

Chapter Six

Marginal Landscapes, Marginalized Rural Communities: Sustainable Post-War Recovery in Southern Lebanon

Jala Makhzoumi¹

Rural peripheries, whether in the northern plains of 'Akkar, in the Beqa', or in Southern Lebanon, were left out of economic growth and modernization during the 1950s and 60s. The nation-state model adopted following independence from France in 1943 did not achieve the climate of stability and development aspired to, nor did it provide the milieu that would close the ranks in order to bolster national unity (Kiwan, 2004). The Lebanese economy at the time, as indeed during subsequent decades, continued to revolve around the commercial and financial role of the capital city, Beirut. During the early years of independence, development of economic and service infrastructures favoured the capital 'while there was near total neglect of other regions in Lebanon' (Kiwan, 2004, p. 54). Beirut became an important transport, trade and finance hub, not only for the Lebanese state but also throughout the entire Arab Middle East. Communities in rural peripheries were left behind the dazzling growth, marginalized by the state. Lebanon became a

land of high social contrasts between levels of resources, modes of consumption and ways of life that are similar to those of privileged strata in advanced societies, and levels of deprivation and lack of opportunities that are similar to those of underprivileged strata in the poorer societies. (Nasr, 2003 p. 153)

Social and economic contrasts between an urbanized centre and rural peripheries were further amplified during the civil war (1975–1990) and in Southern Lebanon throughout the Israeli occupation (1978–2000). Human suffering and environmental degradation began to be addressed throughout the post-occupation recovery phase when the July 2006 war broke out.

This chapter's central premise is that sustainable recovery narratives in rural Lebanon should be developmental in aim, long-term in scope and that they should necessarily address the basic needs of healthy, decent living. Post-2006 reconstruction in rural Southern Lebanon needed to recognize the exceptional natural and cultural wealth of the marginal Mediterranean landscape, and to capitalize on the ecological and environmental assets as much as on shared village identity and a prevailing pride in rural heritage. A landscape approach, the chapter argues, provides a dynamic framework that humanizes recovery by integrating tangible, physical reconstruction, and intangible community needs. Pairing environment and people, landscape designers expand the recovery discourse temporally and spatially beyond the built fabric of villages to embrace environmental, socio-economic and cultural developmental objectives.

The scale of destruction and the fact that the 2006 war was fought in villages, fields and orchards encourages the application of a landscape approach. Al-Qleileh, one of four villages in Southern Lebanon targeted by the Reconstruction Unit at AUB (RU), serves as a case study. As a member of the RU,² I volunteered my professional expertise towards recovery in al-Qleileh, initially as a practicing landscape architect and subsequently an academic, continuing my involvement through an academic landscape design studio exercise undertaken by a third year ecological landscape design studio. This chapter discusses the landscape approach to post-war recovery, reflecting on the methodological framework applied and the recovery narratives proposed, following through their implementation, or lack thereof.

Conceptual Framework

'Landscape' implies at once a tangible product (a region, a village and its constituent components, woodland, orchards and fields) and intangible process (everyday practices and shared cultural values in a specific place over time). And although the concept of landscape is related to and overlaps with 'place', 'environment' and 'region', it is not identical to any of them.³ Bridging the social sciences and sciences appropriated by artists and valued by all, the concept of 'landscape' acquires a discursive elasticity that allows it to expand temporally, to include past, present and extend into the future; spatially,



Figure 6.1. Schematic representation 'landscape' as a dynamic concept, continuous in time, contiguous in space and embracing the specificities of 'place'.

to embrace the continuity from local to region; and programmatically to include people and place in post-war recovery (figure 6.1). I will argue that the expansive and dynamic conception of landscape serves a dual capacity: investigative and applied (Makhzoumi *et al.*, 2010). As an open-ended, investigative framework, landscape frames rural culture, unfolds local perception and decodes traditional valuation of place. As an expansive, spatial framework landscape becomes a medium for configuring multifaceted, humanized recovery narratives (*Ibid.*).

The expanded conception of landscape enables in-depth understanding of rural landscapes, provides insight into rural culture, and helps in overcoming the externality of the researcher/designer. On the one hand, the modern, objectivist and abstract space is humanized and imbued with meaning from day-to-day living and past references. On the other hand, the idea that people and settings co-evolve as they adapt to changing social, economic and political contexts, is enabling of narratives that initiate 'processes' for betterment rather than outcomes that are 'product'-oriented. And because landscape is context-specific, it is better equipped to frame the needs and preferences of traditional rural communities. Tilley (2006) distinguishes between Western, capitalist 'spaces' and non-Western, pre-capitalist 'spaces', arguing that a contemporary

view of landscape as a neutral backdrop to activity is irrelevant in small-scale non-Western societies, where place is a medium for action, intention and meaningful concern. Significance and meaning, whether in constructed landscapes (villages, terraced agriculture), managed ones (woodlands and degraded scrubland), or conceptual ones (identity and meaning) are located in and/or reflect tangible spaces and valued through shared traditional practices. Designating a place as 'home', 'hometown' or 'homeland', binds the identity of the individual and group to place at multiple scales (Adams *et al.*, 2001).

Pairing people and place, intangible values and a tangible environment, a landscape approach expands the post-war recovery agenda and is more likely to expand and diversify recovery objectives. Just as significantly, a landscape approach contextualizes recovery narratives, thereby responding to the specificity of place and culture in rural Southern Lebanon (Makhzoumi, 2009a). Finally, landscape narratives are more likely to recognize Lebanon's Mediterranean rural landscape heritage in rural peripheries in the south as elsewhere in Lebanon as a basis for sustainable, community inclusive development.

Post-Occupation, Post-War Southern Lebanon

Adverse political and economic conditions in Southern Lebanon predate the civil war (1975–1990), Israeli occupation (1978–2000) and the war in July 2006.⁴ Poverty and marginalization in Southern Lebanon resulted in part from the demarcation of the international borders between French-controlled Lebanon and British-controlled Palestine in the 1930s, which effectively disrupted vital historical trade networks linking the rural Lebanese South and the coastal cities of Northern Palestine (Jaber, 1999).

As the southern extremity of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountain chains, landform is shaped by a succession of hills, plateaus and ravines with altitudes varying between 200 and 800 metres above sea level. The inland landscape is generally composed of degraded scrubland, with rain-fed tobacco agriculture, cereals and olive, and dispersed towns and villages located along the peaks. In contrast, the Mediterranean aspect boasts a wide coastal plain, irrigated citrus and banana agriculture and the two coastal cities, Sidon and Tyre. A predominantly Shiite majority inhabit the region, forming the largest single group in 1975 (Achcar and Warschawski, 2006). Overpopulation, a subsistence rural economy, feudal domination and political instability forced local communities to seek work opportunities outside the region, in the capital Beirut⁵ and abroad, mainly in Africa.

Living Conditions Index, housing, water and sanitation, education and

household income in the south are among the lowest in Lebanon.⁶ Unlike other regions, however, 'the South presents two additional constraints: under-development, and the presence of military conflict that has affected its physical and human resource base for more than 30 years' (UNDP, 2000). The repercussions of sustained civil conflict (1975–1990) and Israeli occupation (1978–2000) have left the region in abject poverty. Politically and economically marginalized and suffering the hardship of rural existence, the Shiites of Southern Lebanon turned to religious grassroots movements that were a means of addressing 'poverty' and 'injustice'. The movement of the 'deprived' or *mahrumin* led by Imam Mousa al-Sadr in the early 1970s morphed into the political, and eventually the military movement of the 'disempowered', *mustad'afin*, of Hezbollah in the 1980s.⁷ Confessional solidarity was also reinforced by 'the rural bias in the Lebanese political system' and

the fact that certain large communities identify closely with their geographic and historical origins, be they a region of mountains or peripheral areas, and they desire to associate the main elements of their political representation with these origins. (Beydoun, 2004, p. 85)

Human, socio-economic and environmental conditions following the Israeli withdrawal in 2000 were barely being addressed when the July 2006 war erupted. The extent and severity of the bombardment during the 33-day war were unprecedented in the southern suburbs of the capital Beirut and the south, which endured the brunt of the attacks. A quarter of the Lebanese population was displaced (United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees, 2006). In the south, 89,442 dwelling units were destroyed and village cores demolished, as well as schools, hospitals public and private structures. Just as damaging was the destruction to orchards, agricultural crops and livestock which undermined a predominantly subsistence economy and vulnerable rural livelihoods. Estimates of unemployment in Southern Lebanon rose from 9–11 per cent prior to the war to around 20 per cent as a result of direct and indirect losses sustained (Yammine, 2007).

More specific to the South, damage to the rural economy post-2006 was threefold (FAO, 2006): direct economic loss through the destruction of crops, livestock and equipment resulting from bombing and subsequent abandonment because of the forced exodus of the families;⁸ indirect losses in terms of market and labour opportunities which caused a downward spiral of debt and poverty for farmers leaving many heavily indebted as they usually repay their debts during the harvest period (May–October) to secure credit for the following planting/production season; and indirect loss due to hundreds of thousands of unexploded ordinances (UXO), mostly cluster bombs, that rendered large areas in Southern Lebanon (fields, orchards and pastoral

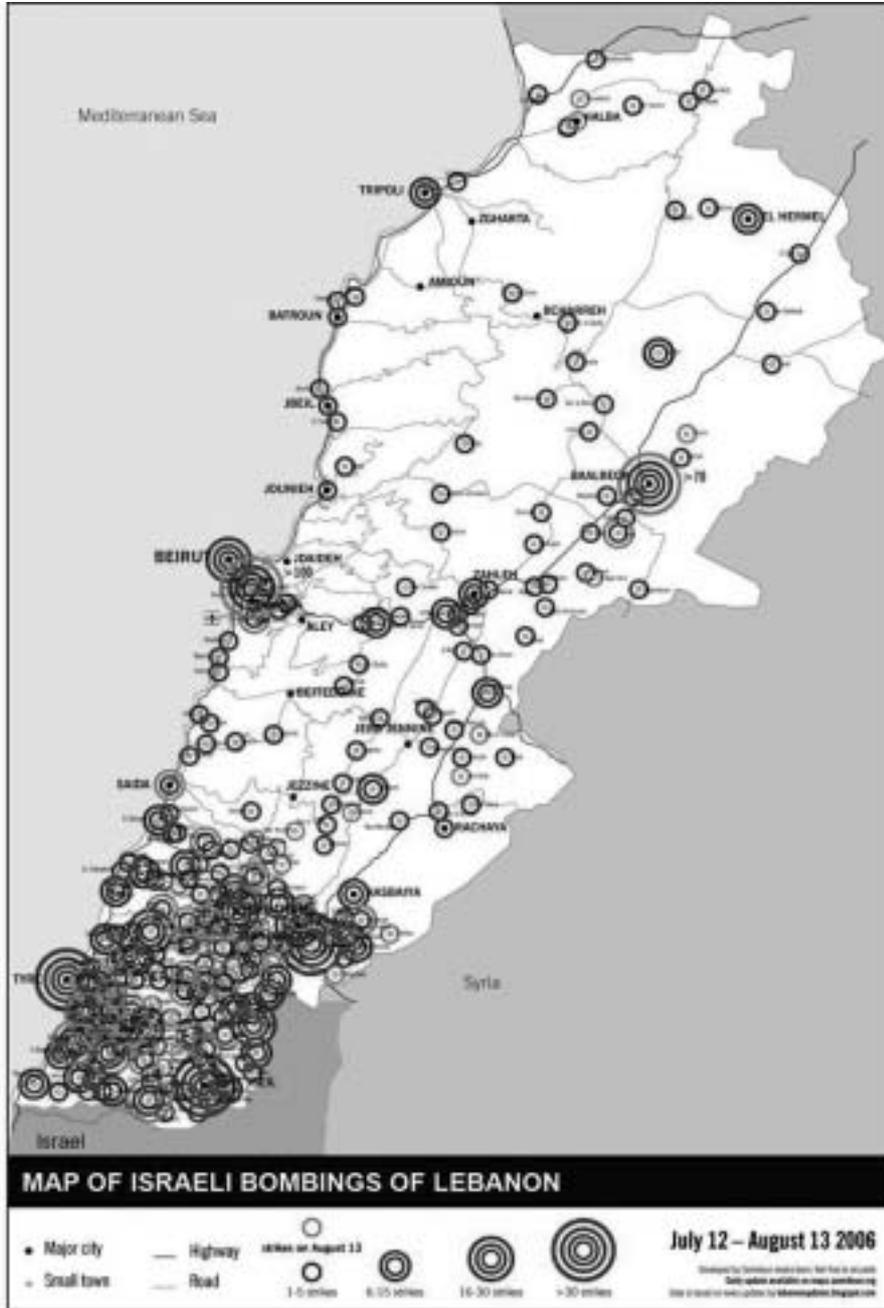


Figure 6.2. Map of Israeli bombing of Lebanon 12 July to 13 August 2006. (Source: <http://samidoun.blogspot.com/>)

lands) inaccessible. During the first weeks of the Israeli aerial and ground assault, 3,000 bombs, rockets and artillery rounds were released daily, rising

to 6,000 per day towards the end of the war (figure 6.2). The danger of UXO is not new to Southern Lebanon; they had topped reconstruction objectives post-Israeli withdrawal. In the four years following the end of Israeli occupation, UXO were estimated to have inflicted a yearly loss to farmers of half a million dollars annually (Yammine, 2007, p. 16).

Meanwhile, the discourse of post-war reconstruction was changing. Evidence from post-disaster and post-conflict areas around the world manifested the failures of international aid in terms of preoccupation with immediate consequences and the bias towards physical reconstruction at the expense of less tangible, human, social and economic objectives (Barakat, 2005; Hyland and Bennett, 2005). Post-disaster, post-war recovery in rural areas suffered further due to the externality of volunteers. Their education, lifestyles and values were far removed from those of the rural communities they served. The vulnerability of communities in the aftermath of war and the urgency of the post-war condition intentionally or inadvertently imposes the outsider's values and priorities. In the process, local needs are sidestepped and post-war communities fashioned into passive 'receivers' of 'deliverables'. As a result, there is a growing awareness that the discourse on post-conflict reconstruction should be broadened beyond shelter recovery. Oliver-Smith (2005) argues that prioritizing reconstruction of the built environment is partly because that physical damage is 'visible', and reconstruction output tangible. As a result, funding for building is given precedence over community capacity-building and investment in betterment of living conditions. Despite the global shift in approach, post-2006 recovery in Southern Lebanon continued to prioritize building. Disregarding poverty alleviation and social inequality in the peripheries breeds political discontent and nurtures political extremism, which in turn undermines sustainable long-term recovery. Economic instability in rural Lebanon, equally in the southern and northern peripheries, invariably becomes an obstacle to long-term political stability and reconciliation of nationally endemic sectarian strife. Even before the 2006 war, post-occupation surveys of social and economic conditions stressed 'the urgent need for a multi-axis intervention plan for development in the south' and the necessity of setting up short-and long-term strategies for a comprehensive development framework that addresses household needs and economic and environmental repair (UNDP, 2000).

Multi-objective development as such should guide recovery and serve as a framework for 'mitigating economic hardships and reintegrating the society across ethnic, racial, religious, and other divisions' (Jeong, 2005, p. 124). Conceptualized as a developmental challenge, reconstruction post-2006 becomes the first step in long-term recovery that

entails economic, social and psychological readjustment, that is, the full range of integrated activities and processes that have to be initiated in order to reactivate the development process that has been disrupted by the conflict. (Royal Geographical Society, 2003, p. 5)

Al-Qleileh Case Study

Al-Qleileh is one of several villages south of Tyre that straddles the verdant coast and the dry inland foothills (figure 6.3). The wide coastal plain, extensively cultivated with banana and citrus plantations, rises gently to form hilly peaks covered by Mediterranean *maquis* scrubland. Village cadastral area, 1,182 hectares, is roughly divided into privately owned orchards in the coastal plain and communally owned land and dry water courses inland. Agriculture is the main source of livelihood in the village, supported to a lesser extent by fishing. Village houses cluster along the main road that rises to 100 metres at the Maqam Nabi 'Umran, a shrine attributed to the father of the Mary, the Virgin mother. Disregard for traditional building typologies and *ad hoc* construction during Israeli occupation came to undermine the traditional village setting. The school, a large complex built in 2002, dominates the village skyline. The contrast in physical setting between coastal and inland landscapes is embodied by the dual existence of the village inhabitants: farmers in times of peace, resistance fighters in times of war.



Figure 6.3. View of the coastline and looking towards Sur. Citrus and banana orchards fill the plain, al-Qleileh village occupies the low foothills (below horizon line to the right).

Al-Qleileh sustained heavy loss of life and property for resisting the Israeli onslaught in July 2006. Extensive bombing gutted the village built-up core and destroyed a total of 246 houses and partially damaged another ninety-nine (figure 6.4). When the fighting came to end in early August, 40 per cent of the village's 5,500 inhabitants were rendered homeless.⁹ I first visited al-Qleileh in early September 2006, three weeks after the ceasefire.¹⁰ Able bodied men were working in the rubble, separating steel from masonry and clearing away the debris to claim compensation for reconstruction. Women and children, who had evacuated during the war, salvaged their possessions. Families shared accommodation pending financial compensation to rebuild their homes. Children were confined to the village, denied access to orchards and fields for fear of cluster bombs that littered village surroundings. Just as significantly, agricultural livelihoods were disrupted and that year's crop destroyed.



Figure 6.4. Sustained damage to al-Qleileh village core reduced dwelling units to rubble (top) the gap remaining after clearing the rubble (bottom). (Source: Rabih Shibli)

As a member of the RU team, I was eager to volunteer my professional expertise as a landscape architect and to apply a landscape approach to post-war recovery in al-Qleileh. My initial objective was practical: how to provide public gathering spaces for the community to congregate pending the clearing of cluster bombs from the village open landscapes. Meeting this objective, I was faced with two challenges. The first was the absence of public land that could serve the purpose. Even if public land was available in al-Qleileh, was the conventional concept of public space, for example, municipal parks and public gardens, appropriate in a traditional village setting? The previous experience of village municipalities in Southern Lebanon attempting to establish village parks as a means of modernizing the traditional village setting proved unsuccessful (Makhzoumi, 2004). The second challenge was integral to the meaning of the community landscape in a Lebanese village, which in turn led to questioning whether reconstruction should focus on the village's built-up fabric, which indeed was the approach of outsiders, i.e. design professionals. Was reconstructing the gutted village core a priority for the local community? If not, then what were their concerns? What were their aspirations and how was a designer, an outsider, to access them?

I explored answers to these questions through weekly site visits to the village (September to the end of October 2006), where I applied the methodology of ecological landscape design to secure an in-depth assessment of the village's physical setting and equally to understand post-war socio-cultural dynamics in the village. Engaging with local community representatives, I gained insight into their aspirations and their expectations of post-war reconstruction. Slowly, I managed to construct a reading of the physical and socio-cultural landscape at al-Qleileh. The in-depth landscape reading subsequently served as a framework for writing post-war recovery narratives through a landscape design studio project.¹¹ I will present both in sequence: first, my reading of post war al-Qleileh, and then the recovery narratives proposed in the landscape design studio project co-taught with Rabih Shibli. I will conclude by reflecting on the landscape approach, its potential and its shortcomings (Makhzoumi, 2009a; Makhzoumi and Shibli, 2007).

Reading the Post-War Landscape

Applying the methodology of ecological landscape design (Makhzoumi and Pungetti, 1999) was the first step to developing a spatially expansive reading of the village landscape, built and open, natural and agricultural, private and communally owned. Guided by the dynamic framework of ecology, landscape contiguity is emphasized, alerting the designer to the continuity of

al-Qleileh's open landscapes with those of neighbouring villages, and beyond to the regional landscape in Southern Lebanon. Four Ecological Landscape Associations (ELAs) were identified. ELAs are spatially articulated units identified by associating landform, land use and/or cover which then serve as the building blocks for context specific design interventions (Makhzoumi, 2000). The four ELAs identified are (figure 6.5): the natural landscape of al-Qleileh beach (figure 6.6); the agricultural landscape of the coastal plain (figure 6.7); the marginal landscape of the school complex (figure 6.8); and the cultural-religious landscape of the Maqam Nabi 'Umran in the upper foothills (figure 6.9). Identified ELAs are representative of the typically rural Mediterranean landscape of al-Qleileh. The peripheral locations of the four ELAs were seen as having the potential to breach the growing disconnection between reconstruction of the village core and the destruction of the surrounding open landscape (Makhzoumi and Shibli, 2007).

Understanding village's physical setting is equally a means of learning about village culture. Earlier research into recovery in post-Israeli occupied rural Southern Lebanon indicates that local perception and valuation of the landscape differs in two ways (Makhzoumi, 2009*b*; Selwan, 2004). On the

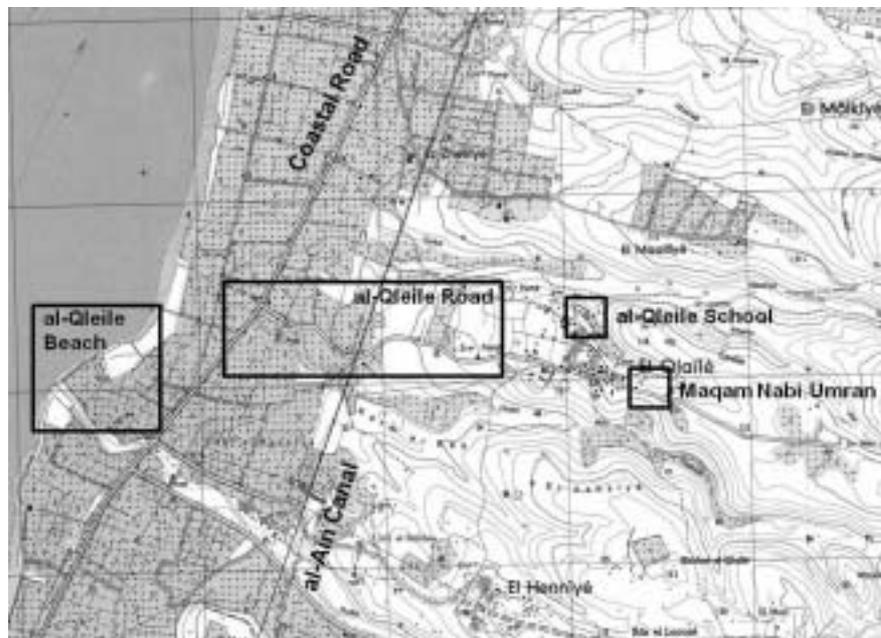


Figure 6.5. Four Ecological Landscape Associations (ELAs) identified: the natural landscape of al-Qleileh beach; the agricultural landscape of the coastal plain; the marginal landscape of the school complex; and the cultural-religious landscape of the Maqam Nabi 'Umran in the upper foothills.



Figure 6.6. Abandoned UNIFIL post marks al-Qleileh's exceptional beach reclaimed by the community following Israeli withdrawal in 2000. Swimming and fishing are key uses. (Source: Rabih Shibli)



Figure 6.7. Agriculture is the main source of livelihoods in al-Qleileh. View of citrus orchards (top) and citrus harvesting along al-Qleileh main road.



Figure 6.8. Built by Majlis al-Janoub in 2000, al-Qleileh school stands out from the rest of the village because of its scale and location. The standardized, inward looking architecture is replicated in various villages regardless of site conditions and the surrounding landscape.



Figure 6.9. The Maqam of Nabi Umran *Maqam* is the pride of al-Qleileh village (bottom left) claimed to be the shrine of the Virgin Mary's father, revered equally by Muslims and Christians. The shrine is flanked by fenced archaeological remains of an early Byzantine church and new finds in the adjoining olive orchard (top).

one hand, there is an overlap between ‘usefulness’, valuation and aesthetic appreciation of landscape. Orchards and olives groves, for example, were favoured above all, because they were the basis for local livelihood. Village identity, on the other hand, was more readily associated with special landscape and/or built features, for example community woodland and the village spring. In the case of al-Qleileh, local identity and village heritage were readily associated with the Maqam Nabi ‘Umran as a historical, biblical heritage, and the school, impressive in scale and form, as a symbol of ‘modernity’. Nor is the construction of local identity and shared rural heritage *vis à vis* the village landscape fixed. Rather, it is dynamic and evolving, reformulated in response to changing political, social and economic circumstances. Above all, landscape is lived-in, experienced and maintained through local lifestyles, for example, farmers working the fields, women harvesting wild plants from the village communal lands or children walking or cycling to school. In the summer and at the weekends, the village community walks down to the beach or up to the Maqam Nabi ‘Umran. In short, the traditional conception of amenity and recreation in al-Qleileh is closely associated with the village’s open landscape, not the built one. Apart from the *saha* (village square), the community uses the main road, field paths, communal lands and the coast for promenading, cycling and picnicking (figure 6.10). Walking is the way of experiencing



Figure 6.10. Walking roads, field paths and the tracks along the Ras al-Ain irrigation canal is the common pastime. View of village community promenading al-Qleileh main road during the weekend. (Source: Rabih Shibli)

landscape in rural Lebanon, for work and for pleasure. This traditional rural practice has been recognized by Francesco Careri (2003), who advances the concept of 'walkscapes'. Careri postulates that walking is an obvious way of looking at landscapes, a form of emergence of a certain kind of art and architecture, as well as serving as a 'critical tool' for designers. Adams *et al.* (2001) argue similarly that walking contributes to creating a specific sense of place unlike the sense of place formed by other ways of moving in space. Walkscapes were accordingly adopted as a key concept in writing community landscape narratives proposed by the studio project al-Qleileh.

Another feature of rural landscapes in Lebanon as in the surrounding region is multifunctionality. Traditional Mediterranean landscapes evolved over the centuries to ensure efficient uses of human and natural resources by accommodating more than one use, usually through intercropping within a single land area (Makhzoumi, 1997). Far from being relegated to tradition and the past, the concept of multifunctional landscapes is being adopted in the design of contemporary landscapes. Brandt and Vejre (2004) argue that the concept integrates three key landscape functionalities: 'landscape ecosystem functionality' reflecting the capacities of natural processes to maintain/change environments; 'land-use functionality' reflecting the capacities of socio-cultural processes to change environments; and 'transcending functionality' reflecting social intentions to maintain or change environments through planning and management (*Ibid.*, p. 12). In the context of al-Qleileh, almost all the village landscape can be conceptualized as multifunctional. Children play in the orchards and women congregate at the religious landscape of the Maqam, the irrigation canal that extends from the Springs of Ras al-'Ain in Tyre through al-Qleileh all the way to Lebanon's southern border, which is a popular promenade for the village and those surrounding it. Landscape multifunctionality implies equally satisfying multiple stakeholders, for example farmers, youth, municipality, religious institutions, a concept adopted in the recovery narrative discussed later on in the chapter.

Apart from traditional rural cultural perceptions, there were the socio-cultural and political complexities of post-2006-war al-Qleileh. Soon after removal of the debris, the al-Qleileh Municipality laid claim to cleared land in the village centre, arguing that it is public, illegally appropriated during Israeli occupation, and in some cases, earlier.¹² Re-appropriated land was to accommodate a new municipality building and a public garden with no apparent compensation to families whose homes had existed on this land for decades. Underlying the Municipality claim is the contentious issue of private/public ownership in rural Southern Lebanon. Left out of modern state-building, rural communities continued the age old practice of exchanging

property through informal agreements negotiated between parties and witnessed by the local community. These transactions were not registered in official records due to the lack of awareness of legal protocols but also because the conventional role of the state, for example as the provider of social services and economic development, was at best negligible in the village. The lack of transparency is another shortcoming of state authority. For example, land parcels in the centre of al-Qleileh were nominally appropriated by the state in 1951 without informing the residents.¹³ In 1965, when al-Qleileh's first Municipal Office was appointed by the state, laying claim to state land in the village centre was at the forefront of Municipal actions, moreover, ones that were not publicly declared.¹⁴ Households living on these lands continued to do so unaware of the changes in ownership status. The situation continued during the Israeli occupation (1978–2000) and following liberation only to resurface following destruction of the village centre in 2006. The Municipality formalized its claim, pursuing action with the central authorities and the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities, where it laid the claim publicly.¹⁵ The repercussions were grave. House owners have been denied financial compensation for reconstruction by the funding body in al-Qleileh.¹⁶ The families that lived on the contested land continue their claim with official authorities, protesting and advocating their case with the media to no avail.¹⁷ Meanwhile, al-Qleileh's empty centre continued as visible proof of physical destruction following the 2006 war, bearing witness to the cumulative outcome of neglect and the absence of just administration and political representation of marginalized communities in Southern Lebanon.

In summary, a landscape reading of post-war al-Qleileh expands spatially to complement the conventional focus on reconstructing the village's built-up core to consider village open landscape and the source of village livelihood and pride, as important to the people of al-Qleileh as the homes they lost. Temporally too, a landscape reading moves beyond the present and the immediate aftermath of the 2006 war to explore recovery narratives that enable the community to resume war-disrupted lives. Whether, and in which ways, an expansive reading contributes to recovery narratives in al-Qleileh is addressed in the following section.

Writing Post-War Narratives

The challenge of proposing community landscapes in post-war al-Qleileh was put to senior landscape design students during a design studio project entitled, 'Disjointed form/disrupted process: postwar landscapes in al-Qleileh Village' offered in the Landscape Design and Ecosystem Management Department of

the Faculty of Agricultural and Food Sciences at AUB. The project's aim was to propose multi-functional post-war community landscapes. In parallel was a pedagogic aim of fostering awareness among young designers about the human and material complexity of the post-war discourse in rural Southern Lebanon.

The students were divided into four groups, each assigned one of the four identified ELAs as a platform for exploring community perceptions and post-war aspirations and as a potential site for post-war recovery narratives. The proposed narratives aimed to alleviate the psychological, social, economic and environmental repercussions of war while being guided by the methodological framework of ecological landscape design (Makhzoumi and Shibli, 2007). Site visits for the class were limited to one weekend long visit at the beginning of the project and two day visits in the two month duration of the project, beginning in early November 2006 and ending in early January 2007. Access to the local community, the Municipality and local religious authorities as well as state agencies were key for students to develop their own reading of the village landscape and the trauma of post-war communities, and to appreciate local lifestyles and rural culture. This ensured that the proposed recovery narratives were responsive to the specificities of each site while aware of continuities within these components and linkages with the regional landscape.

Site visits by the four students, though limited in the view of the difficulties of travel logistics, nevertheless secured local community feedback throughout the studio project. Students assigned the main road discussed with farmers the difficulties of marketing agricultural produce and the absence of planning by the central authorities, while the group developing the Maqam Nabi 'Umran discussed their concepts with the Waqf al-Shi'i, the religious authority responsible for the *maqam*, Arabic for shrine. Students developing narratives for the school interviewed students and teachers. They followed the path taken by al-Qleileh students walking to the school, taking note of key features and their potential as a promenade for the village. Students assigned al-Qleileh beach met with the Municipality and representatives from the Society for the Protection of Nature in Lebanon (SPNL), a local NGO which expressed interest in protecting the exceptional coastal environment.¹⁸ Attending sessions when students set up their designs, al-Qleileh mayor and members of the Municipality¹⁹ discussed with them their proposals and whether their narratives were implementable (figure 6.11). There follows a brief summary of each recovery narrative (Makhzoumi, 2009a).

The first narrative, *al-Qleileh Main Road*, acknowledges that livelihoods from citrus and banana plantations are a key to sustaining the village economy.



Figure 6.11. Final project pinup (top left), al-Qleileh mayor and members of the municipality discussing proposals for al-Qleileh main road with students (top right), students assemble and local community members, destroyed village core in the background (bottom left), students video documentation at the Maqam Nabi Umran (bottom right).

The landscape narrative builds on current use of the road by farmers to access orchards and fields and the fact that the road is no longer in use and the exceptional scenic quality of the agricultural landscape. The recovery narrative proposes to rehabilitate the road, framing it to serve as a venue for wholesale marketing of agricultural produce during weekdays and for leisurely strolling, cycling and picnicking during the weekends. The proposed dynamic, multifunctional landscape combines socio-economic and cultural objectives for post-war recovery by improving agricultural livelihoods and recognizing and reaffirming rural, agricultural heritage.

The narrative for *Maqam Nabi 'Umran* looks to the cultural, historical heritage (figure 6.12). The village name is Aramaic in origin, meaning 'place of a holy man'. Local history has it that the *maqam* is that of the Virgin Mary's father, who is equally revered by Muslims and Christians. Student research revealed that the *maqam* is one of three biblical pilgrimage sites in Southern Lebanon – the other two being Qana and Nabi Cham'a – and an even wider network of biblical sites extending southwards to the Galilee. The community landscape proposed for the *maqam* reintegrates the segmented landscape of

the *maqam* (a partially excavated Byzantine church) and the *maqam* itself, a citrus orchard acquired by the Shi'ite *Waqf* (Endowed land). Parking for local visitors and tour buses was proposed, as well as the rehabilitation of the main road to serve as community 'walkscapes', linking the *maqam* to the village.



Figure 6.12. Landscape narrative for Maqam Nabi 'Umran networks the village biblical heritage with the villages of Chama' and Qana while re-configuring the compartmentalized landscape into a site for religious tourism.

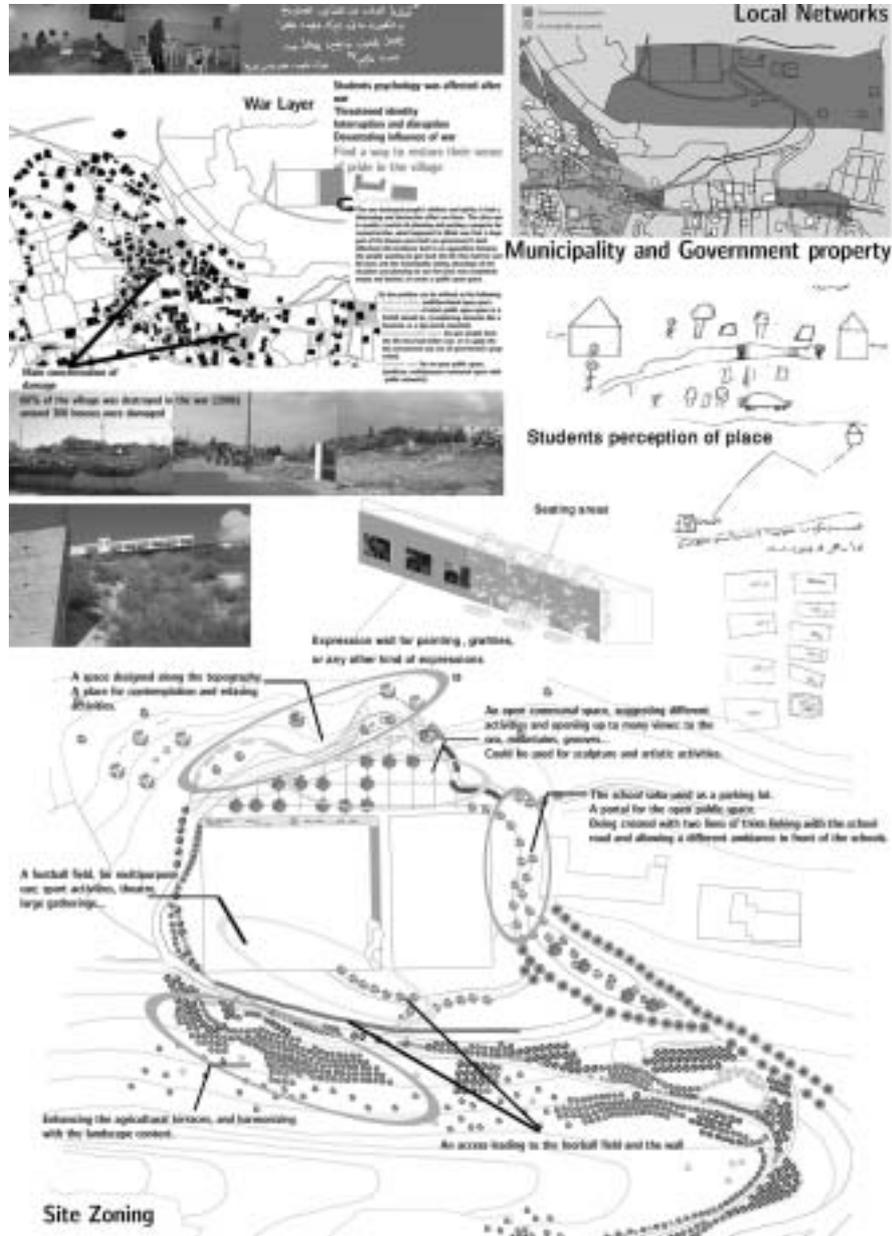


Figure 6.13. The narrative for al-Qleileh school addresses the spatial and visual separation between school and village proposing a multifunctional network of spaces and paths opening the school to the surrounding landscape, incorporating mnemonic trees, paths and waterhole identified by the students along the path they follow from the village.

The landscape narrative for *al-Qleileh School* (figure 6.13) addresses the spatial and visual separation of the school building from the Mediterranean

view and the outlying communal landscape. Built by the Council for Reconstruction of South Lebanon in 2000, the school plan and architecture is standardized, replicated in various villages with disregard to local conditions and the surrounding landscape. The school building, the largest in the village, dominates a hill to the north of the village. The landscape narrative's aim was threefold: to open up the school to the surrounding landscape through a series of open spaces that serve for outdoor learning, active and passive activities and informal gathering places; to relocate the school parking downhill, rehabilitating the space into a large community gathering place for the local community; and to rehabilitate the network of pedestrian paths that linked the school and village. The multifunctional network of spaces and paths proposed the incorporation of mnemonic trees, paths and waterholes identified by following the school children, interviewing them and asking them to draw mental maps of the path they take from their home to the school.

The fourth narrative, *al-Qleileh coast* (figure 6.14), was inspired by two fluke discoveries: that the beach and adjoining seasonal estuary are an important stop-over for migratory birds and that the sandy beach is a nesting site for Mediterranean sea turtles, *Caretta caretta*. Unaware of the biodiversity value, local residents continue to use the beach for fishing and swimming. Like the three previous narratives, a multifunctional landscape is envisioned that declares the beach a community protected site, generating livelihoods from nature-tourism while serving as a platform to promote awareness of environment and biodiversity. Unlike the case of Protected Areas that fall under the jurisdiction of central authorities, namely the Ministry of Environment, community-based conservation (Arabic vernacular, *hima*) benefits and empowers local stakeholders.

Al-Qleileh Project Outcome

Individually and collectively, the four landscape narratives address human and material post-war discontinuities in al-Qleileh. Spatially, by dealing with the village's built-up edges, the landscape narratives integrate built and open agricultural and natural landscapes. Prioritizing local livelihoods, recognizing and reaffirming the village's landscape character, incorporating traditional community practices and the landscape recovery narratives proposed by the students are sensitive to the rural context. The landscape design methodological approach was a key to fostering design responsiveness to place and local culture. Assigning specific intervention sites served as a basis for exploring the relationship that binds people and environment in traditional rural communities so as to uncover ways in which rural places

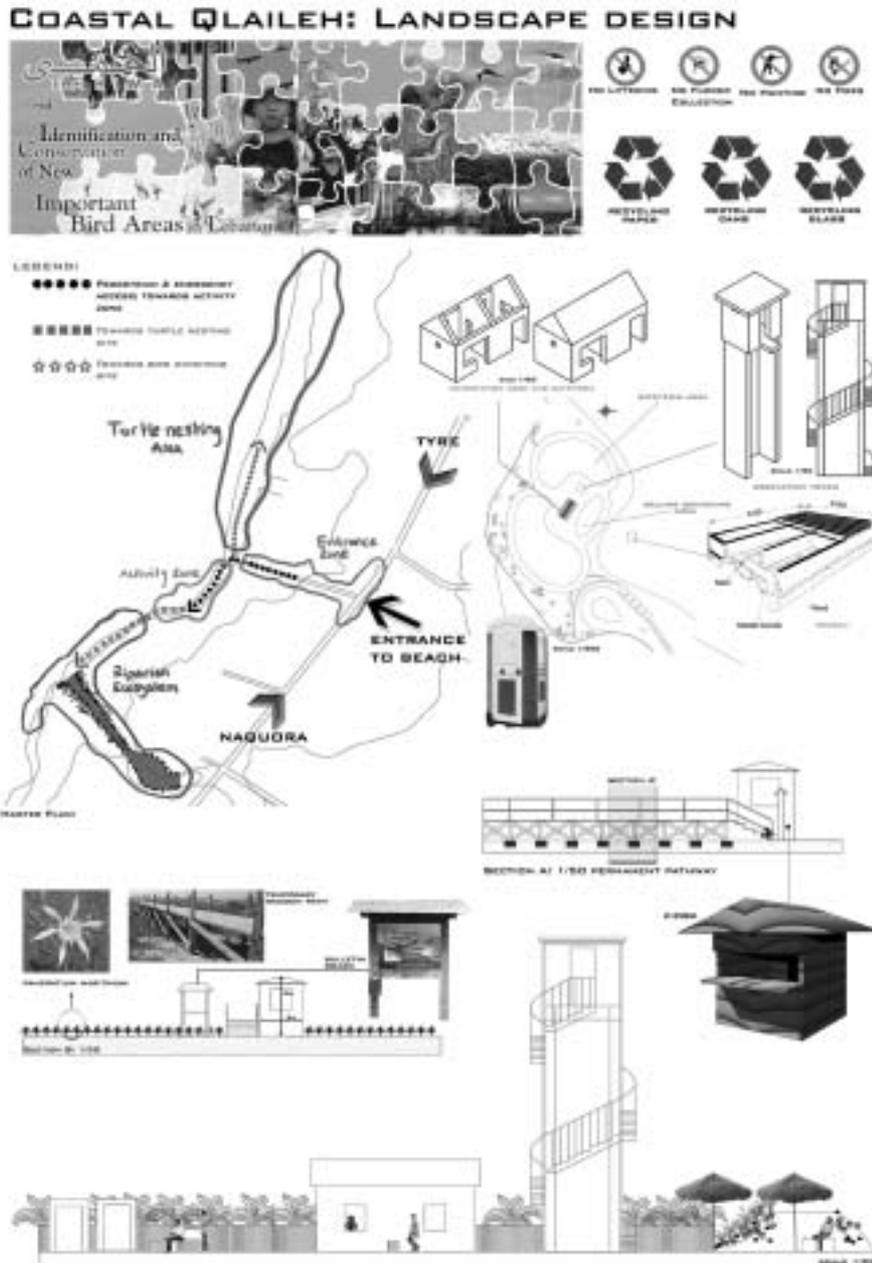


Figure 6.14. Multifunctional narrative for al-Qleileh beach recognizing it as *hima*, community protected nature landscape, a sanctuary for migrating birds and turtle nesting site, a place of leisure and source of livelihood from tourism and fishing. The UNIFIL tower is refurbished for touristic uses.

are valued and how they contribute to individual and group identities within the post-war discourse. Proposed recovery narratives build equally

on tangible settings, marginal landscapes, intangible human dimensions, and post-war marginalized communities, prioritizing natural and cultural capital in post-war al-Qlaileh as a basis for enduring, long-term recovery. In all four recovery narratives, students were aware of a diversity of aims, for example, the conservation of natural and cultural heritage, of the participation of local stakeholders and national NGOs, and tangible and intangible project outcomes that affect future development (table 6.1). The comments of a local community representative attending the final project presentation attest to the latter.²⁰

Though initially triggered by the rush to volunteer professional expertise as a component of the RU, proposing landscape recovery narratives for al-Qleileh continued through the academic design studio. Responding to a rubric of objectives that were humanitarian, professional and pedagogic

Table 6.1. Summary of the four recovery narratives proposed for post-war al-Qlaileh demonstrating the developmental, community inclusive focus of the landscape approach.

Locale:	<i>Al-Qleileh Beach</i>
ELA:	Coast/natural landscape
Aim:	Nature conservation (Important Bird Area; turtle nesting site), alternative livelihoods
Stakeholders:	Municipality; local and national NGOs
Strategy:	Designate the beach as ' <i>hima</i> ' (community protected land)
Outcome:	Income from nature-related tourism; protection of natural rural heritage and promoting environmental awareness
Locale:	<i>Al-Qleileh Main Road</i>
ELA:	Coastal plain/agricultural landscape
Aim:	Agricultural livelihoods, enhancing village rural character
Stakeholders:	Farmers, Municipality
Strategy:	Agri-marketing (weekdays); amenity landscape (weekends)
Outcome:	Income from marketing agricultural produce; community leisure
Locale:	<i>Al-Qleileh School Building Complex</i>
ELA:	Lower foothills/semi-natural landscape
Aim:	Formal and informal activity spaces for children and youth
Stakeholders:	School administration, students, Municipality
Strategy:	Opening up 'walled' school buildings to the rural landscape; enhancing school/village landscape linkages
Outcome:	Sport fields, open classrooms, multipurpose activity areas; village-to-school promenade
Locale:	<i>Maqam Nabi 'Umran</i>
ELA:	Lower foothills/archaeological landscape
Aim:	Protecting al-Qleileh cultural heritage (religious and archaeological)
Stakeholder:	Religious institutions, Municipality, Ministry of Culture
Strategy:	Redefine the compartmentalized landscape of the maqam (biblical shrine, archaeological site and mosque garden); network with biblical sites in south Lebanon (Qana and Cham'a)
Outcome:	Income from religious and heritage tourism; enhance village identity and protect the village cultural heritage

added to the complexity of the undertaking. As an academic, my priority was to fulfil the academic agenda and secure studio learning outcome. As a professional, securing effective post-war recovery was an ethical and moral obligation. The advantages to the academic setup invariably outweighed those to the community.

For example, there was a lack of continuity once the studio project came to an end. Students moved on to other design studios, just as faculty members were assigned other courses. Nor did academic commitments leave time for the faculty member to follow up on the narratives, for example, by securing funding for implementation. Nevertheless, proposed diversity and innovativeness of landscape narratives and the fact that they addressed agricultural landscapes and natural resources, cultural and rural heritage, served to inspire the Municipality and enabled it to negotiate better with the various NGOs and international agencies. As such, they did affect a change

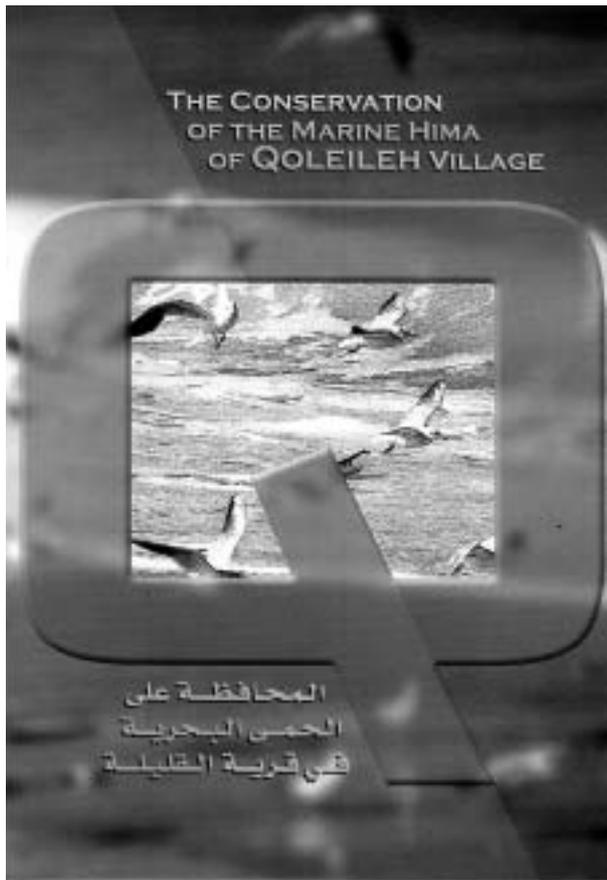


Figure 6.15. Flyer declaring al-Qleileh beach as *hima* and IBA. (Source: SPNL).

by empowering the Municipality to act as a stakeholder in the process of recovery, rather than as passive 'recipient' of reconstruction aid.²¹

The one narrative that was implemented – that of the al-Qleileh beach – proved successful because of an early partnership with the Society for the Protection of Nature in Lebanon (SPNL).²² This national NGO served to provide continuity by carrying through the academic project, seeing through to implementation and beyond. SPNL, in collaboration with Birdlife International, secured recognition of al-Qleileh beach as an Important Bird Area (IBA). With recognition secured, international funding for community capacity-building related to the IBA was also secured (figure 6.15). The abandoned UNIFIL post was refurbished to service the proposed nature tourism and the observation tower repaired to serve for bird watching (figure 6.16). Local residents were trained as guides for bird watching and the



Figure 6.16. Implementation the landscape narrative for al-Qleileh beach. UNIFIL post refurbished through funding secured by SPNL from Birdlife International. Building and tower serve as information centre, base for local community training and bird watching.

village built its potential to service nature related tourism. Recognizing and protecting al-Qleileh's natural heritage, entrusting stewardship to the village, and the benefits accrued to the local community empowers them to negotiate with global funding agencies to fulfil their future hopes and aspirations. More importantly, protecting al-Qleileh beach as a community-managed resource and shared site of natural heritage has provided a model which is emulated in other coastal villages south of Tyre, for example in protecting Mediterranean turtle nesting sites.²³

Conclusion

A landscape approach to post-war recovery, as the al-Qleileh case study demonstrates, extends beyond the immediacy of the post-war condition and beyond physical reconstruction to serve in initiating development to benefit rural communities. The recovery narratives of landscape designers aspire to rectify political, social and economic marginalization in rural peripheries, using natural, cultural and human resources in the region as leverage for sustainable development that includes the entire rural landscape, built village core and open agricultural and natural landscapes. Beyond the immediate adversity of war and the loss of shelter, the proposed landscape narratives locate ordinary rural practices and highlight mundane everyday needs, places that the local community values which appear mundane in comparison to grander and more pressing objectives such as restoring infrastructure and rebuilding settlements (Makhzoumi, 2009a). Restoring pride in place and recognizing valued rural heritage and shared village identity, priorities in the proposed recovery narratives for al-Qleileh, are a necessary component for healing post-war strife in rural communities.

Beyond project specifics, the efficacy of the landscape approach applied at al-Qleileh are listed below.

1. Integrating Tangible, Spatio-Physical and Intangible, Socio-Economic Recovery Objectives

People and landscape in marginal rural Lebanon share with emerging economies elsewhere the absence of comprehensive plans that holistically address human and socio-economic development (Makdisi, 2004). The failures of post-war recovery in rural peripheries result in a large part from the absence of alignment and coordination between, on the one hand, national socio-economic planning for recovery, which is non-spatial, and on the other hand, a static and 'material' view of people and habitat where betterment is

seen as a local issue. Barakat and Cockburn (1991, p. 8) argue that the fault is because 'governments refuse to express spatially their social economic programs or to link them with physical planning'. Two-tiered planning has similarly affected post-war recovery in Lebanon. Economic and social recovery is planned at the macro level, generally within the framework of national development planning, while reconstruction and rebuilding is enacted at the micro level, undertaken by architects and urban designers. In view of Arab and international agencies' rush to fund reconstruction, the role of the state, for example, in terms of socio-economic services, was at best absent. As a result, the majority of funding focused on tangible projects, i.e. building and reconstruction, rather than livelihoods and agriculture. Ideally, socio-economic planning and local design and planning should go hand in hand. And although a landscape approach is more likely to alert designers to intangible human needs, and to counter the prevailing emphasis on reconstructing built environments as the al-Qleileh project demonstrates, local interventions will invariably require the institutional support of the central authority and succeed within a national and/or regional planning framework. The advantage of a landscape approach lies in that it complements the focus on buildings and physical setting with the repair of degraded environments, biodiversity conservation and sustainable development in agriculture. It was the open landscapes of al-Qleileh that served as a basis for recognizing intangible human needs and addressing the cultural specificity of rural communities.

2. Empowering Marginalized Rural Communities

Comprehending the complexity of rural culture, respecting rural values and responding to traditional community practices is often sidestepped in recovery in Southern Lebanon. As explained earlier, funding agencies prioritize tangible rather than intangible outcomes. However, adopting a 'people first' orientation (Chambers, 1983) precipitates a recovery discourse that enables war-shattered communities to take charge as an active stakeholder in recovery. Such empowerment, however, is not exclusive to the landscape approach. Since the early 1990s 'environment' and 'nature' have served as a platform for civil action in Lebanon. For example, Greenpeace Lebanon has been credited with 'a democratic influence', which is appreciable 'in a society where public debates involving business people and politicians from influential families are a rarity' and equally 'non-violent and democratic tools' as 'models for social transformation in Lebanon' (Hamdan, 2002, p. 184). That concern for environment and nature provides an alternative platform for the participation

of rural communities.²⁴ Whether in cities or in peripheral rural communities, 'reciprocity and dialogue' provide 'venues for the mobilization of multiple voices and, hence, political empowerment' (Khalaf, 2003, p. 138).

3. *From 'Product' to 'Generative Process'*

Whether as an expression of rural culture or as environment and ecosystem, landscapes are always in the making, and are at once process and product. Socio-cultural conceptions evolve in response to changing political and globalizing influences. An interpretive landscape reading of village culture in Southern Lebanon reflects the shift from the traditional agricultural valuation of rural landscape towards an environment- and nature-based approach (Makhzoumi *et al.*, 2010). As a dynamic medium for recovery, landscape is instrumental in moving the focus of recovery narratives away from the delivery of 'product' towards regenerative processes that restore, repair and reconnect war-disrupted socio-cultural and environmental linkages. And because landscape is multi-scalar, contiguous in space and time, recovery narratives expand spatially, to include the totality of the village landscape in the context of broader rural linkages, temporally, to look beyond the immediate to pre-war identity construction and rural heritage valuation, and programmatically, by providing a multifunctional framework for recovery.

4. *Breaching the Theory-Practice Divide*

Throughout this chapter landscape is conceptualized at once as an academic endeavour, that of reading the post-war condition, and a professional challenge, namely of writing expansive and holistic recovery narratives. The alternative framing is an attempt to break away from the contrived division between theory and application, and conventional roles of academics and professionals. Breaching the academic-professional divide is possible in part because the conceptual framework of 'landscape', as discussed earlier, 'works at the interface of the social and natural sciences, and is therefore continually encountering and using knowledge that relates to both the social and biophysical world' (Swaffield, 2002, p. 232).

Though extreme, the physical, socio-economic and political conditions in post-war landscapes are nevertheless an opportunity to question the relationship between theory and practice in design-related professions. In *Hollow Land*, Weizman (2007) argues that contemporary architectural research models, 'projective applied research', do not apply to the extreme context of occupied landscapes. 'What should creative architectural research "learn

from the domination of Gaza” and apply in London?’ he asks. Although the landscape in Southern Lebanon is no longer ‘occupied’, the logic of Weizman’s argument is just as valid. The relationship between research and practice in post-war recovery needs to be reconfigured to reverse the prevailing divide between theory and application, and between academic and professional practice.

Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the ‘Negotiation of Space: the Politics of Destruction and Reconstruction in Lebanon’, a conference organized by the Center for Lebanese Studies in collaboration with The Middle East Center and La Maison Francaise held at St Anthony’s College, University of Oxford University, 13–14 June 2008.
2. In collaboration with architect, urban designer Rabih Shibli, a member of the RU and resident of al-Qleileh.
3. The distinction made by Tuan is that ‘environment sustains us as creatures; landscape displays us as cultures’ (quoted in Meinig, 1979).
4. Ghaleb El-Turk provides a detailed account of the living conditions, health and education services in the early 1960s. For example, only half the 452 towns and villages had electricity and potable water (Abu-Izzeddin, 1963).
5. Achcar and Warschawski (2006) argue that migration from the South fed the expansion of plebian peri-urban zones to the south and east of the capital – to the point that the ‘Greater Beirut’ area alone ended up including one-half of the Lebanese population.
6. Akkar and Dinnieh in the north, Hermel in the Beqa’, equally rural peripheries, had the lowest indicators in social mapping, UNDP, (2000).
7. Underlying the social and economic overlap between the terms, ‘deprived’, ‘disempowered’ and the one used throughout this chapter, ‘marginalized’ is that of political power, namely of peripheries versus central authority.
8. Material loss was estimated at US\$21.861 million which includes destruction of 90 per cent of that year’s harvest of the tobacco crop and seasonal produce, loss to livestock which included 3,050 head of dairy cattle, 1,250 bulls, 15,000 head of goats and sheep, 18,000 beehives, 600,000 broilers (FAO, 2006).
9. Majlis al-Janoub circulars.
10. I first visited al-Qleileh with Rabih Shibli.
11. The design studio course, Ecological Landscape Design I, was offered to third year BS Landscape Design and Eco-Management students in the Faculty of Agricultural and Food Sciences at the American University of Beirut, taught jointly with Rabih Shibli during the Fall Semester 2006.
12. Official announcement by al-Qleileh Municipality dated 11 September 2006.
13. Interview with al-Qleileh residents, M. Ramadhan and S. Daoud by Rabih Shibli (2008).
14. *Ibid.*
15. Announcement by al-Qleileh Municipality (September 11, 2006).
16. Post 2006 reconstruction in al-Qleileh was funded by Syria, which had no choice but to announce that it could only provide funds for those dwellings built on private land, implying not those whose ownership status was under dispute.
17. Saad, Hussein (2009) The 2006 war impacted families in al-Qleileh demand compensation. *al-Safir*, 19 March.
18. Asaad Serhal, founder and director of SPNL, attended student pinup sessions, meeting separately with the group assigned al-Qleileh beach.
19. Jamal Shibli, Mayor of al-Qleileh, Hasan Abu Khalil, Municipality Engineer.
20. A sporadic comment made by the Mayor of al-Qleileh during the final presentation

in January 2007 to the Municipality Engineer, Hasan Abu Khalil, 'these projects are so practical and straightforward, they will not require much funding; we can implement them ourselves'.

21. Recent interview by the author with al-Qleileh municipality reveals that the Municipality was independently following up on the school narrative with funding from international donors.
22. (<http://www.spnlb.org/>).
23. AUB-IBSAR Center for Nature Conservation and Sustainable Futures and as part of its agenda on biodiversity education is now launching a project to promote awareness of Mediterranean sea turtles among school children (http://www.ibsar.org/index_updated1.php).
24. See Land and People (<http://landandpeople.blogspot.com/>).

References

- Abu-Izzeddin, H. (1963) *Lebanon and Its Provinces: A Study by the Governors of the Five Provinces*. Beirut: Khayats
- Achcar, Gilbert and Warschawski, Michel (2006) *The 33-day War. Israel's War on Hezbollah in Lebanon and Its Consequences*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.
- Adams, Paul, Hoelscher, Steven and Till, Karen (2001) *Textures of Place. Exploring Humanist Geographies*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Barakat, Sultan (ed.) (2005) *After the Conflict. Reconstruction and Development in the Aftermath of War*. London: IB Tauris.
- Barakat, Sultan and Cockburn, Christopher (1991) *Revoiving War Damaged Settlements*. Report and charter prepared in connection with the Third International York Workshop on Post-War Settlement Reconstruction. York: University of York Publications.
- Beydoun, Ahmad (2004) Confessionalism: outline of an announced reform, in Salam, N. (ed.) *Options for Lebanon*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Brandt, Jesper and Vejre, Henrik (2004) *Multifunctional Landscapes: Theory, Values and History*. Southampton: WIT Press.
- Careri, Francesco (2003) *Walkscapes. Walking as an Aesthetic Practice*. Barcelona: Rossello Publishers.
- Chambers, Robert (1983) *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*. Harlow: Prentice Hall-Pearson Education.
- El Turk, Ghaleb (1963) in Abu-Izzeddin, H. (ed.) *Lebanon and Its Provinces: A Study by the Governors of the Five Provinces*. Beirut: Khayats.
- FAO (2006) *Lebanon. Damage and Early Recovery Needs Assessment of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry*. Rome: UN-FAO.
- Hamdan, Fouad (2002) The ecological crisis in Lebanon, in Ellis K. (ed.) *Lebanon's Second Republic. Prospects for the 21st Century*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.
- Hyland, Stanley, and Bennett, Linda (2005) Introduction, in Hyland, S. (ed.) *Community Building in the Twenty-First Century*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Jaber, Monther (1999) *The Occupied Lebanese Border Strip: The paths of Occupation, the Lines of Confrontation, the Fate of the Population*. Beirut: Institute for Palestinian Studies.
- Jeong, Ho-Won (2005) *Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Societies. Strategy and Process*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Khalaf, Samir (2003) On roots and routes: the reassertion of primordial loyalties, in Hanf, T. and Salam, N. (eds.) *Lebanon in Limbo. Postwar Society and State in an Uncertain Regional Environment*. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Kiwan, Fadia (2004) Decentralization: choosing a model, in Salam, N. (ed.) *Options for Lebanon*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Makhzoumi, Jala (1997) The changing role of rural landscapes: olive and carob multi-use tree plantations in the semiarid Mediterranean, *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 37, pp. 115-122.

- Makhzoumi, Jala (2000) Landscape ecology as a foundation for landscape architecture: applications in Malta. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, **50**, pp. 167–177.
- Makhzoumi, Jala (2004) The Contested Landscape of Ebel-es-Saqi: A Traditional Rural Landscape in a Post-Traditional World. Proceedings of the International Association for Traditional Environments, Sharjah, UAE.
- Makhzoumi, Jala (2009a) Localizing the global: landscape architecture and postwar recovery in South Lebanon. *Landscape Review*, **13**, pp. 3–17
- Makhzoumi, Jala (2009b) Unfolding landscape in a Lebanese village: rural heritage in a globalising world. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, **15**, pp. 313–333.
- Makhzoumi, Jala. and Pungetti, Gloria (1999). *Ecological Landscape Design and Planning. The Mediterranean Context*. London: E & FN Spon.
- Makhzoumi, Jala, and Shibli, Rabih (2007) Inventing Community Spaces: Landscape Design for Post-war Reconstruction in El Qlaile Village, South Lebanon, in Stewart, G., Ignatieva, M., Bowring, J., Egoz, S and Melnichuk, I. (eds.) *Landscape Architecture and Globalization*, Conference proceedings, Saint Petersburg (3–6 June), St. Petersburg State Polytechnic University Publishing House, pp. 128–132.
- Makhzoumi, Jala, Talhouk, Salma and Zurayk, Rami (2010) Landscape design approach in support of sustainable alternatives for traditional Mediterranean rural landscapes in marginal Lebanon. *Landscape Research* (forthcoming).
- Makdisi, Anis (2004) *The Lessons of Lebanon, the Economics of War and Development*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Meinig, Donald (1976) *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nasr, Salim (2003) The new social map, in Hanf, T. and Salam, N. (ed.) *Lebanon in Limbo. Postwar Society and State in an Uncertain Regional Environment*. Baden Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Oliver-Smith, Anthony (2005) Communities after Catastrophe. Reconstructing the Material, Reconstructing the Social, in Hyland, S. (ed.) *Community Building in the Twenty-First Century*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Royal Geographical Society (2003) *Post-war Reconstruction: Forever Re-inventing the Wheel?* Available at <http://www.rgs.org/NR/rdonlyres/postwarreconstruction.pdf>. Accessed October 26 2009.
- Selwan, Rhea (2004) Aesthetic Landscape Preferences and Nature Conservation: A Case Study in Rural South Lebanon. Unpublished Masters of Science, American University of Beirut.
- Swaffield, Simon (ed.) (2002) *Theory in Landscape Architecture. A Reader*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Tilley, Christopher (2006) Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage. *Journal of Material Culture*, **11**, pp. 7–32
- United Nations Development Program (2000) The South. A Story of Hardship. The Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Liberated Regions. Internal Document.
- United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees (2006) *Protection Strategy for Lebanon*. Available online: <http://www.unhcr.org/news/NEWS/46e13e116.html>. Accessed December 2007.
- Weizman, Eyal (2007) *Hollow Land. Israel's Architecture of Occupation*. London: Verso.
- Yamine, M. (2007) The Impact of Landmines and Unexploded Ordnance on the Human and Land Resources of South Lebanon. Unpublished MS Thesis, American University of Beirut.