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**PROFESSIONAL-PUBLIC INTERACTION
IN THE POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION OF BEIRUT.
THEORETICAL APPROACHES
AND DISSEMINATION OF RELEVANT PRACTICES**

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Abstract. The complex story of Beirut's reconstruction after a 15-year civil war is seen as a paradigm for post-war Ukraine. In the recovery of the capital of Lebanon, collaboration between the public and professional sectors played an important role, acting as an alternative or complement to state and commercial private strategies. In contrast to «Solidere» company commercial approach, marked by "architectural amnesia" and the destruction of historical heritage, both public organizations and professional communities of architects and historians advocate for the preservation of cultural heritage as the basis for national reconciliation.

The emergence of public movements from the level of direct self-organization of the population was complicated by the specifics of Lebanese society - the stability of ethno-confessional identity and the corresponding political mobilization after the civil war. The dynamics of interaction allow traditional elites to penetrate civil society and connect the possibilities of its constructive participation in the reconstruction of the city.

The dominant "top-down" approaches were focused on the physical aspects of reconstruction, and alternative approaches have also gained some development. However, they were conducted in small settlements, because creating a holistic methodology for Beirut was beyond the current capabilities of progressive research teams, and breakthroughs towards an effective humanitarian approach to post-war reconstruction came too late.

Keywords: post-war urban reconstruction, urban development, professional-public interaction, public participation, third sector, cultural heritage, Arab world, ethnic-confessional stratification, archaeology.

Introduction. The scientific achievements related to the restoration and reconstruction of the Lebanese capital are a significant contribution to the field of research devoted to the post-war reconstruction of historical cities. In terms of the volume and comprehensiveness of the issues, this achievement can be compared with the array of studies on the reconstruction of European cities after World War II. Due to the global significance of Beirut, the issues of its reconstruction have gained wide international publicity, and among the publications, the works of foreign researchers or the works of Arab authors carried out in Western scientific centres prevail.

The objective of the publication is, in particular, to search for approaches to further development and improvement, in the perspective of rebuilding Ukrainian cities, of those practices of interaction between professionals and the public that were used in Lebanon when organizing the post-war reconstruction of Beirut.

Analysis of recent research and publications. A general overview of works containing documentary evidence and attempts at historical and architectural research of the post-war

reconstruction allows us to highlight key points around which professional and public interaction was concentrated during this period.

Sociological criticism of the neoliberal path of urban development throughout the entire period of reconstruction accuses the state policy of post-war reconstruction of the failure to implement the declared priorities of post-war reconstruction – the reunification of Beirut and the revival of the city centre (D. Perring) [1].

In parallel, heated discussions on the priorities and methods of preserving historical and cultural heritage unfolded among professional archaeologists with the participation of the cultural community. This discussion drew attention to the ignored heritage of the colonial era and the achievements of modernist architecture (J. Tabet) [2].

Political opposition at the state and municipal levels of government tends to condemn the company's activities for illegal attacks on property rights, as well as for the fact that Solider, in order to make way for the reconstructed centre, demolished more buildings than were destroyed during the war.

The AUB Reconstruction Department (H. Al-Harithy) [3], established after the war, paid the main attention to public participation procedures, expressing an interest in processes that would be more grassroots and in analysing in terms of values of identity, memory and heritage; which should not be forgotten in the rush for urgent reconstruction and under the pressure of commercial interest.

Informed, politically conscious and socially active architects are able to interact positively with residents and public groups, initiating discussions and public action around the assessment of successes and failures, heritage protection and capacity building, the identification of damage and the development of compensation policies, as well as the role of the state and local government.

By subject area, modern studies of the post-war reconstruction of historical cities generally may be divided into the four main groups, including economic concepts of the analysis of restoration projects, then sociological and culturological concepts, and at last concepts related to archaeological activity.

The emergence of a cultural-historical and environmental paradigm in modern urbanism has updated the theoretical justification and practical initiatives for involving urban communities in decision-making regarding urban development. In a natural way, this is the field of theory and practice of public participation [4], [5].

Presentation of the main material. Lebanon is a small but densely populated and extremely picturesque country with a rich history dating back to 3000 BC, a valuable cultural heritage, including outstanding urban planning and architectural monuments of antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Modern Age, with a developed network of international exchanges and a high concentration of educational and cultural and artistic institutions. Until the last quarter of the twentieth century. Beirut was the undisputed financial capital of the Arab world and one of the main tourist centres in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The peculiarities of Lebanon's geography and its deep historical roots contributed to the formation of a society unique in composition, which stands out in the Arab world for its extraordinary religious and ethnic diversity. The Lebanese Republic owed its brilliant economic, cultural and educational development in the period from gaining independence in 1943 to the beginning of the 1970s to the political system of confessionalism, under which state power was organized in accordance with the division of society into religious communities. But it was the crisis of this artificial system in the mid-1970s that was one of the main reasons for the outbreak of the tragic 15-year civil war [6].

The civil war brought about 170,000 deaths to Lebanon, 900,000 emigrated during the fighting, up to two-thirds of the population was displaced, and the country's GDP was halved. Even now, a third of the population remains below the poverty line due to the consequences of the war.

In Beirut, by 1991, more than 60% of the urban fabric and public spaces had been destroyed, and a half-kilometre-wide devastated area ran through the entire centre. The settlement structure of social and ethno-confessional groups was radically changed, major infrastructure components were destroyed, and half of the public schools were closed. The coastline was polluted and changed, and in the former Central Business District only the rubble of destroyed buildings remained.

Key to this consideration is the working concept of public participation and the lineage of its origins. In the life of any city, there are three main participants in socio-economic processes: the local community, represented by local government bodies, investors (enterprises, private companies, entrepreneurs, legal or natural persons, etc.) and the state (mainly in the form of local state authorities). Each of these “players” has its own interests, rights and resources. The state in a modern city disposes of only part of the resources. Moreover, the right to make decisions on issues related to the implementation of specific projects that determine development does not belong to the state at all, but directly to the investor or local authorities, and their competence and rights are protected by law and, accordingly, guaranteed by the state itself.

The concept of public participation arose in the process of developing democracy as a system of public administration. In the architectural and urban planning field, an important reason for the spread of public participation practices was the requirements of progressive ideologists of urban development to take into account the opinion of citizens when making (and later also when developing) design decisions. [7], [8]

Over the century that has passed from the 1st quarter of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century, civil society, with the help of bourgeois revolutions, has been transformed from an idea, a theoretical construct into a social reality. Starting from the middle of the 20th century, ensuring the participation of citizens in the formation of the living environment has become the subject of scientific research and attempts at practical implementation.

Facilitative design developed in the United States as a response to the circumstances and demands of the time. In the middle of the last century, the concept of advocacy planning by Paul Davidoff was born, as well as the ideas and practices of facilitative (participatory) design by Henry Sanoff [9]. In the 1960s and 1970s, Sherry Arnstein created a seven-stage framework for participation that is still relevant today. Practicing landscape architect and sociologist Randolph Hester founded the Department of Environmental Democracy at the Department of Environmental Design at Berkeley, where he implemented one of the largest collaborative design projects – Mulholland Park in Los Angeles.

In 1969, the Environmental Design Research Association (EDRA) was established, an international organization working at the interface of architecture, urban planning and design with psychology and sociology.

Along with the practice of involving non-professionals in the creation of the architectural environment, research on the methods and results of citizen participation in architectural and urban planning design has developed, e.g. works by K. Alexander, N. Waits, C. Nevitt, G. Sanoff, etc. Research by S. Arnstein, R. Graz, P. Davidoff, J. Jacobs, J. Turner, R. Svensson affects the legal aspects and practice of interaction between government, society and the architect in the process of creating the architectural environment, and contains a large amount of empirical material for the development of principles of architectural design.

Public participation is generally viewed as a continuous process of interaction between the institution or organization responsible for making a decision and citizens whose interests may be affected by the direct or indirect consequences of the planned decision, as well as authorities at various levels (state or municipal) competent to control the activity in question. Such interaction includes, at a minimum:

- measures that contribute to the full understanding of the public of the decision-making processes of the responsible agency and the mechanisms for studying emerging environmental and social problems;

- full information to the public about the status and stages of the development (implementation of a project, plan or program, development of a policy or assessment of one of the above), as well as about opportunities for obtaining information, submitting comments and other ways of participation;

- active collection of the opinions of all interested citizens (stakeholders), their perception of the goals and objectives of the project, as well as their preferences for the use of resources, alternative development strategies and any other information regarding the decision made.

Firstly, the principle of public participation implies that the interests of all segments of society should be represented and taken into account in the decision-making process. Secondly, it is about the inclusion of citizens in the discussion and development of political, socio-economic, cultural programs and projects, about local self-government, about influencing decision-making and monitoring their implementation. Public participation is especially important when solving local problems related to, for example, healthcare, the environment, education, etc., which politicians and government officials often approach without detailed information and without feeling the conflict "from within".

Public participation, for example, is at the heart of the Aarhus Convention of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe "On Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-Making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters". [4] This convention, named after the place where it was signed (Aarhus, Denmark, 23–25 June 1998), emphasizes three key aspects of public participation:

- the right to access information
- the right to participate in decision-making and
- the right to access justice (including through non-judicial mechanisms).

Two main components can be identified that define the meaning of the concept of public participation or participation. Firstly, participation as such is the participation of the population, of course, in interaction with specialists from various fields and with representatives of the authorities, in the development and adoption of project and management decisions [9]. Secondly, participation in the vast majority of cases is associated with establishing and maintaining a balance of interests of active (interested) parties. Specifically, in relation to urban development, the balance of interests is a compromise between the parties achieved in the course of making decisions on preserving the urban environment and/or introducing changes to the environment that in one way or another affect the interests of many individuals and social groups.

Public participation in resolving urban development issues is implemented in a number of procedures, among which the most widespread and stable are the conclusion of agreements of intent, holding public hearings, non-legal advocacy, protective, alternative and arbitration planning, public commissions for supervising the implementation of decisions, public relations activities, game modelling of development, public investigations of completed projects, promotion of community architecture [10], [11]. Each type of public participation procedure has its own specific purpose in relation, in particular, to the stages of project deployment and/or investment programs.

This dynamic of mutual reinforcement allows traditional elites to infiltrate civil society, block or co-opt its organizations, and extend their client networks to these organizations, thus limiting their ability to participate constructively in the reconstruction of the city. Otherwise, third sector organizations themselves would have to lead efforts to establish inter-confessional connections and ways of political mobilization, including challenging the sectarian system. The analysis of this phenomenon is devoted, in particular, to the article by Yanina Clark and Bassel Salloukh with the

telling title “Elite Strategies, Civil Society, and Sectarian Identity in Post-War Lebanon” [12], which analyses from a sociological perspective the reasons for the “stickiness” and influence of historically constructed ethnic and confessional identities in Lebanese civil society.

The dominant top-down approaches were, according to the logic of the ruling developers, focused mainly on the physical aspects of reconstruction. Nevertheless, alternative holistic approaches have also developed, which to some extent take into account the complexity of socio-economic, cultural and organizational issues related to the formation of the anthropogenic environment. In particular, one can note the studies conducted on the material of settlements in Lebanon destroyed during the civil war. Another thing is that such studies have been conducted mainly on the material of small settlements. Developing the same holistic methodology for the vast Beirut was clearly far beyond the capabilities of these research teams.

For example, the authors of a detailed analysis of the Lebanese settlement al-Burjain [13] attempted to form an idea of the socio-cultural conditions of the communities before the disaster and of the specific situations that arose after the war destruction. This analysis aimed to understand the living conditions of the people, their needs and perceptions of the reconstruction of the village and derived a set of principles, both specific and general, that should be guided in the process of rebuilding this particular settlement. The reconnaissance was based on field research using a qualitative approach that provides flexibility and responds to the practical conditions of this field of research. The chosen methodology allowed for dynamic discussions with the studied community and a better understanding of the local conditions. The development approach proposed for reconstruction represents principles and good practices suitable for the reconstruction of settlements in Lebanon in particular and in similar reconstruction contexts in general. Unfortunately, this and similar breakthroughs towards a holistic humanitarian approach to post-war reconstruction in relation to the reconstruction of the capital came too late.

Towards the end of this presentation, it should be emphasized that along with professional analytics, it would be natural to expect certain forms of criticism, without the organizational and educational role of which it is difficult to imagine any manifestations of participation. Critical thought was deeply affected by the tragic events and consequences of the war and significantly influenced the creation of an atmosphere of intense intellectual search around the problems of reconstruction. This activity was formed throughout the post-war decade and captivated not only Lebanese architects and researchers, but also intellectuals from many countries of the world.

Professor Sarah Makdisi from the University of California at Los Angeles, an American literary scholar of Palestinian and Lebanese origin [14], published her “critical investigation” entitled “Claim for Beirut: Urban Narrative and Spatial Identity in the Era of Solider” back in 1997, less than three years after the formation of the Solider company. It can serve as a true reflection of the hopes placed at that time on the projects for the reconstruction of Beirut. Makdisi records that the core of the centre of Beirut has turned into a wasteland, and on thousands of square meters near Martyrs' Square, few remnants of historical buildings remain, and several adjacent areas consist of a mosaic of buildings intended for restoration and bare places where buildings or market complexes once stood, the ruins of which have been bulldozed. The author then writes that “a bold new reconstruction project has been launched, which, under the auspices of a single company (‘Solidere’), promises to bring new life to the city center” and cites the company’s slogan: “Beirut – An Ancient City for the Future” [14]. S. Makdisi’s “Critical Investigation” thus demonstrates complete confidence in the official reconstruction program of the time.

Already in the first decade of the large-scale activity of Solider, it became increasingly clear to historically, culturally and socio-politically oriented critics that the technocratic victory over the consequences practically does not affect the deep causes of the destructive internal Lebanese confrontation. This approach is demonstrated, for example, by Leila Fawaz and Samir Khalaf. Their

“Civil and Non-Civil Violence in Lebanon: A History of Intercommunal Conflict” [15] is an attempt to find a way out of the civilizational crisis that Lebanon and its capital are going through, delving into the roots of complex and ancient civil, ethno-confessional and territorial conflicts in Lebanese society, which, according to their reflection, were provoked by centuries of not only internal divisions, but, at least to the same extent, by the confrontation of neighbours and great powers whose interests intersected in the lands of the Levant.

Samir Khalaf is a Lebanese sociologist originally from Beirut, a professor at AUB at Columbia University in New York, and has written extensively about the Arab world and Lebanon in particular; in 2020, his book “The Heart of Beirut” was [16] included in the top ten books on Lebanon. His co-author, Leila Fawaz, is a Lebanese historian, professor at Tufts University in Boston, and founding director of the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies there.

According to the authors, Lebanon’s national image has been associated with three sets of irreconcilable phenomena for most of its political history: protracted and repressed hostility, the resurgence of communal solidarity, and insurmountable dependence, and often subordination, to external patronage or foreign intervention. By examining the persistence of these three fundamental elements, one can better understand the destabilizing effects of the interaction between internal divisions and external dislocations and, as a result, the changing shape and magnitude of collective confrontations. Internal divisions are usually a by-product of deep cultural divisions inherent in rigid communal, confessional, and other primordial segmentary allegiances. Added to these are the unevenness of socio-economic and cultural changes and transformations, which have always had a contradictory impact on the relative position of individual communities.

External sources are also controversial, influencing and divisive in at least three ways. First, in previous and more recent episodes of collective strife, as the country became increasingly embroiled in great-power rivalry, it was impossible to shield itself from the destabilizing effects of such struggles. Disadvantaged and marginalized groups, victims of internal socio-economic inequality or political neglect, sought external protection and patronage, while foreign states, seeking to penetrate the region, were always willing to jump into the fray. Such intervention almost always increased the polarization of factions and deepened the sources of hostility, and Lebanon has repeatedly become the object and victim of this “inside-outside” dialectic.

Even more complex and multidimensional examples of critical analysis are demonstrated by the next generation of critics who entered the arena of public interaction at the turn of the 2010s. This multidirectional element of humanitarian criticism has such a relationship to the architectural and urban issues under study that the spatial aspect is inherent in all the critical investigations mentioned.

For example, Dr. Craig Larkin, Director of the Centre for the Study of Divided Societies (CSDS) at King’s College London, in his essay “Transforming Beirut: The Confrontation of Memory, Space and the Urban Imagination of Lebanese Youth” [17] analyses the centuries-old endless capacity of Beirut’s urban space for reinterpretation and transformation as a result of migration, conquest, trade and internal conflicts. Larkin focuses on the last three decades – the violent self-destruction of the city centre, its commercial revival, and, at the turn of the 2000s and 2010s, the national contestations, when opposition political forces sought to mobilize mass demonstrations and occupy strategic space. Larkin focuses his analysis on how post-war youth remember, imagine, and spatially encounter their city. This approach could be called a kind of sociological urban semiotics, as the author traces how the rebuilt urban landscape of Beirut, with its remnants of war, places of displacement, and transformed neighbourhoods, on the one hand influences identity, social interaction, and perceptions of the past, and on the other – how it informs them.

Drawing on an analysis of the social construction of perceived, meaningful, and experienced space in the tradition of Henri Lefebvre and exploring the inherent tensions in postwar youth's encounters with history, memory, and heritage, Larkin presents a dynamic and complex urban imagination of Beirut. The spatial-temporal continuum of urbanity explored highlights key sites (namely the business centre, the rebuilt Solider and important temporal moments such as the 2006 Intifada of Independence) and reveals three recurring tensions evident in the engagement of Lebanese youth with their city: dislocation and liberation, spectacle and participant, pluralism and rupture. Craig Larkin aims to encourage a wider discussion about the nature of post-war reconstruction and the construction of a restored public space against the backdrop of global consumerism and heritage conservation campaigns. Also characteristic of this line of socio-cultural critical analysis is the work of Dr. Sarah Fregonese from the University of Birmingham in England, a researcher in political geography with experience in the study of the Middle East. Her findings concern the connections between geopolitics, security and urban space, as well as how geopolitical situations and events, primarily armed conflicts, affect on the everyday life of cities, their anthropogenic environment and inhabitants.

The result of her penetration into the problems of the region from various sides was the books "Vacations in the Danger Zone. The Intertwining of War and Tourism" (2018), "War and the City. Urban Geopolitics in Lebanon" (2019) and "Demarcation in the Hearts: Everyday Urban Borders in Beirut" (2019), numerous articles and essays, the publication of thematic collections, the organization of public discussions, etc. In her texts and speeches, the issues of Lebanese wars and reconstructions are considered, as in L. Fawaz and S. Khalaf, in a broad, at least interregional, scale of the turbulent modern world.

In the 2012 essay "Urban Geopolitics in 8 Years. Hybrid Sovereignties, Everyday Life and the Geography of Peace" [18] Fregonese connects geopolitical and urban issues. She critically considers how urban events such as 9/11 and the Arab Spring have shaped the first two decades of a century in which the majority of the world's population will live in cities. This essay examines current and potential future debates about the relationship between cities and geopolitics, particularly urban geopolitics.

The content of this analysis is clearly closely related to those observed in the war and post-war events in Beirut. In particular, the emphasis is placed on three relationships: between the city and sovereignty; between official and everyday urban practices; and between violent and peaceful geographies. The analyst points to three directions in which the topic of geopolitics and the city could potentially be actualized. The first path leads to an assessment of the complex relations between the state and the non-state (a clear allusion to the relations between the state and the Solider project in post-war Beirut), which are becoming increasingly relevant and visible today. The second concerns the geography of the everyday, the unofficial, the unplanned. The third marks the possibility of a positive perspective, because it concerns the urban geopolitics of peace, rather than focusing only on war and its avoidance.

Conclusions. After the cessation of hostilities, the activities of the authorities and businesses in the restoration and modernization of the urban environment of Beirut have become widespread and systematic. In parallel, various forms of public participation have emerged - the activities of universities, third sector organizations, etc., as a reaction of the social element to the actions of the state and municipal bodies. The initiation of interaction "from the top down" prevails. At the same time, taking into account the spontaneous component and approaches to institutionalizing public participation in the processes of urban renewal and development are equally important. The starting point for the scientific reconstruction of the moments, processes and environment of the formation

of public participation is the fixation of the presence of institutional frameworks and mechanisms for involving professionals and the public in co-participation in reconstruction work.

After the cessation of hostilities, the activities of government bodies and businesses in restoring the urban fabric and, more broadly, normalizing and modernizing the subject-spatial environment – acquire a wide scale and systematic nature. In parallel, various forms of public participation appear, the sources of which are primarily the activity of university communities and third sector organizations. Outwardly, this mostly looked like a kind of social element, as if the “natural” emergence of public formations, although it was more likely a reaction to the targeted actions of state and municipal bodies, that is, in interaction with the public, “top-down” initiation prevailed.

The opposite possibility of the emergence of public movements in favour of reconstruction from the level of direct self-organization of the urban population (the “grass roots level”, in American terminology), was complicated by the specific conditions of Lebanese public life. This is about the persistence of ethno-confessional (“sectarian”) identity and the corresponding methods of political mobilization in Lebanon after the civil war. Research demonstrates a specific connection between sectarian elites and civil society figures: on the one hand, reactionary elites pursue their political and socio-economic interests, using civil society organizations close to them; on the other hand, prominent civil society figures instrumentalize the features of the Lebanese “confessionalist” political system and its structural resources to achieve their own advantages – organizational or even personal.

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**ПРОФЕСІЙНО - ГРОМАДСЬКА ВЗАЄМОДІЯ
У ПІСЛЯВОЄННІЙ РЕКОНСТРУКЦІЇ БЕЙРУТУ.
ТЕОРЕТИЧНІ ПІДХОДИ ПОШИРЕННЯ КРАЩИХ ПРАКТИК.**

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Анотація. Складна історія відбудови Бейрута після 15-річної громадянської війни розглядається як парадигма для післявоєнної України. У відновленні столиці Лівану важливу роль відіграла співпраця між державним та професійним секторами, виступаючи як альтернатива або доповнення до державних та комерційних приватних стратегій. На відміну від підходу компанії «Solidere», відзначеного «архітектурною амнезією» та руйнуванням історичної спадщини, недержавні організації та професійні спільноти архітекторів та істориків виступали за збереження культурної спадщини як основи національного примирення.

Виникнення громадських рухів на рівні безпосередньої самоорганізації населення ускладнювалося специфікою ліванського суспільства – стабільністю етноконфесійної ідентичності та відповідною політичною мобілізацією після громадянської війни. Динаміка

взаємодії дозволяє традиційним елітам проникати у громадянське суспільство та пов'язувати можливості його конструктивної участі у реконструкції міста.

Домінуючі «низхідні» підходи були зосереджені на фізичних аспектах реконструкції, проте альтернативні підходи також набули деякого розвитку. Проте дослідження проводилися у невеликих населених пунктах, оскільки створення цілісної методології для Бейрута виходило за межі можливостей тодішніх дослідницьких груп, а прориви у напрямі ефективного гуманітарного підходу до повоєнного відновлення відбулися надто пізно.

Ключові слова: повоєнна міська відбудова, міський розвиток, взаємодія професіоналів та громадськості, участь громадськості, третій сектор, культурна спадщина, арабський світ, етноконфесійна стратифікація, археологія.

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