2014 Badaro became an attraction to investors with its location along Damascus Road. A hotel favoured by foreigners: Smallville, was constructed along this road, with a bicycle renting shop in its vicinity. Real estate development capitalised on living in a quiet and central area in Beirut while still enjoying the view or even the scent of pine trees. Apartments by contemporary Lebanese architects are located within gated buildings without dialogue with the street, unlike their modernist forbearers, the residential buildings integrated with the street through the treatment of the ground floor, the entrance, gardens, setbacks and pockets allowing for gathering spaces on a small scale.

In contrast to the market-led development, bottom up initiatives manifested through NGOs and social organisations that chose to locate their offices in Badaro such as zero waste act for recycling, and Kafa among others (http://www.zerowasteact.com/; http://www.kafa.org.lb/). These initiatives created rhythmic social practices such as addressing pressing social needs. A significant bottom up initiative is the activism of the NGO NAHNOO in raising awareness on the significance of public spaces, and negotiating with Beirut Municipality the reopening of the pine forest, which materialised in 2015 (http://nahnoo.org/default.htm; Executive Director at NAHNOO, personal interview, 12 July 2016). Different stimuli are present in Badaro to awaken and nurture collective memories. These include spontaneous uses of the same space differently by locals or refugees allowing for inclusion (sitting down on a green patch, using war-torn buildings as a shelter); minuscule events that enable sharing and participating in practices and routine activities; street names, sounds, and icons; and most importantly, the presence of the pine forest, and pine trees dispersed throughout Badaro's streets. In addition to the daily practices, periodically organised events including festivals such as food, Christmas markets, association of merchants of the area, invite people to reintroduce them to this deserted, frozen in time area. Note that celebrations, parades, group activities, public arts, staging public events, and festivals change the spatial experience (Madanipour, 2004), and enable new transformations of the streets.

Drawing on this overview from the two poles of the demarcation line, some lessons learned are drawn regarding three aspects: first, the public spaces- particularly streets- as resources; second, the social practices in those spaces; and third, collective memories, and their relation encounter and social integration.

First, the BCD with its reconstructed and regulated plan has provided the resource of space, yet dismantled the glue that binds the city centre together with its surroundings. The reconstructed plan introduced new configurations and representations of streets and other public spaces that are pleasant to observe, yet not necessarily able to engage people in shared practices. Badaro's continuity of the street network since the 1930s and persistence of the architecture marking different periods in the evolution of the city, provide the basis of public space as a resource for encounter. The reopening of the National Museum and the pine forest provide anchors for interaction within this area, gradually allowing Badaro to reconnect with its surroundings.

Second, with the efforts of Solidere and other shareholders, BCD's life is sustained through events attracting visitors from time to time. Yet the city centre as a so-called business district, remains sanitised of public facilities such as schools, hospitals, and to an extent residences. Under situations of instability, governmental buildings including the parliament still require surveillance and control, which limit the everyday use of the city centre. In contrast, Badaro's residents and property owners live in the area on a daily basis; activities related to the public facilities, services, and commercial activities in the area generate shared social practices; except next to military facilities, Badaro's control is through 'eyes on the street'. Through the practices taking place in the area both everyday ones and organised festivities, Badaro is slowly returning to people's mental map.

Third, reviving collective memory in Badaro is gradually occurring through the reopening of the pine forest, the National Museum, and practices such as the organised walks that provide knowledge on the area's history and urban fabric, highlighting the significance of the area's architecture to its urban character and people's practices. In the BCD, a 'dual identity' is forged, stuck between the current and what used to be (Khalaf, 1998), with a present not leaving any traces that link it to the past, and Martyrs Square being reduced to an event space during manifestations or a decorated 'kitsch' (Khalaf, 1998) during festivities, losing its everyday significance and central role in the city. Despite its apparent abundance of spaces as a resource, the BCD is limited in practised everyday spaces, and is reduced to an exclusionist area.

The three examined aspects that are conducive to transforming social practices are evident in the case of Badaro, where memory is still "borne by living societies" (Nora, 1989, p. 8), while stories of sporadic events linger in the BCD, experienced by selected users. In Badaro, this continuation of collective memories is evidenced by various minuscule activities that are slowly embedding themselves in the spaces and consequently their users, nesting in streets, ground floors or even war-affected buildings.

5.3 CONCLUSION

The possibility of having public spaces in unstable contexts as spaces for encounter and coexistence goes beyond the design and provision of the spaces. In particular, the focus should be on everyday social practices and collective memories in urban contexts, which are conducive to use equally by local authorities, and bottom up initiatives. The aim of reinstating streets as public spaces within unstable contexts is equivalent to allowing and even enabling streets to weave new collective memories that would knit the past to the present. This would allow for perpetuation despite population changes, facilitation of coexistence, and engulfing of differences, rather than lamenting spaces that are devoid of memories, and left without a sense of attachment. The case of Badaro and the pine forest served as one example of reinstating encounter gradually, despite the pressures of prevailing development trends and instability.

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ID 1474 | TOWARDS CONSENSUS BETWEEN STAKEHOLDERS WITH CONFLICTING INTERESTS: EXPERIENCES FROM URBAN AREAS KALARANNA, TALLINN, AND MEZAPARK, RIGA

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ABSTRACT: The case studies examine the conflicts between local communities and developers duringthe design and adoption of detailed plans for urban areas Mezapark, Riga and Kalaranna, Tallinn. Theconflicts are examined via a series of semi-structured interviews with the actors involved in the conflicts, thecommunities, developers, designers and municipality. Stakeholder opinions are complemented with expertopinions. The case studies aim to discover the causes of conflict during the design and adoption process. Theconclusion is, the conflicts aroiuse due to (1) mutual bias between the stakeholders, (2) inadequateengagement strategy and (3) the lack of flexibility and initiative in the actions of municilipality.

KEYWORDS: case studies, civic involvement, conflict, Kalaranna, Mezapark, planning, public space