5.0
TRIPOLI
CITIES IN PERSPECTIVE

A. TRIPOLI

5.0 Geographic Context

Situated 85km North of Beirut along the Mediterranean coast, Tripoli is considered as the country’s second capital and the most important city in its region. The caza of Tripoli consists of the cities of Tripoli, al-Mina and Qalamoun. Historically, the formation of modern Lebanon and the inclusion of Tripoli in the newly founded nation-state in 1919 cut the city off from its Syrian hinterland. Government neglect of the area has led to considerable increase in poverty as well as sizeable rural-urban migration towards Tripoli and Beirut. More recently, low levels of education, a high turnover of internal and political refugees and migrants, lack of public or private investment, the war, regional political instability, and the economic crisis that the country as a whole is experiencing, have all contributed to various degrees in augmenting urban poverty. This is evident mainly in and around the historic core of the city.
5.1 Overview of Obstacles to Cultural Preservation and Urban Development

Cultural heritage and tourism development in Tripoli has to address several of the problems which characterize the national scene; that is the lack of institutional and legislative frameworks, the absence of a multi-sectoral approach, deficiency in financial and human resources, deteriorating urban environments and complex tenure conditions etc.

Locally, other issues unique to Tripoli will pose a distinct challenge/advantage to any project. Some of these characteristics are:

- The main boulevard forms a physical and psychological barrier between historic Tripoli and the rest of the city.
- The city acts as a regional center.
- The lack of private and public sector investment in productive industries, which further compounds poverty.
- Varied cultural heritage sites that comprise of a set of different elements and sites (old city, Crusader castle etc.), which are physically distant from one another.
- Great potential for the city to act as a node into nearby regions such as Batroun as well as the Syrian hinterland.

In particular, the old city is characterized by:

- Physical degradation, environmental and acoustic pollution. The Abu Ali river cuts the historic city in two.
- High levels of urban poverty.
- Conservative and traditional social fabric.
- High population density and overcrowding.
- Predominance of Waqfs ownership in the historic city.
- Severely dilapidated urban fabric compounded by high levels of environmental and acoustic pollution.

5.2 Historic Significance and Touristic Potential

5.2.1 Tripoli: A Brief History

The city of Tripoli was built on two different sites by successive civilizations. The people of Arwad, Saida and Sour first founded Tripoli in the first millennium BC in the area of al-Mina. Remains of Hellenistic (312/311 - 64 B.AD) and Roman Tripoli (64 B.C. - end of 4th Century AD) were uncovered in the same area and can be seen today near the harbor. Of Byzantine (5th to 7th Century AD) and early Islamic Tripoli (645/646-1109 AD) nothing has been found. What is left today of the historic core of Tripoli-Al Mina, was initially built during the Crusader period as a small settlement at the foot of the citadel of St. Gilles. However, only the citadel, the cathedral (known today as al-Mansuri Mosque) and some towers around the peninsula, testify to crusader presence in the city (1109-1289 AD). In 1289 the Mamluks conquered the Crusader city that was situated on the peninsula, razed it to the ground and rebuilt a new city two kilometers to the east at the foot of the citadel and straddling the Abu Ali river. During this period, Tripoli witnessed a substantial growth in its economic and political power. Archaeologists and historians consider it today as the second best preserved Mamluk city after Cairo. Its 40 standing medieval monuments in the old town extend to the foot of the towering Crusader citadel and remain a living testament to the lives and customs of a medieval Islamic city. Under the Ottomans (1516-1918), the city, which became the seat of one of
three Wilayets (Governorates), continued to grow albeit at a slower pace. Of this period several
khans, mosques and baths dot the historic fabric.

**Tripoli’s historic and cultural sites are varied and distinct.** They include a few Crusader and
Mamluk towers in the al-Mina area, the St. Gilles citadel, and a series of madrassas, hammams,
khans and mosques in the historic core (or what is today known as Mamluk Tripoli). More modern
cultural edifices comprise of the Maarad area, designed by Oscar Neimeyer, one of the most
important figures in Modern Architecture.

### 5.2.2 Physical and Urban Characteristics

**In addition to a distinctive cultural and historic character, Tripoli also boasts a small harbor
located along al-Mina peninsula.** A few small islands just across from the harbor have been
declared protected natural reserves. The proximity of the Cedar areas as well as the Qadisha valley,
recently placed on the World Heritage List, makes Tripoli a potential node for visitors to the North of
Lebanon.

Tripoli also suffers from high levels of environmental, visual and acoustic pollution. The city’s
coastal front has deteriorated considerably as a result of modern development projects. Within the
city, the streets and spaces along the Abu Ali River are badly organized and severely polluted. The
high reinforced concrete walls constructed after the 1955 floods, within which the river flows, split
the ancient city in two. The river itself, which already has low water levels, is polluted by sewage
outlets, which open directly onto the river. Users of the vegetable market also use it as their dumping
ground for waste and garbage. Inadequate parking facilities, multitudes of street vendors, and the
absence of landscaped areas have contributed to the visual and environmental chaos of the city.

At the same time, high population densities have strained its severely dilapidated urban
infrastructure. The old city lacks adequate lighting and wastewater disposal. The main problem in
this case is linkage to houses, which need to be installed by respective property owners, many of
whom do not live there. Current property laws dissuade owners from investing in the rehabilitation
and upkeep of their properties - a problem, which is not limited to historic structures. The residents
themselves, many of whom are lower income populations cannot afford to link their residences to the
main sewage lines. In addition, the city also lacks, proper sanitation and garbage collection; mainly
in the area of the vegetable and meat markets.

### 5.2.3 Master Plans and Classified Monuments

**Historic monuments in Tripoli have been classified in three separate listings.** UNESCO
carried out the first survey in 1953, which consisted of 44 monuments. These monuments,
including as individual objects and not part of a larger urban fabric, were limited to areas on the
left bank of the river Abu Ali. The second survey was undertaken in 1981 by a local historian, Dr.
Omar Tadmuri, while the third was carried out in 1995 by a joint team from the Association for
the Preservation of the Archaeological Heritage of Tripoli, the municipality, Dr. Omar Tadmuri
and Sadek Tabbara. The municipality and the Med-Rehab network sponsored this last survey.
Zones to be protected were expanded to incorporate the neighborhoods of al-Tabbaneh and al-
Souaika on the right bank of the river Abu Ali. As a result, the list of protected monuments grew
to 190 and included residential edifices as well as smaller structures such as fountains, porticos
etc. Moreover, the immediate urban environment surrounding each monument was now included
as a protected zone (see Map 1).
However, these classifications have yet to be wholly integrated into a general master plan for the city. Henri Edde and Georges Doumani carried out the last and only master plan proposed for Tripoli in 1964. The plan divided the city into five planning districts, of which zone A includes the historic core of the city on the left banks of the river. Surrounding the old city is zone B which consists of a dense mixed-use residential and commercial tissue followed by zone C, a lower density residential area with potential for future expansion into zone D. Zones E and F were dedicated to tourism and industrial activities respectively. This plan was subsequently adopted in 1971 with a series of modifications. Of the structures listed by UNESCO, only 30 monuments were included in this master plan, with a perimeter of 20m around each classified building. Consequently, while the DGA is the sole authority over 30% of the area, the remaining 70% are not protected and thus open to modifications within specific limits set by the municipality. No structures on the right bank of the river were included.

Moreover, the 1972 master plan proposed modifications to the urban fabric, which caused damage to the historic core of the city. The enlargement of Souk al-Nahasin (Souk of Coppersmiths) and Souk al-Kendarjiyeh (Souk of Shoemakers) from 4m to 12m so as to accommodate vehicular traffic destroyed two significant souk areas. High-rise structures (6-7 floors) have been constructed on either side of these now major arteries further disrupting the

Map 1  Classified monuments and cultural heritage sites in the old city
urban fabric and effectively splitting the old city into three adjacent zones each with its own particular characteristics.

The plan also included extensive provisions for the rehabilitation of historic and classified structures, which should be maintained in the new master plans that have been recently commissioned for the city. Even though the 1971 plan is still in force, the lack of government interest in the old city as well as the chaos that prevailed during the war meant that unregulated demolitions and haphazard alterations and constructions within these protected zones have continued.

Furthermore, many buildings in this zone today are structurally unsound as a result of the vertical expansion of the city, the disregard for building and construction laws during the war, or are simply severely deteriorated due to the lack of maintenance. While countless surveys of Tripoli’s monuments have been carried out, no examination of its residential fabric has been undertaken. In the coming years, the municipality will no doubt have to address a countless number of similar situations. According to local sources, around 40 residential structures have severe structural problems and are in need of immediate emergency rehabilitation.

5.2.4 Visitor Experience and Site Management

Visitor experience to Tripoli is quite negative. Basic tourist facilities, such as toilets, rest houses and information centers are non-existent. The St. Gilles citadel and other historic edifices lack signage and proper documentation to orient visitors. Due to the dilapidated state of its infrastructure the old city is extremely unattractive as a location for both locals and foreign tourists alike. Only one hotel currently exists in Tripoli. It is connected to the International Fair or Maarad area, a few kilometers from the old city and remains empty most of the year.

This state of affairs is due in large part to the fragmented authority over tourist site management. A key obstacle to the promotion of local development, especially in the area of historic and cultural tourism is the complex entanglement of jurisdictions between different key national and local players. For example, the St. Gilles citadel is owned by the Ministry of Culture, supervised by the DGA, managed and promoted by the Ministry of Tourism and maintained by the Municipality. This wide distribution of responsibilities complicates and slows down the processing of any conservation and/or management effort. As a result, the citadel suffers from a lack of adequate promotion, management and maintenance. It also continues to lack some of the basic infrastructure necessary to enhance visitor experience such as signage, clear circuits, landscaping, visitor safety features etc. In addition, since it has not been incorporated into any major urban plans for the city, no protection has been afforded to its rapidly deteriorating surroundings. In 1970, the citadel was equipped with a rest house by the Ministry of Tourism. Due to strenuous political circumstances, this rest house never opened. The municipality believes that restoring the DGA to the Ministry of Tourism may resolve part of this problem.
Local stakeholders in Tripoli comprise of both national stakeholders with direct influence in Tripoli, and local stakeholders directly or indirectly involved in any potential development project. The success of any rehabilitation or conservation project is dependant on effective coordination between these players nationally and locally.

The importance of each of the different stakeholders is to a large degree contingent upon the project action envisioned. While some, such as the institutional stakeholders, are directly implicated in most levels of decision-making, others are directly affected by all proposed actions such as local communities, vulnerable residents, artisan groups etc. Indirectly affected groups who could be of relevance to the project include intermediary groups such as local NGO’s directly involved in cultural heritage issues, other NGO’s with vested interests and an operational commitment to the community, as well as international organizations who could act as a source of funding and expertise. In this context, project designs have to be flexible and responsive to change.

In the following table a rapid assessment of current and potential stakeholders in historic Tripoli was used to outline their relevance to specific actions (on a scale of 1-5). These were combined with an analysis of significant case studies so as to determine the current impact of their actions (indicated as either negative or positive, or both where the action itself was positive but implementation process had adverse impacts) in the historic core.

This assessment made clear:

1. The importance of the municipality and locally active groups for effective implementation.
2. National-local coordination between stakeholders is fraught with difficulty. The adverse impact exerted by current regulations as well as existing tenants, owners and local communities in restoration efforts (see case studies) pointed to the need for revised restoration, conservation and construction standards among other measures.
3. Given the complexity of social factors (see following section) and the significant risks to vulnerable populations the establishment of community groups is imperative for the long-term sustainability of the project.
4. Absence of an institutional set up that would insure coordination and cooperation amongst the different stakeholders. Consequently project ownership will be critical for the eventual success of the project. In this respect the inclusion of local communities, either as organizations or as tenants and property owners will be imperative.
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Project Diagram: National and Local Stakeholder, Current and Future Impact
5.3.1 National Stakeholders

Ministry of Tourism

The Ministry of Tourism is in charge of the site operation of the citadel, currently owned by the Ministry of Culture. A small information office in the citadel area marks its presence in the city. However, it is largely non-operational. In addition, more effort needs to be exerted in training local guides and informants for the citadel and other sites around the city.

Ministry of Culture, DGA

The Directorate General of Antiquities (DGA) has a local regional office based in Tripoli. Under present laws, the DGA, which supervises the citadel, is also in charge of all restoration, conservation and preservation efforts to be undertaken in the city. It is also manages and maintains all archaeological finds. As such, the DGA can reject or accept any proposed projects in classified areas and can veto any rehabilitation proposal that does not meet its set standards. However, the DGA’s work is constantly stalled due to budgetary, administrative and sometimes political constraints (see Appendix I).

Ministry of Public Works, DGU

According to current building and urban planning laws, all urban rehabilitation projects submitted to the municipality must be approved by the DGU as well as the DGA. If these projects fall within classified zones, the DGU is required to seek the DGA’s authorization over these plans, as is currently the case with the ongoing master plan for Tripoli.

CDR

The CDR is responsible for the implementation of all infrastructure work in the city. It works in close coordination with the municipality and the DGU.

5.3.2 LOCAL STAKEHOLDERS

The Municipality

The municipality of Tripoli is considered the second largest municipality in Lebanon, the first being Beirut. It was founded in 1877, by the Ottoman authorities, while that of al-Mina was created in 1883.

Given the traditional social fabric and the particular structure of Tripoli’s local politics, election to the municipal council is considered a strategic step in ensuring representation in the city’s politics and in some instances partial hegemony over local power structures.
Furthermore, the position of municipal president is key to individuals aspiring to play a role in local politics. However, the current election law, which requires inhabitants to vote in areas of origin, denies local residents, especially those of the old city the majority of whom are migrants, from playing a role in the development of the old city. Deprived of representation on the municipal council, which is said to embody most of the active stakeholders in the city, those residents are further marginalized from the decision-making process in the city.

The municipality is responsible for upgrading the infrastructure in the Old City, as well as maintaining the Citadel and other archaeological and historic monuments. It also controls building and conservation activity through the issuing of building and restoration permits. However, like most local institutions, the municipality of Tripoli lacks the specialized human resources necessary for the management of these sites. Currently, the municipality has only one architect and one urban designer to oversee all submitted permits and projects.

The current municipality is extremely interested in financing the rehabilitation of key monuments and recognizes the touristic significance of the old city. The past municipal council collaborated with the Lebanese University, the DGA and the Med-Rehab network (financed by the European Union) in documenting the old city. It also participated in the joint project for the upgrading of Souk al-Sagha. The current council has initiated a project with the Ministry of Tourism for the rehabilitation of Khan al-Sabun. Moreover, the municipality has tended to streamline the rehabilitation and conservation permits of other key stakeholders, especially the Islamic Waqfs, even if in some cases this meant bypassing the DGA.

However, the current municipality is no longer cooperating with some of the individuals and groups previously engaged in the rehabilitation of the historic quarter. For example, members of the conservation school at the Lebanese University, responsible for the Med-Rehab networks and experts on the historic city are no longer involved in municipal projects, which pertain to the old city.

Chamber of Commerce and Industry

The Chamber of Commerce is interested in promoting tourism as a means of improving business activity in Tripoli. The Chamber recently established a Database Center equipped with Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and has begun a survey of economic and commercial activity in Tripoli and al-Mina in collaboration with the Lebanese and Balamand universities. Given its financial resources and its membership profile, the Chamber is a potentially powerful stakeholder depending on the proposed project.
### Cultural/Educational

**The Lebanese University**

The shortage in restoration and conservation specialists in the country became glaringly evident in 1997 during work undertaken in Souk al-Sagha (Jewelers’ Market). At the initiative of the Association for the Preservation of the Archaeological Heritage of Tripoli, an accord was signed between the municipality and the Ecole de Chaillot in Paris for the creation of the first architectural and urban restoration and conservation school in Lebanon. Based at the Lebanese University in Tripoli, the school provides technical assistance to the municipality. The center is also extremely active in all documentation and rehabilitation efforts in Tripoli and is able to provide the necessary know-how in any proposed project. Yearly, key French and Italian specialists, sponsored by their respective governments, give guest lectures at the school.

### Community Stakeholders

**Private Property Owners**

The majority of property owners live and work outside the old city. With low rents, entangled property rights, and the large number of tenants occupying each building, it is more viable for owners to allow their buildings to decay than to incur the high cost of rehabilitation and conservation.

**The Sunni Waqf**

The Sunni Waqf is a major property owner in the Tripoli’s historic center, making it a critical stakeholder in any proposed project. Its properties include religious (mosques and Madrassas) as well as commercial and residential structures. Thus far, the waqf has opposed rehabilitation projects which consider changing the function of existing religious buildings. They are, however, willing to negotiate if the proposed use is similar to the original one. A large portion of their property is managed by smaller Islamic organizations/groups, which undertake rehabilitation and use. However, much of this rehabilitation effort fails to meet the technical standards set by the DGA.

**Tenants**

According to municipal estimates around 80% of the residents in the historic core of the city are tenants who have lived there for the last 30 years. Caps on rent increases have played a critical role in their sustenance, despite the dilapidated state of their habitat (see urban social geography section).
Squatters

Municipal estimates suggest that around 4,000 residents of the historic city are displaced populations; either political refugees who left their homes in the wake of violence during the civil war, or populations removed from their homes following the flooding of the river Abu Ali in 1955 ensued by the demolition of around 2,000 residential units. The ministry of displaced is currently sponsoring a housing project in the Kobbe area meant to house some of those displaced to the historic city as well as other war displaced refugees in different parts of the region. According to the regulations announced by the Ministry of Displaced, each displaced family will be given around 45 million Lebanese liras to leave its current home on the condition that the money be spent to buy a residential unit in the proposed project. The municipality has indicated that those currently residing in Khan al-Askar will be moved to those houses.

Artisans

Several associations for specific artisans and commercial groups exist such as the vegetable sellers amongst others.

Islamic Groups

Various small groups are in charge of different religious buildings owned by the Waqfs and are active in the rehabilitation of these properties (such as the Taynal mosque). However, since this process is more often than not undertaken without the direct supervision of the DGA, necessary technical standards are not met. This is causing long-term damage to the buildings in question.

NGO’s

Association for the Preservation of the Archaeological Heritage of Tripoli (APAHT)

This association was actively involved in a variety of rehabilitation and conservation projects including the work carried out in Souk al-Sagha as well as the creation of the restoration and conservation school at the Lebanese University. It was founded and is presided over by Wadad Karame, the sister in law of former Prime Minister Omar Karame. Through these projects, the association established a network of contacts, which range between local institutions such as the municipality and international organizations such as the Med-Rehab network. The association wields considerable political influence in the city.

Intermediary Agencies- Local NGO’s with operational experience in historic Tripoli

A series of local NGO’s such as the Salem Kabbarra Foundation, the MOSA Development Center and the Secours Populaire (Najdeh) are active in the historic city. Their programs, some of which are based in Bab al-Tabbaneh in old Tripoli focus on illiteracy. They also conduct various vocational training programs such as hair dressing (for men and women), industrial sewing, medical secretaries, nursing and hotel services. If programs are to be launched in these areas, local NGO’s could become key partners in organization and outreach to specific groups of residents.
International Organizations

Med-Urbs

**Med-Urbs**

Financed by the European Union, this organization which worked with cities on both shores of the Mediterranean was active in Tripoli between 1995-1997. It brought together around a dozen networks specialized in different sectors. Med-Rehab, a part of the Med-Urbs network linked up the cities of Marseille, Lisbon, Anderlecht, Rabat, Sousse and Tripoli. The main theme of this particular network was the rehabilitation and preservation of the historic cores of the Arab cities that are part of this network. The goal was to create municipal operational workshops in each of those cities using the experience of Lisbon. Each center, or urban observatory as they have come to be known, was meant to take into account all the characteristics of the relevant quarter including buildings, population, cultural edifices, educational and economic facilities, in the context of the entire city.

Local counterparts of this network in the city of Tripoli are professors at the Institute of Fine Arts at the Lebanese University. In addition to a series of congresses and conferences that were organized through the med-rehab network and in association with the municipality of Lisbon, the Med-Rehab congress, also initiated an ongoing survey of Tripoli’s historic cores, which included a re-listing of classified buildings, types of commercial activities as well as the redefinition of the historic core boundaries.

The Med network was discontinued in 1995. In 1998, three sections of the network including Med-Urbs were rehabilitated.

The German Government

**The German Government**

In the mid 1980's the German government, through the German embassy in Beirut, financed the rehabilitation of Kahn al-Khayyatin. It also sponsors the Goethe Institute, a non-profit organization with more than 128 institutes in 76 countries. The institute focuses on the promotion of the German language as well as various other cultural activities. With local offices in al-Mina, it could be a potential source of funding or hub through which cultural activity related to Tripoli’s history could take place.
In 1996, based on an accord signed between the municipality and the Region Midi Pyrenees in 1995, and in the presence of the Jewelers’ Association, the rehabilitation of Souk al-Sagha (Jewelers’ market) began. The Municipality repaired the infrastructure, the Jewelers’ Association, with financial help from the Ministry of Tourism, provided the awnings, Midi Pyrenees raised the funds and undertook the design of the awnings as well as provision of the lighting while the DGA supervised the work.

The main problems encountered were intrinsic to the management of the project. First, the absence of a supervising body meant that different groups negotiated among each other and undertook conflicting decisions. Consequently, financing of the project was also fragmented causing delays in payments and thus in execution. Second, the lack of technical supervision by the DGA led to poor quality renovation. This was compounded by the absence of coordination between the different parties; Midi Pyrenees negotiated separately with the Jewelers’ Association to impose its own design and products instead of the selected Ottoman-inspired designs. The Jewelers’ Association then negotiated separately with the Ministry of Higher Education, which had already contributed $50,000 to the project, to use awnings instead of the intended wooden shutters for the shops. The original design of the awnings was not met and the restoration of facades was not carried out according to the technical standards, which apply to historic buildings. Third, since rehabilitation of the project was limited to the external facades, tenants on the upper floors who existed in dire living conditions were further marginalized. At no point were they consulted, even as rehabilitation and renovation work disrupted their daily lives. More critically, given the deteriorated state of their daily habitat, many of the tenants resented the fact that large sums of money were being spent on the renovation of their facades rather than on improving the quality of their daily life.

Despite the various shortcomings, the project was considered by all involved as a successful collaborative effort that could be emulated elsewhere. The benefits accrued from this project were not limited to the physical or economic spheres, but were also psychological. According to various stakeholders and residents in the city, even though visitors to this souk rarely venture beyond it, this project has begun to change prevalent perceptions of the old city as an isolated and poor ghetto. Consequently, it has contributed to breaking the psychological and physical barriers that surround the area.
**Khan al-Khayyatin (Tailors’ Caravanserai)**

One of the oldest in Tripoli, Khan al-Khayyatin, or Tailors’ Caravanserai, dates to the first half of the 14th century. According to historians and to evidence on site, the Khan was probably constructed on the ruins of a Byzantine and Crusader structure. In the mid 1980’s, a commission was established under the leadership of the ex-prime minister Omar Karami; the Committee for the Preservation of Historic Buildings that included most key political figures in Tripoli. After identifying Khan al-Khayyatin, owned by the Islamic Waqf as the first monument to be restored, a call was issued to various foreign embassies requesting help. The German Embassy agreed to finance the project under the supervision of its local representative Dr. Charabi, to whom a progress report was submitted every two weeks. Both the municipality and the DGA accepted the project, which commenced without the requisite permits due to the civil war at the time. Four months later, and as a direct result of the political upheavals caused by unification efforts in Germany, the project was stopped. Total costs, which amounted to $100,000, had been spent on the rehabilitation of the Khan’s infrastructure.

As a direct result of this project residents of the adjacent Souk al-Bazerkhan requested a similar project. However, nothing was ever carried out and the committee itself became defunct.

**Grand Mosque**

Constructed in 1294 AD, in the Nouri district, along with a small defensive tower next it, the mosque is surrounded by a series of other theological schools and two souks; Souk al-Sagha and Souk al-Attareen (the spice market). Owned by the Islamic Waqf, there are proposals to rehabilitate the mosque with private financing from the Hariri Foundation, owned by the current Prime Minister Rafic Hariri. However, given the relatively good physical condition of the Grand Mosque, rehabilitating the mosque is not a necessity. The project has not yet commenced.

**Madrassas**

Different Islamic groups renting or managing the properties under the auspices of the Islamic Waqf have rehabilitated several of the existing madrasas, such as al-Khatuniya, al-Nasiriya, and al-Saqqafyya. Unfortunately, these rehabilitation efforts did not succeed in spawning long-term management or maintenance plan for any of these structures. At the same time, since some of the rehabilitation did not comply with the requisite standards, many of these buildings have begun to deteriorate again.

**Khan al-Askar**

Khan al-Askar, situated in the al-Zehrie district is said to have been constructed in the late 13th or early 14th century for Mamluk troops. Also known as Khan al-Hareer (Caravanserai of Silk) or
Khan al-Asra (Caravanserai of Prisoners) structure was restored in the 18th century by Ottoman authorities. It is one of the largest covered spaces, occupying around 5200 m² and is currently occupied by around 48-50 families, or about 260 residents originally displaced from their homes in the aftermath of the 1955 Abu Ali River floods. Many of the residents are 3rd or 4th generation tenants. Plans by the municipality are currently underway to remove these tenants, in coordination with the Ministry of Displaced. If these plans materialize, each family will probably be paid $20,000-$25,000, the average national norm followed thus far in other parts of the country. **No concrete plans for this structure have yet been developed.**

Khan al-Sabun

Originally constructed as a caravanserai for European merchants, this 17th century structure was located towards the center of the city and became a soap factory. The municipality, in collaboration with the Ministry of Tourism, is in the process of acquiring Khan al-Sabun from its original owners. It is to be rehabilitated as a crafts center and will be used to promote tourist activities. **Financing for the project has not been found and compensation to the existing namely commercial tenants has not yet been paid.**

Khan al-Masryyin

Khan al-Masryyin (Caravanserai of the Egyptians) was probably built in the first half of the 14th Century. The traditional arcaded two-story khan has an open courtyard with a fountain in the center and is currently used as a miscellaneous shopping area. No plans for this khan have been proposed.

The Rehabilitation of a Residential Building

In 1999, the residents of a residential building in the area approached the municipality with a request that it assist in the renovation of their severely deteriorated building. After completing a quick survey of the building the municipality allocated $30,000 for the project. However, given the urgency of the rehabilitation, and the fact that tenants had been moved out of the building, work was carried out before the completion of the technical study. Specifications outlined by the DGA were also not complied with. Various sources indicate that many other buildings in the old city are in need of such emergency rehabilitation. These should be allocated priority funding in any future intervention in the city.

What became evident from this and other incidents is the need for revised and affordable principles for rehabilitation and renovation as well as a reconsideration of current building standards. While available renovation and rehabilitation standards are often complex and costly for the average homeowner or tenant, neither the current building code nor restoration and rehabilitation regulations include set standards for construction. As a result, while the building code may be followed, the lack of construction standards often leads to structurally unsound buildings.
5.4 Socio-Economic Profile

5.4.1 Urban Social Geography

The contemporary history of Tripoli has been marked by a succession of major changes, which left their mark on its environment.

Historically speaking, the city of Tripoli enjoys both a geographic centrality and topographic constitution that should have guaranteed it significant advantage over most of its neighboring coastal cities. Located at the end of the Homs pass, that is the only place along the entire Syrian and Lebanese façade, where the coastal ranges can be crossed at low altitude, and with a port characterized by natural protection from dominant southwestern waves, the city enjoyed a political centrality evident in its architectural heritage today, especially those dating from the Crusader and Mamluk period. This position of centrality continued well into the first phase of Ottoman rule. During this period, the area of Bilad al-Sham, which included territories in present day Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine and southern Turkey, was divided into three wilayas: Aleppo to the North, Damascus to the South and Tripoli. The latter included the maritime façade of Syria from Latakia in the north to Maameltein, near Jounieh, in the south as well as the internal cities of Homs and Hama. The shift in political power in 1660 towards the southern parts of Bilad al-Sham (including Damascus and Mount Lebanon) and the rise of the new ports of Saida, followed by Akka, Haifa and finally Beirut, on the southern coast of the Mediterranean, signaled the beginning of the long process of decline in the status of Tripoli. The institution of the tanzimat or administrative changes in 1867 eventually led to dismantling the wilayas of Tripoli and Saida and the establishment in 1888 of the wilaya of Beirut, comprising the whole maritime façade of Bilad al-Sham, including Tripoli as a secondary center. However, despite this change in status, the city kept its function as the main maritime exit for central Syria (see Map 2).
With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the end of WWI and the creation of the new nation-states of Lebanon and Syria, Tripoli’s position in the area declined even further. Cut off from its Syrian hinterland, the termination of the tariff union between Lebanon and Syria in 1951, and the development of the Port of Tartous as a direct competitor to Tripoli in the 1970s severely affected the city’s function as the main maritime port of central Syria. Furthermore, the interruption of the use of the IPC pipeline, which brought Iraqi oil from Kirkuk to the Baddawi refinery, near Tripoli, and the decay of the facility itself until its total shut down in 1991, deprived Tripoli of a main source of income. The construction of the International Fair, meant to recreate Tripoli’s role in the region, does not seem to have effective economic potential, while the proposed Qleiaat Airport is clearly unjustified, considering the short distance between Beirut and Tripoli once the highway was completed.

Regionally, and despite relatively rapid population growth (see box) Tripoli’s status as a pole of attraction for surrounding populations was badly affected during the long Lebanese civil war. This had profound implications on the social constitution of the city. On the one hand, the southern zones of the Mohafaza (province) of North Lebanon and which included the predominantly Christian Zghorta, Koura, Bsharri and Batroun, slipped out of Tripoli’s sphere of influence. This was due to 1) the re-migration of populations originally from those areas back to their villages of origin or to Jbeil, Jounieh and Beirut, 2) the relocation of educational and health facilities outside the city and 3) the construction of new roads into the northern part of the country that bypassed the city altogether, notably the new Chekka-Amioun-Zghorta highway. On the other hand, the city assumed a stronger Sunni Muslim identity. Tripoli’s role as a pole of attraction and a provider of services came to be limited to poorer immigrants from the northern parts of the province (Minieh, Dinnieh and Akkar) as well as Syrian migrants. The completion of the Beirut-Tripoli coastal highway also provided easier access, mainly for the inhabitants of the southern parts of the province to the cities of Jounieh, Jbeil and even Beirut.
Box 1: Population Growth in Tripoli

The rapid growth of Tripoli is primarily a 20th century phenomenon. Population expansion can be attributed to three major causes: natural population growth, an influx of rural migrants from neighboring Lebanese and Syrian regions and the Palestinian exodus of 1948. Between 1932, the date of the first official census in the country carried out during the French mandate of Lebanon, and 1995, the population of the city of Tripoli grew from 54,876 inhabitants to 252,492 (Table 1). However, and as can be seen in table 1, the lack of standard data collection practices in the country, especially with reference to population profiles, means that often there are large discrepancies in quoted figures such as the 1960-1961 population estimates for Tripoli by the Mission IRFED and the municipality of Tripoli. More recently, figures for the city as a whole vary between 252,492-555,000 inhabitants. Short of a comprehensive survey these estimates simply cannot be verified.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>54,876</td>
<td>French Mandate Census</td>
<td>Tripoli: 41474 al-Mina: 13,402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>90,000</td>
<td>Municipality of Tripoli, 1961</td>
<td>60,000 registered 30,000 residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>80,000</td>
<td>UNESCO 1953</td>
<td>Without al-Mina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>110,000</td>
<td>UNESCO 1953</td>
<td>Without al-Mina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>The firm of Malcolm Firnie*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>125,000</td>
<td>Mission IRFED</td>
<td>Without al-Mina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>210,000</td>
<td>Municipality of Tripoli, 1961</td>
<td>118,000 registered 80,000 residents 12,000 in al-Mina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>153,000</td>
<td>Service of Urbanism</td>
<td>28,000 foreigners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>157,320</td>
<td>CBS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988-1989</td>
<td>221,592</td>
<td>Bureau Spiral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>227,857</td>
<td>Ministry of Social Affairs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>252,492</td>
<td>CBS**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-1999</td>
<td>500,000-555,000</td>
<td>Various sources***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The firm of Malcolm Firnie undertook in 1956 the renovation of Tripoli’s water network. In addition to these results, the census they carried out projected the population of Tripoli at 240,000 for the year 2000. See Water Resources Investigations (1958) and al-Achkar, N (2000).

** This number was calculated by multiplying the total number of residential units for the caza of Tripoli by 5.4, the average number of persons/family estimated for North Lebanon (Appendix III).

*** These estimates were used in a 1997 feasibility study conducted by the CDR for the rehabilitation of water networks, as well as in an audit conducted in 1993 by the Programme d’Assistance Technique pour la Protection de L’Environnement en Méditerranée.

This population growth took concrete form in the expansion of the old city into the areas of Bassatine, and al-Ramla on the left bank of the river and into al-Kobbeh and al-Tell, and the area of Abu Samra on the right banks of the river. As the local Tripolitanian bourgeoisie moved from the inner city into the new quarters lower income residents of the city and other rural migrants replaced them. According to the census undertaken by the Bureau Spiral, in 1989, the city of Tripoli represented almost 80% of the total urban population. Ten years later, the city continues to attract the largest number of people in the caza, representing almost 74% of the total urban population in the area. A large percentage of this increase can be attributed both to natural population growth as well as to rural-urban migration, which focuses primarily on the old city and its immediate environment.

1. Even though this study provides data on the population makeup of the city it is practically impossible to compare growth by areas, because of the lack of standardization in sampling and collection techniques.
2. This includes the areas of Tripoli, al-Mina and Baddawi.
At the scale of the city, these regional transformations were reflected in sharp social and economic schisms. While the deviation of the southern access into the city westwards insured the significant growth of particular parts of the city, it also displaced the centrality of the historic core and the adjacent mandate city. The city center came to be located at the periphery of the main access into the city. This transformation in the city’s physical and social environment created a city broadly divided into two parts: southwestern and northeastern zones. The southwestern zone comprises of modern and relatively affluent neighborhoods that include al-Mina, the International Fair and fashionable sea resorts directly connected to the Beirut highway. The northeastern zone faces Dinnieh and Akkar and is inhabited by a lower-income population, characterized by a more traditional and conservative way of life. In addition to poorer physical access, this area is carved in two by the Abu Ali River. This zone, which includes the historic core of the city, is internally segregated into clear-cut different sub-quarters.

Today, the historic city of Tripoli, covering around 39 hectares is a dense urban environment characterized by narrow alleyways, a multitude of historic buildings, small-scale commercial activities and the remnants of artisan production (see Map 3).

Map 3 The Historic City

It comprises the quarters of parts of al-Haddadin, the neighborhoods of Bab al-Hadid, Rummaneh, Muhaitra, al-Nouri and sections of the northern sector of al-Zehrieh, all on the left banks of the Abu Ali river. Historically, the old or Mamluk city also included the quarter of al-Souaika on the right banks of the river. More recently and following work by local historians, the med-rehab network and others, the municipality has begun including the latter in its discussion of the old city. According to municipal sources around 20,000 inhabitants reside in the area with an average population density of 260 persons/hectare. The areas of Muhaitra, al-Nouri and Rummaneh are relatively low density, with 100 persons per hectare. This is due mainly to the prevalence of abandoned housing, large warehouses and industrial based activities such as furniture making. Population densities rise dramatically in the areas of al-Souaika and Haddadin to around 500 persons per hectare.
The physical and social fabric of this area is marked by two major incidents in the city’s urban development; the 1955 flood of the river Abu Ali and the reconstruction efforts that followed, and the demolition of two souks (al-Nahasin or coppersmiths and al-Kendarjiyeh or shoemakers) to make way for two major arteries following the 1971 master plan (see Maps 4-5). Physically, these changes carved up the areas into four small islets interconnected, yet distinct in character. The first is the Bab al-Haddadin quarter, a chiefly residential area. The second is Muhairat, the area of most interest to local historians due to the high proportion of listed monuments.

Map 4 Tripoli’s Historic Core, 1938 – Prior to the Reconstruction of the Abu Ali river Bed
(Source: Mosbah Rajab)

1 Around 2,000 homes were demolished so as to re-align the riverbed with reinforced concrete.
It is comprised mainly of two-story interconnected souks, with residential quarters on top. Adjacent to Muhaitra is the al-Tarbiaa, in the Bab al-Hadid quarter, which lost much of its original character in the constructions mandated by the 1971 master plan. Severely dilapidated, this zone functions today as the industrial sector of the city, where the majority of furniture making enterprises and galleries prevail. It is also the commercial extension of the adjacent Rummaneh quarter. On the other bank of the river is the al-Souaika quarter, historically an extension of the Mamluk city. Constructed on the edge of the hillside, and primarily residential in character, access to this zone is limited to steep staircases. Large sections of al-Souaika were demolished during the enlargement of the riverbed and what remains today is severely deteriorated and in urgent need of rehabilitation.
Socially, both projects caused major population displacements, as homes and shops were demolished to make way for the expansions. As a result, livelihoods were lost while various artisanal skills were practically eradicated along with their souks or local practices such as the shoemakers and coppersmiths. The souk lost its position as a place to shop for clothes, household utensils and other such products. These “modernization” efforts coincided with a construction boom in the country in general leading the expansion of the city outwards and the consequent exodus of most of its local residents into new residential quarters. At the same time, small multi-story buildings began to appear within the old city, especially around the new arteries within the souk and facing the river Abu Ali.

Neglected by municipal and other government agencies, and with the exodus of its original population, the old city was transformed into the primary residential area for lower income populations and migrants. Incoming migrants rented vacant apartments while displaced populations were housed in abandoned khans and warehouses. Today, resident populations in the old city comprise primarily of Lebanese, either local Tripolitanians or economic migrants from nearby regions, as well as an increasing number of Syrian families. However, the particular makeup of this population needs a more detailed survey. This in-migration of rural poor has exacerbated the outflow of middle class Tripolitanian residents. Moreover, the lack of investment, the deterioration of the infrastructure and the transformation of traditional handicraft activities into partially mechanized, small-scale manufacturing have contributed to the degradation of the urban environment. Population density surpasses acceptable standards, thus straining water and sanitation services, which have long been constrained by the inaccessibility of modern transportation. Most social and public infrastructure such as schools and health facilities are lacking, further contributing to the ghettoization of residents and their augmented feeling of isolation.

These factors have further contributed to the social isolation and a perceived ghettoization of the area. Historically known as the bedrock of marginals and those living outside the state’s jurisdiction, the area has been consistently neglected by state authorities. In the early 1970’s, a police chase of a group of individuals ended with their surrounding the old city where those pursued had taken refuge. According to locals the police were not able to enter the area and those individuals were never taken into custody. The spread of the civil war to Tripoli further augmented the physical isolation created by the highway on one side and the river on the other. As the area came increasingly under the control of various local militias, many inhabitants were driven out and replaced by poorer rural migrants from neighboring regions.
Many of today’s residents in the historic core work as menial laborers in the rest of the city. At the same time, owners of economic enterprises in the area live in other parts of the city. Daily patterns of life are marked by movements in and out of the historic core, as local residents travel out of the core to work while owners and employees of the different enterprises arrive from surrounding areas, especially from the nearby area of Abu Samra, which in the 1940’s and 1950’s functioned as a summer resort for the inhabitants of Tripoli. For those residents, the end of the day is marked by a counter trip from the old souks, beginning with a short stop in the vegetable market in the Haddadin area, before catching one of the collective taxis home.

The traditional social structure that characterizes the city in general and this area in particular are further reflected in local politics, where institutional capacity building is severely affected by the prevalence of traditional family networks, and incoming populations lack political representation. Attempts by various local notables to secure their power base in the city transforms the provision of services and infrastructure into a privately contested terrain thus transforming municipal authority into an extension of these struggles. Furthermore, this weakness in local institutional capacities has played a critical role in the local “brain drain” to the capital or outside the country. Through a direct system of allocation, administrative positions are subdivided among the local families further marginalizing local talent. Residents of the urban core, primarily rural migrants are further marginalized by the country’s voting system. Required to vote in the area of origin rather than residence, these citizens are easily co-opted in local political maneuvering. According to several of Mukhtars, only 10-15% of those living in their respective neighborhoods are registered in the area (and, therefore, can vote).

In general local attitudes towards tourist activity is quite positive. Seen as an engine for economic regeneration, the rehabilitation and adaptive reuse of various monumental structures around the city was positively perceived by the different stakeholders including the more conservative Islamic movement. The move toward the regeneration of the area through local initiative is evident in the various activities undertaken by different groups, such as those organized by Abdallah Ghandour, VP of the Tripoli Chamber of Commerce (see boxes 3, 4 & 6). More importantly perhaps, these efforts are most perceived in the attitudes of residents, who recognize the economic value of various “traditional” activities and have reverted to trades previously undertaken by their forefathers such as soap making and the selling of spices.

Today, the ancient core can be divided into four parts, each boasting a distinct set of characteristics. Containing more than 4,462 or 12% of the total primary housing units in municipal Tripoli, these areas are distributed clockwise around the citadel that stands above them on the hill (see Map 6 and Table 1).

Box 4: We now have a web site

My family used to work in jewelry. Many still do… A few years ago I decided to go into the soap business and now I have customers from all over the country and the world… My children work with me and I am getting orders from Germany and different countries of Europe and we have now set up a web site. Badr Hassoun, Soap Maker
1. The Haddadin area, a mainly residential area is by far the most densely populated zone in the old city. Comprising primarily of 3- to 4-story historic buildings and 7- to 8-story high-rises along the major arteries, the area is severely dilapidated. Narrow alleyways are punctured with the ruins of historic houses and buildings, whilst many of the high-rises continue to exhibit the bullet and mortar marks of the civil war (see photographs 3-5). Most residents have lived there for decades. In some instances several generations live on the same apartment whilst others were renting out their apartments to incoming migrants from Syria. However the relative prevalence of this phenomenon requires more in-depth surveys. Due to the relative ease of access to the adjacent low- to middle-income quarters of Abu Samra and Bab al-Ramel, whose

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2 According to Central Bureau of Statistics data, al-Haddadin al-Mouhaitra and al-Hadid have a total of 10612 primary residential units, not all of which are included in the old city, preceded only by the quarters of al-Tell and al-Kobbe on the opposite bank of the river.
expansion has not been accompanied by commercial development, Haddadin still functions as the daily marketplace (vegetables, meat, prepared foods, light household utensils etc) for residents and enjoys a good level of commercial activity. More critically it functions as a central node in the daily patterns of visitors to the historic city. Often employees of different sectors in the ancient core commence their evening journey home with a stop at the juncture of the pedestrian souks and the Sheikh Rashid Reda street for food shopping before catching one of the local collective taxis to Abu Samra.

2. Al-Nouri neighborhood, located in the cadastral zones of al-Nouri and al-Rummaneh, is predominantly traditional in character. Structured around the al-Mansouri mosque whose location insures relatively easy vehicular access to al Nijmeh Square, a major transportation node in the city, this section is comprised of 2- to 3-story structures located along either side of the pedestrian souks. Even though visibly commercial, the al-Nouri quarter is also

Box 5: Women rarely work in the center

I have been working here for many years. My father owned this store and it is our only source of livelihood... I learnt how to bake from him. My customers come from all over town. But the main ones live or work here. Women do not work in public places here. It is not well considered. Um Ghassan, Pastry Vendor
characterized by low density residence with around 450 principle housing units, or approximately 2250 inhabitants (10-12% of the total inhabitants of the historic core) (see Table 1). Building occupancy tends to be commercial in character at ground floor level, and residential on the upper floors. The presence of the mosque and the more recently rehabilitated jewelers souk (see relevant case studies) insure a steady flow of Tripolitians from different parts of the city who come to either for the Friday prayers or to shop. The area is also marked by the presence of a large percentage of historic monuments, especially the madrassah surrounding the mosque and is considered as a major node in future tourist itineraries in the city. In addition to the souks, the existing Khans, such as Khan al-Sabun function as primary commercial draws of considerable future significance for tourism related activities.

Of this total area, 682 hectares are part of the Gardens of Tripoli cadastral zone and which is composed mainly of large orchards. This effectively means that historic core forms about 20% of the total built up area of the municipality of Tripoli.

Table 1: Residential Units in the Historic City (Source: CBS, 1996)³

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cadastral Area</th>
<th>Area hectares</th>
<th>No. of Blgds.</th>
<th>No. of Floors</th>
<th>No. of Units</th>
<th>Principle</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Empty</th>
<th>Undetermined</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trablous al-Nouri</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>1240</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trablous al-Remmancen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>1162</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trablous al-Zebrie</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trablous al-Haddadin, al-Hadid, al-Muhairta</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>1461</td>
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<td>1847</td>
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<td>Trablous al-Souaika</td>
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<td>1715</td>
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<td>92</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Historic Core</td>
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<td>1467</td>
<td>3820</td>
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<td>7221</td>
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<td>Total Caza</td>
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<td>81307</td>
<td>46387</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>5581</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>53282</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³ Of this total area, 682 hectares are part of the Gardens of Tripoli cadastral zone and which is composed mainly of large orchards. This effectively means that historic core forms about 20% of the total built up area of the municipality of Tripoli.

3. The Tarbiaa, located primarily in the cadastral zones of al-Zebrie and al-Hadid was traditionally devoted to manufacture, storage and a wide-range of specialized commercial activities such as soap making, clothes, and coppersmiths. This in part explains the relatively large size of properties in this zone. Most structures are one to two stories high except along major arteries towards Kahn al-Askar. Until the 1980’s, the area of al-Zebrie, located to the northwest of Khan al-Askar, was a middle-income confessionally-mixed area with major educational institutions. Profoundly affected by the civil war the area’s social structure and level of facilities were severely downgraded. Moreover, less than half the units in the area are residential resulting in low level population densities of around 235 persons per hectare (see Figure 1). Poor physical access into the

³ The boundaries of the old city do not correspond to the cadastral divisions of the individual neighborhoods whereby for example only part of the Haddadin quarter is considered as part of the historic core. Consequently the figures used for some of these zones were derived by approximating the size of the area included and estimating its percentage share of the total number of units.
area and the absence, in the immediate vicinity, of significant commercial or services needs meant that this area, which lost its initial raison d’être was not able to capture alternative and significant short-range commercial functions. Despite considerable decay, the area remains lightly populated. Activities that need space at low cost such as cheap furniture manufacturing dominate. These facts are clearly visible mainly along the edges of the street of the demolished Souk al-Nahasin; the only path inside the ancient core. The new buildings along the street house various shops that sell clothes and leather products to the local and adjacent populations.
4. The extensions of the Khan al-Askar area, considered part of the cadastral zone of al-Zehrieh, into al-Souaika, located east of the Abu Ali River, historically part of the Mamluk city, was severed from other parts of the ancient core by the transformations of the Abu Ali riverbed. From the Khan al-Askar end, the area acquired additional reclaimed land in the northern sectors when the Abu Ali riverbed was straightened. In the process, this area became the easiest point of access between the opposing parts of the city. Today, it is a very low-density commercial area, whose function as a gateway between the southwestern and northwestern parts of the city dominates its activities. This role was further strengthened by the transformation of a large plot of municipal land into a huge parking lot and node for public transportation. Khan al-Askar itself, continues to be inhabited by populations displaced by the Abu Ali flood in 1955. The reclaimed area and the banks of the river serve as the central market for used clothes and as a parking lot for jitneys. 

Al Souaika, on the other hand, is no longer considered, neither by Tripolitanians themselves nor by most urban planners, as part of the old city. This area lies at the bottom of the Kobbe low-income quarter to the east and at the exit of the Bab al-Tabbaneh quarter that extends northwards. Al Souaika’s network of staircases that provide sole access into its compact urban environment give the area an enchanting picturesque character that belies its densely populated fabric of at least 571 persons per hectare. This fabric consists primarily of severely deteriorated structures that are 4-5 floors high facing the river, which currently functions as a garbage dump and parking spot for the entire city. The historical role of Bab al-Tabbaneh as the main access to and from Akkar have transformed it today into the locus of a wholesale vegetable market for Northern Lebanon. In the process al-Souaika, was transformed into a natural extension of Bab al-Tabbaneh’s commercial function supplying stockists, who use the eastern highway that runs along the riverbanks as a parking and peddling place as well as a point from which to dump heavy garbage into the river. 

The vegetable and used clothes markets located at the periphery of the area along the highway and along the main pedestrian artery entering this zone, provides the major source of livelihood for a large portion of the residents who live in the areas immediately behind al-Souaika to the east, namely Kobbe and Baal Mohsen. Both these neighborhoods are characterized by poor social conditions and are marked by confessional tensions. This tension has also spilled over in part to the vegetable market itself whereby vendors to the interior of al-Souaika complain that the majority of those along the highway are “illegal” and are robbing them of their livelihood. Because of the steep terrain and the effective blockage of the highway along the river, physical access to these areas is quite difficult. 

Today, the historic character and urban conditions of al-Souaika is being threatened by a low-income housing project being constructed by the Ministry of Displaced on the hills of Kobbe. If completed this project will visually overwhelm the area, and raise population densities unbearably. Given the dilapidated state of the area’s infrastructure this project will further strain the city’s capacity to cope with its current populations.
5.4.2 Property and Tenure

Complex property relations outlined at the national level crystallize more clearly in the micro-environment of historic Tripoli. Widespread joint ownership, numerous co-owners, overcrowded tenements, legal caps on rent increases, and tenant protection laws impede rehabilitation and redevelopment potential. Property owners must first buy out co-owners, tenants or other holders of primary and secondary rights before embarking on the valorization of their real estate assets.

Like most other historic cores in Lebanon, land ownership can be subdivided into three general categories: private ownership namely by the older families of Tripoli who lived at one point or the other in its historic core, Waqf ownership or land held in endowment for one of the religious groups, sects or families, and public land, owned by ministries or the municipality. Each of those categories presents a series of challenges and further complicates tenure relations in these historic cores.

Privately owned land is governed by the inheritance laws of different religious denominations. Traditional Tripolitanian families, many of whom lived in the area a few decades earlier, own private property in the historic core of Tripoli. The deterioration of this zone and the lack of investment by owners meant an inactive real estate market, with few properties changing hands. Both national rental laws, which sustain past rental rates, and the functional downgrading of the area have meant little economic development in the area. At the same time, owners have been reluctant to undertake the repair and renovation of properties they have little control over. Consequently, private ownership, considered by many local owners as a “lost cause” (see Box 7), remains within the same families for generations, governed by the inheritance laws of the different religious denominations. In many cases, this has materialized in multiple and fragmented ownership sometimes reaching several hundred for one piece of property. Most of these families do not live on their properties but are renting them out to others.

Waqf property, which often includes residential and commercial structures as well as religious buildings and monuments cannot be bought or sold. However, it can be exchanged and/or developed to the advantage of the community. In Tripoli, waqf property is said to range anywhere between 4-5% to 40-60% of the total area of the historic core, depending on the source of information. What is certain however is that waqf properties are diverse and quite scattered throughout the city especially in the old souks. Furthermore, according to one local historian it is likely that a large portion of their properties are concentrated in the al-Nouri, Mansouri area, where the largest plots of land, that is properties which have not been subjected to fragmentation due to inheritance, prevail. What further complicates waqf ownership in the old city is that smaller religious organizations are said to have taken control over many pieces of waqf religious property.

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Box 7: Collecting rent a hassle

My mother co-owns a 4-bedroom apartment with her siblings. It is rented for LL120,000 ($80) a year. Often it is more of a hassle to collect the rent, than to just leave it be. However, they also own a store that is rented for around LL 3 million ($2,000) a year. The previous amendments to our property laws meant that we were able to get more for our commercial properties. Mrs. Barake, Local Property Owner

Box 8: Tourists in Waqf Property

We do not mind if tourists enter mosques. We also believe that one of the schools could be transformed into a center for documentation and computer. They can also be used as exhibition areas for the history of the city or its handicrafts... We do not mind cooperating over waqf property for the good of the city...

Mufti Saboungi, Sunni Waqf
The process, called *wade yad* (which literally translates into placing an arm), implies taking over the management of the structure to the advantage of the said organization. Some of the property is also said to have been clandestinely sold. Consequently, even though the waqf has indicated a willingness to cooperate, in practice such cooperation might be more difficult to implement.

**Publicly owned land in the historic core of Tripoli is scarce.** According to local sources, the biggest piece of property currently owned by the municipality is the parking lot in al-Souaika, reclaimed during construction work undertaken on the riverbed. In fact the mayors of Muhaitra, al-Souaika and Bab al-Hadid, claimed that the government was actually renting the buildings currently housing its public schools.

In the absence of detailed information, it is impossible to determine the particular constellation of these categories and their eventual impact/relevance to proposed interventions in the area. However, the case of one store located in Souk al-Attarin is emblematic of the complexity of property ownership in this area. Leased by the current users for the last 40 years or so, the store, around 2 meters wide and 6m deep, is split in half between two families; the Najms who own the front half and the Saltis the interior half, the latter being a family waqf. The tenant pays rent on a monthly basis to both families.

*Residential or commercial tenants characterize the bulk (around 80%) of the old city’s social structure, many of whom have been living in the area for the past 30–40 years.* As is evident in the following figure 1, the percentage of residential to non-residential units varies according to the area considered. Moreover, of the total housing units available, 76% are principal housing units suggesting that most of the residents, even if migrants, live permanently in the city. (see figure 2). The rate of rentals between the two varies considerably. Local sources report that the average rent ranges between $14-$50 at most for a residential unit, with the majority of properties in the lower range.
Commercial properties on the other hand rental and thus can range anywhere between $2,000-$12,000 per year (see Box 5). The rental rate also acts as an indicator for the length of stay in the area with most claiming to have lived or worked in the area for at least 30-40 years.

In both cases the prevalence of old rents in the area makes any proposed changes in the country’s rental law a source of imminent danger to an already marginal population.

Preliminary discussions suggest that requests to amend the 1992 property laws and allow building owners to raise rents on the basis of cost of living increases granted to private and public sector workers have been repeatedly made by property owners. Currently, there is a new rental law under discussion in parliament.

For tenants of commercial premises, the situation is slightly different from residents. Despite their dilapidated state and as in residential structures, the lack of investment by owners, commercial tenants in most areas in the old city have access to cheap but income-generating premises. Often, it is possible to distinguish between the physical condition of the ground floors, more or less acceptably maintained, and the upper floors, which are generally poorly equipped and often in ruin. This is particularly evident in Souk al-Sagha and the vegetable market. However, this does not apply to other areas which are severely decayed and in which various economic activities have found themselves simply because of the low rents available.

Tenancy laws have also resulted in stripping landlords of a source of income and a substantial devaluation in the value of their properties. Landlords unanimously wish to see their tenants leave since they hardly get any income from their properties and are obviously uninterested in maintenance. The eventual aim of many, barring complexities resulting from fragmented ownership to inheritance over several generations, is to demolish the existing structure. As in other parts of the country most of these owners would prefer to rebuild using the maximum percent of exploitation allowed, and catering to perceived market niches.

Waqf properties face the same issues. Even though the concentration of decision-making in Waqf management, as opposed to a fragmented and multiple private ownership, enables them to implement decisions more easily, the negotiating position of the waqf is often weaker. The principles of Islamic ideology, which attend to the downtrodden in society, compromise the Waqf’s bargaining position especially vis-à-vis residential tenants. Religious buildings obviously are a different case, keeping in mind as mentioned earlier that some of them have been seized from the Waqf by various religious and political groupings.

5.4.3 Investment dynamics and economic developments

The city of Tripoli sits in the midst of an agricultural plain, its economy directly connected to that of the Akkar region and the Syrian hinterland. Prior to the creation of modern Lebanon in 1919, and the integration of the city into the new nation-state, the city of Tripoli functioned as the economic port of the Syrian hinterland. Neglected by successive governments in the post-independence period, Tripoli’s major contribution to the city’s economy was as the Iraq Petroleum Company terminus, whose pipeline extended from the Kirkuk fields. Even though the pumping of Iraqi crude oil stopped at the beginning of the civil war, the refinery continued to function as a processing center for imported crude oil. However, it was badly damaged during successive conflicts and the site now stands idle.
More recent studies indicate that even though the refinery can be repaired, the financial feasibility of the project is negligible. The other major investment in the city’s infrastructure during the pre-war era, was the Maarad (expo) complex designed by international architect Oscar Neimeyer to host the International Fair of 1962. Considered an icon of international trends in modern architecture, attempts are underway to rehabilitate and reuse the facility. High-density new development is planned for the area immediately adjacent. More recently, the government sponsored the construction of a sports stadium, one of a series constructed around the country on occasion of the 2000 Asian Cup held in Lebanon. The stadium is seldom used.

Recent surveys by the Central Bureau of Statistics and the Tripoli Chamber of Commerce indicate that Tripoli continues to suffer from the lack of any large-scale commercial or industrial investment, and the ad hoc growth of small-scale enterprise of five employees or less, most of which rely on manual labor. The majority of these enterprises are located in the historic core of the city or in the areas immediately surrounding it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cadastral Area</th>
<th>Establishments with less than five workers</th>
<th>Establishments with five or more workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary Sector</td>
<td>Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripoli Al Nouri</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripoli Rummaneh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripoli Al Zehrieh</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripoli Al Haddadin, Al Hadid Al Muhaitra</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripoli Al Souaika</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Historic Core</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Municipality</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Caza</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>2741</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Commercial Units in the Historic City (Source: CBS, 1996)

What is evident from this table is the prevalence of small-scale industries in the historic core (2184 with five employees or less versus 90 with more than five employees). Small commercial stores are prevalent especially in the various souks such as Souk al-Attarin (Epicerie) Souk al-Bazerkan, Souk al-Nahasin etc. However, despite the functional designation of their names none of the souks is exclusively occupied by merchants plying one particular trade. Rather they are dominated by a myriad of shops selling clothes, cosmetics, books, leather goods, children’s toys, food and household products, miscellaneous popular products as well as the more traditional spice and Arabic medicine traders, coppersmiths, and manufacturers of small wooden objects. Industrial enterprises consist mainly of furniture making, a few coppersmiths and shoemakers, a few chicken poultries, and factories, which manufacture Arabic sweets, biscuits, soap, cheese and dairy products.
Commercial patterns in the historic core indicate a high level of functional changes combined with the slow revival of a few traditional handicrafts. On the one hand, traditional industries such as shoemaking were transformed to regular stores selling clothes, books and other popular products. On the other hand, hand-made soap, prepared with olive oil is regaining popularity, partially due to the efforts of the public and private associations, which began selling it as a traditional Lebanese handicraft. In Tripoli efforts to revive its reputation as the center of soap production are underway on an individual and collective level. Other traditional handicrafts that still exist are facing near extinction. For example, trade in spices and Arabic medicine has also grown but very slowly. According to Khaled al-Shahal, who learned the trade from his father, there are four original traders left in the souk who had “inherited” the trade from their families and around four newcomers. The industry, he believes, is fast becoming extinct, even though demand, as evidenced by his customers, continues for this kind of service. As a result, he was unable to find someone trustworthy and who knows the trade to run his other store in al-Maarad area, where he lives.

Other industries or commercial enterprises also have a city- and region-wide market reach. The vegetable and used clothes markets mentioned earlier are the two most important large-scale commercial venues with a city-wide and region-wide market attraction. At the same time, furniture makers many of whom have been around for decades also have a nation wide market, albeit a small one. Many of their customers, especially wholesale vendors are based in Beirut. Moreover, despite incremental changes in the techniques of furniture making to meet “modern” taste and perceived demands, the availability of large spaces at low prices has insured their continued presence in the core.
5.5 Project Overview- Potential for a Participatory Action Plan for the City

5.5.1 Structural and Physical Constraints

The rehabilitation of Tripoli’s urban core, as with other inner cities around the world, is not simply a choice between pure renovation or straightforward restoration for the purposes of tourism. Rather, intervention into such contexts must seek to include local populations, the majority of whom are lower income populations, as an active and integral part of the process of regenerating the urban tissue. As the above case studies indicate, restoration, rehabilitation and development proposals for the city of Tripoli will have to address a variety of physical and structural constraints.

First, the absence of national planning policies and a strategic vision for the country’s cultural heritage sector coupled with the prevalence of a highly centralized system of decision making has negatively impacted local performance. As a result, the fragmented authority that characterizes institutional decision-making in cultural heritage issues at the national level crystallizes even more clearly at the local level. As the rehabilitation of the Jewelers’ Souk in Tripoli demonstrated, no clear voice of authority over procedural and implementation issues exists in Tripoli.

Second, and as the discussion workshops showed, even though there seems to be a collective recognition by most stakeholders of the economic value of cultural heritage preservation and rehabilitation projects for their city, neither a clear vision nor mechanisms for implementation could be outlined. The key coordination issues facing conservation, restoration and tourism development efforts, underlined by the various stakeholders, were administrative. They included questions such as the distribution of roles and tasks between public offices, ministries and departments. Moreover, apparent agreements over tourism related activities do not extend to the details of these activities. As articulated by one stakeholder, “in principle they all agree, but when it comes to implementation, that is where the problems start.” For example, most of the stakeholders believed that the formation of a committee of experts responsible for the planning and implementation of restoration projects was key to resolving some of these problems. However, the manner by which this committee was to achieve its desired objectives remained vague. Therefore while the obstacles facing any urban regeneration policy and the problems plaguing the old city were discussed, a comprehensive modus operandi that would successfully insure the implementation of these projects was not envisioned.

The problems and obstacles outlined by the stakeholders were:

1. The lack of funds.
2. The historic neglect of the old city of Tripoli by all government institutions.
3. The need for a comprehensive plan for preserving the city’s cultural heritage.
4. Difficulties in reclaiming private property, caused by administrative red tape and delays in processing applications. The stringent relationships between the landlord and tenants also hinders the surveys of old buildings.
5. Haphazard restoration.
6. Rundown buildings/decay.
7. Lack in health facilities and schools.
8. Traffic congestion in and around the historic core.
Physically, the problems plaguing the historic city are:

10. The severe state of decay of around 40 residential structures.
11. Deteriorated physical infrastructure reflected in an ineffective sewage system. The historic city’s water and electricity networks also need to be rehabilitated.
12. Inadequate street lighting.
14. Old street pavements.
15. The absence of parking space and landscaping.
16. The inefficiency of garbage collection. This has transformed the river and the streets of the old town into dumping grounds.
17. Location of the vegetable market in the old city. Proposals to relocate outside the city were made.

Third, the property structure of the area and the precarious economic condition of the inhabitants render many residents vulnerable to the new rental law revisions. Current tenants believe that this law has the potential to displace them from their homes and stores. Given the current confusion within the community around what the project entails, this issue could form a particular obstacle to the development of the project. Ownership of any proposed project will therefore have to begin by stabilizing the precarious position of many of the inhabitants by addressing this specific concern.

Fourth, in the absence of incentives and support frameworks, many of the remaining traditional trades are disappearing. With the proper marketing and training, and as the story of the Hassoun family of soap vendors indicates, these trades can be revived for future commercial and economic gain. However, the limited market that such activities can target must be kept in mind.

Fifth, the continued marginalization of local residents in rehabilitation efforts will be detrimental to the project. As the restoration of the Jewelers’ market indicated, while the external facades of the area were renovated, the miserable conditions of residences were not addressed. As a result, the impact of the project on the lives of local inhabitants has been somewhat marginal. More critically, no official mechanisms for local participation are available. Local committees when they exist, are either political in nature or comprise mainly of professionals interested primarily in the physical aspects of rehabilitating the old city. Furthermore, the country’s voting laws, which require individuals to vote in area of registration rather than residence, further marginalize these inhabitants, many of whom are regional migrants. They remain without effective representation making them more vulnerable to any proposed changes in the area.

Finally, even though the subdivision of the historic core into five sub zones with distinct characteristics facilitates the potential, mode and scope of intervention, a clear overview of the needs of the individual communities remains absent. In this respect, a more in depth survey and a series of participatory appraisal workshops over a long period of time would help determine the particular needs of the communities in question, beyond issues of infrastructure. In turn, this would aid in the development of a long-term sustainable development policy with realistic expectations of what is possible and what is impractical.
In this respect, whatever mode of intervention is adopted, it must be noted that the question of overcrowding is critical in these cities. Despite the scarcity of data on housing shortages, national studies indicate an acute shortage in affordable housing, an issue that is critical to the alleviation of poverty. In the absence of a national housing policy, and despite their decrepit conditions, these historic cores have insured the continued sustenance of large sectors of the population.

5.5.2 Project Approach

To tackle these issues the following proposed approach is based on both the overall methodological approach adopted in the report; that is that the regeneration of the urban core must occur by addressing the needs of local residents, and on an analysis and synthesis of the conflicts and aspirations of local stakeholders, and the socioeconomic characteristics of the population in Tripoli itself.

Accordingly it has to integrate four different elements:

1. **Accessibility of the site**: The question of accessibility includes the physical and functional accessibility.

2. **Rehabilitation of the Urban Environment**: Improvement of infrastructure, quality of services and urban/architectural environment.

3. **Community Participation**: Inclusion of local communities in the rehabilitation process.

4. **Institutional Capacity Building**: Improvement in the assets or governance of local institutions. Given the current economic and legislative environment, this aspect will to a large degree depend on the form of intervention adopted.

Each of these goals requires a different mode of intervention. Collectively, they will contribute to a workable strategy for cultural heritage and tourism development that will include poverty alleviation measures.

In what follows, a series of projects will be proposed under these broad headings. These will be presented in two tables; the first of which addresses issues of accessibility and the potential for local capacity building and the second introduces projects, which target the urban environment. In each table the project proposed, stakeholders involved, action required and potential location of project will be presented. In both cases the issue of communal participation is paramount. These are based on the aspirations of local stakeholders as articulated in interviews and discussion forums, as well as the socioeconomic characteristics of the population. Attention was directed to rehabilitating structures most directly related to the regeneration of the urban core, the daily activity of the community as well as to monuments of historic significance. These projects may be implemented as part of a comprehensive intervention into the private domain or as elements of a broader strategy for addressing public needs. In the event that implementation proceeds on a project-by-project basis, a clear process of accountability and responsibility must be created to coordinate between the different stakeholders.

More importantly, the participation of surrounding communities must be made a key component of the different projects. This can occur through their creative integration into the different projects according to type of decision making necessary, resources or labor required.
The boundaries of the old city utilized in this project are those that were redefined in the Med-Rehab congress and which included the zone of al-Souaika on the right banks of the river Abu Ali. The municipality also uses these revised boundaries.

5.5.2.1 Accessibility and Capacity Building

Physical accessibility of the historic city incorporates entrances and exits, and its connections to the rest of the city, as well as modes of arrival to the site and circulation in and around it. Functional accessibility encompasses a listing of permissible functions that can be revived/created on site in keeping with the overall vision for the city. The latter also entails an examination of economic functions that will be eliminated, upgraded or created.

A. Physical Accessibility: Ease of access to the historic core will play a significant role in the success or failure of all proposed projects.

- **Treatment of the Edges:** First priority should be accorded to the Abu Ali river area. Connections between the two banks of the river, upgrading the existing vegetable market and improvement parking facilities will be critical to the amelioration of urban congestion and environmental pollution in this zone. More critically, this site, singled out as a priority by various institutional stakeholders such as Dr. Yakan from the Islamic Movement as well as local residents, will have the necessary communal support for its implementation.

B. Functional Accessibility: The success of such a program will be contingent on the project’s ability to draw inhabitants into the old city. This could be achieved if the following aspects of accessibility are addressed:

- **Symbolic Accessibility:** The neglect of Tripoli’s historic center by the state and which permeates everyday discussions and popular culture must be addressed through the symbolic reinsertion of various governmental functions into the area such as the municipality, the court house or police station.

- **Cultural/Educational Centers:** Local stakeholders can strike an alliance with one of the local universities; the Lebanese University or Balamand, and convince it to move one of its colleges into a rehabilitated structure in the old city. Such a move would not only bring a new population into this area but would generate demand for a series of other activities associated with student needs such as cafes, printing facilities, stationeries, bookshops etc. In addition, a series of cultural activities could be generated around this core, and which also help diversify visitors to the area.

- **Tourist Itineraries:** The creation of tourist itineraries can be used to identify targeted areas of conservation and preservation which will act as critical nodes for the regeneration of activities within Tripoli’s urban fabric. The first proposed itinerary was identified by the UNESCO team in 1998, and approved by local historians and other professionals. It extends from the citadel to Souk al-Attarin to the Grand Mosque to Souk al-Sagha to Hammam al-Nouri, Khan al-Khayyatin and Khan al-Masriyyin. This itinerary may be highlighted with rest points starting with Hammam al-Nouri, a Waqf property, Khan al-Sabun, currently the subject of a Ministerial Decree for expropriation. It could be converted into a handicrafts center, Hamman IzzEddin, a private property which could be turned into a restaurant, as seen by Juan Carlo Barbato (UNESCO).
C. Economic Accessibility: This includes new functions which are to be created and are directly connected to functional accessibility, existing functions which are to be upgraded and old functions which are to be relocated. In this context:

- **Vocational programs** can be initiated in conjunction with local NGO’s to train local populations in artisanal skills Tripoli is well-known for such as furniture making, and handmade soaps etc. Other traditional crafts, which are slowly dying out, such as the spice and Arab medicine, could also be revived.

- **Employment training** can be provided for other sectors not usually catered for such as electrical, plumbing etc. Estimates for local demand can be generated and targeted in each of these sectors. In addition, projection for future demand in sectors not yet accounted for but which will rise as a result of the new activities should also be provided.
• **Upgrading and/or Relocation of Existing Enterprises**: such as the vegetable market or the furniture warehouses in al-Tarbiaa quarter.

• **New Functions** could include cultural and educational facilities not currently available in the rest of the city.

### 5.5.2.2 Rehabilitation of the Urban Environment and Community Participation

The rehabilitation and regeneration of Tripoli’s urban core requires different forms of intervention/action in the physical environment. These include:

1. **Selected environmental improvements**: These include the relocation of polluting industries such as furniture making, to an industrial area outside the old city, the regrouping of specific traditional activities to facilitate deliveries and the creation of public spaces to relieve the density of residential neighborhoods. More specifically, clear regulations and infrastructural work needs to be undertaken in the meat market (Souk al-Lahhamin), the poultry sales area, and the vegetable market. The slaughterhouse itself is already located outside the old city.

2. **The expansion of existing programs** to improve the built environment. These programs, which until now have targeted specific public edifices, must include the consolidation of dilapidated structures, the construction of community facilities such as health clinics, and urban landscaping. More specifically, these should target Haddadin and Souaika, the two predominantly residential areas with the highest percentage of apparent infrastructural and physical dilapidation.

3. **Construction of tourist facilities** such as information centers, bathrooms etc.

4. **Conservation/Preservation Areas**: In this context, four areas of cultural significance were proposed as areas of conservation.

   **The Citadel and its surroundings**: a historic landmark area, which will be enhanced through landscaping and the provision of necessary tourist facilities. A major effort has to go into upgrading the infrastructure, improving the circulation and transportation network, and the provision of tourist facilities in and around the site.

   **The Grand Mosque and its surrounding area**, which includes a high concentration of historic religious schools or madrassas, as well as Hammam al-Nouri and Souk al-Sagha. This area is of religious and cultural significance. If placed on a tourist itinerary, the rehabilitation of the area could become a bargaining chip between the municipality and the Waqfs.

   **Khan al-Khayyatin and Khan al-Masriyyin and their surroundings**. This area is predominantly commercial in character and it provides a unique bazaar experience. As such,
improvements in the infrastructure, circulation and landscaping should be geared towards enhancing the commercial character of this zone. In return for the infrastructural work, the municipality should ensure the existence of rent controlled units for newly created functions as a means to encourage economic investment in the area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Stakeholders</th>
<th>Action Required</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation of Urban Environment</td>
<td>Municipality, Property owners, residents, DGA</td>
<td>Emergency restoration and upgrading</td>
<td>See Municipality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvements to the existing circulation network</td>
<td>MPW, Municipality, DGU</td>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upgrading of physical infrastructure</td>
<td>MPW, Municipality, DGU</td>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>sewage, paving, electricity, water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoning the old city</td>
<td>Municipality, DGA, DGU</td>
<td>Planning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment of the waterfront: Technical Work</td>
<td>MPW, Municipality</td>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>Abu Ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment of the waterfront: Vegetable Market</td>
<td>Municipality, Vegetable vendors</td>
<td>Planning, Infrastructure</td>
<td>River Abu Ali, Bab al-Tabbaneh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selected environmental improvements: Souk al-Lahamin</td>
<td>Municipality, Meat vendors</td>
<td>Planning, Infrastructure</td>
<td>Old City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscaping</td>
<td>Municipality, Local NGOs, Local Community</td>
<td>Identification of needs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Square</td>
<td>Municipality, Local Community, Islamic Waqf</td>
<td>Infrastructure, Landscaping</td>
<td>al-Bortas Mosque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist Facilities</td>
<td>MOT, DGA, Municipality</td>
<td>Documentation, Facilities</td>
<td>see below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preservation/Conservation Areas</td>
<td>Municipality, DGA, DGU, International community</td>
<td>Planning, Rehabilitation</td>
<td>see below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction of community facilities</td>
<td>Municipality, Local Vendors, NGOs, Community Associations</td>
<td>Planning, Infrastructure</td>
<td>To be determined</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.6 Project Impact

The impact of the above mentioned projects can be summed up in the following tables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Social and Economic Impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accessibility of the Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Accessibility</td>
<td>Accessibility: Linking up with the masterplan for Tripoli and the study of Regional Transportation Networks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Treatment of the Edges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functional Accessibility</td>
<td>Symbolic Functions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural/Educational Centers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourist Itineraries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Accessibility</td>
<td>Upgrading of Existing Economic Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relocation of polluting industries and warehouses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vocational Training: Handicrafts, Specialized construction techniques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employment Training</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If implemented, these projects will collectively alleviate current conditions through the following action programs and projects:

- **Improvements to the existing circulation network**, including the creation of parking structures on the city's periphery. These imply a larger, citywide and regional transportation and circulation plan.
- **Upgrading of physical infrastructure** such as solid waste management, water and sewage networks, garbage collection and electrical connections.
- A byproduct of this kind of intervention will be the **improvement in the value of land and assets**.
- **Treatment of the waterfront**. The vegetable market needs to be re-organized, upgraded and improved with clear regulations for use. The river itself needs to be cleaned and its water levels augmented. The surrounding urban fabric needs to be upgraded with necessary rehabilitation and renovation works carried out.
Opening up of new spaces in the Tarbiaa area through the relocation of furniture-making factories and warehouses outside the old city. This zone can be rehabilitated as the cultural core of the city. Currently, and given its unique physical location as the only access point between the Tell and the old city, the area continues to attract a wide range of functions, which have in turn resulted in a new type of centrality. This is one of the major causes for the acute transportation problem the city continues to face.

The upgrading and generation of new activities will help revive the urban core and facilitate its functional re-integration into the city as a whole. Its current role as a regional node and citywide pole for specific activities will be expanded to draw in a wider range of populations and groups.

5.6.1 Pilot Project and Assessment

In this context any one of these projects can serve as a pilot project for a potential stakeholder alliance. Accordingly, each of these projects must consider conditions of implementation, possibility of success and potential impact on existing conditions.

1. **Stakeholder Involved**: Upgrading this zone would by necessity include local inhabitants, the waqf, property owners and tenants, and all other stakeholders in the area.

2. **Social and cultural factors** of significant impact on the ability of stakeholders to participate or benefit from proposed operations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Social and Economic Impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation of Urban Environment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation of 40 dilapidated buildings</td>
<td>Sustain local populations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Improvements to the existing circulation network</td>
<td>Improve urban environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upgrading of physical infrastructure</td>
<td>Improve urban environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoning the old city</td>
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<tr>
<td>Treatment of the waterfront: Technical Work</td>
<td>Improve urban environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment of the waterfront: Vegetable Market</td>
<td>Improve urban environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selected environmental improvements: Souk el Lahamin</td>
<td>Improve urban environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscaping</td>
<td>Improve urban environment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public Square</td>
<td>Improve urban environment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tourist Facilities</td>
<td>Improve urban environment,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>facilitate visitor activity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Preservation/Conservation Areas</td>
<td>Improve urban environment,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>facilitate visitor activity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Construction of community facilities</td>
<td>Target local population needs</td>
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<td>Minor disturbance during infrastructural work</td>
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- **Opening up of new spaces in the Tarbiaa area** through the relocation of furniture-making factories and warehouses outside the old city. This zone can be rehabilitated as the cultural core of the city. Currently, and given its unique physical location as the only access point between the Tell and the old city, the area continues to attract a wide range of functions, which have in turn resulted in a new type of centrality. This is one of the major causes for the acute transportation problem the city continues to face.

- The upgrading and generation of new activities will help revive the urban core and facilitate its functional re-integration into the city as a whole. Its current role as a regional node and citywide pole for specific activities will be expanded to draw in a wider range of populations and groups.
3. **Impact of the project or program on the various stakeholders, including social risks** that might affect the success of the project or program.

4. **Institutional arrangements necessary for participation and project delivery.**

However, the implementation of any pilot project will generate different kinds of impacts, depending on the kind of intervention involved.

*If the overall methodology limits itself to intervention into the public domain,* negative impact will to a large extent be confined to minor disturbances and disruption of daily activities. The consolidation of dilapidated structures and the renovation of large monuments currently occupied by displaced populations such as Khan al-Askar will entail the relocation of a small group of residents.

*If the approach focuses on the revitalization of these areas,* then a variety of other factors amply discussed above would need to be considered. These would entail long-term investment into the area, the course necessary for real sustainable development in these zones.

**In this case, the project's economic impacts should be assessed through three indicators:** employment generation, the mobilization of private resources, and the eventual reintegration of the core into the city.

However, it is predicted that **development will be slow** due to the:

- The multiplicity of actors and legal procedures involved.
- The legal difficulties created by the complex tenure and occupancy patterns.
- The technical difficulties entailed by partial demolition, consolidation and rebuilding of affected spaces, structural shells and facades.

More critically, a positive perception of the project by local stakeholders will be paramount. To quote Mufti Sabounji, “*We are willing to cooperate, but the fundamental problem lies in the seriousness of the endeavor… Many international organizations have visited and many promises were made... all of which have vanished into thin air.*”