

TEMPORARY PUBLIC SPACES IN UNSTABLE CONTEXTS: PRACTICES, LESSONS AND TOOLS

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Interdisciplinary approaches to research on public spaces indicate the broad interest in understanding their complexity and roles as stages but also resultants of social interactions. Despite their ever changing nature (Tornaghi, and Knierbein, 2015), public spaces persist over time as expressions, experiences and relations of urban contexts with their urban dwellers, while being stamped by local particularities, and affected by global waves. In particular, the role of public spaces in unstable contexts is becoming one urgent strand for research. The paper focuses on temporary public spaces, which provide insights on how their temporariness reinstates common values towards mitigating unstable contexts. The paper first utilises the triad of space production by Lefebvre to explain the dialectics of the production of conventional and temporary urban public spaces, and explain how public spaces are affected by instability. Rhythm analysis (Lefebvre) is used as the framework explaining how the context-specific tools and processes of temporary public spaces address instability. An ongoing study since 2006 on Beirut's temporary public spaces serves to illustrate the role of temporary public spaces in mitigating social instability. Finally, the conclusion presents some lessons learned on temporary public spaces, which act as an impulse for urban recovery and social integration within unstable contexts.

1. Introduction

Interdisciplinary approaches to research on public spaces indicate the broad interest in understanding their complexity and roles as stages but also resultants of social interactions. Despite their ever changing nature (Tornaghi, and Knierbein, 2015), public spaces persist over time as expressions, experiences and relations of urban contexts with their urban dwellers, while being stamped by local particularities, and affected by global waves. The global-local on the one hand refers to neoliberal spaces that are showcased, and the mundane urban spaces used by locals in their everyday routines. On the other hand, the global-local refers to the exchange and use values of these coexisting spaces (Lefebvre, 1991), and in turn projects spaces of possession and control versus appropriated spaces that meet social needs (Lefebvre, 2008). Appropriated spaces relate to time, rhythm, symbols, and practice (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 356). The more the space is programmed for a specific function and controlled, the less it lends itself to appropriation, and alternative uses by different users (Madanipour, 2004; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1998; Lefebvre, 1991).

While spaces with exchange value help in city branding for global competitiveness, and act as commodities, and showcases for attracting tourists, and other exclusive members of the consumer society (Madanipour, 2004), spaces with use value cater for different people's rhythmic urban activities based on context-specific values. The latter spaces are in constant change. Understanding spaces as changing, requires a relational perspective lens, which magnifies intertwined and sometimes tense cultural, social, economic, political, and other context-specific factors that produce these spaces (Tornaghi and Knierbein, 2015). The need to understand public spaces is augmented in unstable situations where disruptions to daily rhythms, common meanings, and practices occur. This is due to the spaces' potential to address drastic change (Degros, Knierbein and Madanipour, 2014), and consequently instability. This paper focuses on temporary public spaces, which provide insights on how their temporariness reinstates common values towards mitigating unstable contexts.

To unpack this relational view in the cases of unstable contexts, the paper first utilises the triad of space production by Lefebvre (1991) to explain the dialectics of the production of conventional and temporary urban public spaces, and to explain how public spaces are affected by instability. The next section presents rhythm analysis (Lefebvre, 2004) as a frame to explain how the context-specific tools and processes of temporary public spaces help in addressing instability. An ongoing study since 2006 on Beirut's temporary public spaces is used to illustrate the mobilisation of people to reinstate the city's public life in an unstable context. Finally, the conclusion presents some lessons learned on temporary public spaces, which act as an impulse for urban recovery and social integration within unstable contexts.

2. Productions of Public Spaces

There is a co-presence of public spaces delivered through the tools of design and planning, and those that are temporary. Each category has different characteristics presented in the literature. The former are currently affected by privatisation, and commodification, and the latter are characterised by their ability to enhance public life through creative space appropriation. Lefebvre's (1991) space production triad is useful in explaining what leads to these differences in public spaces, especially that 'space and society are closely intertwined, and the processes that shape space are at the heart of what characterizes societies' (Madanipour, 2004, p. 282). Moreover, this slant on public spaces interprets them as ever changing entities, which are closely knit to dynamic social, political, economic, and other factors (Knierbein, 2015). Shifting research from public space as object to research on these relations allows for establishing congruence between what is intended in the space and what is socially needed (Knierbein, 2015), especially in unstable contexts with high uncertainties, and constant change.

Representations of space: correspond to the tool that urban planners and designers use to communicate about urban space. Representations of space fall into the danger of becoming abstract spaces, devoid of meaning (Knierbein, 2015, p. 55). As discussed earlier, these are spaces with exchange value, which could fit in any time-space (Knierbein, 2015: 46). Examples are abundant, including cities in the UK where the main pedestrian streets are flanked by an almost identical series of chain stores, or in the case of Lebanon and its shopping malls that house similar content of identical chain stores that are equally available in shopping malls globally.

Representations of public space do not always meet social needs, as they are distanced from the users of public space. Madanipour (2004, p. 271) refers to 'cracks' in public spaces and defines them as 'neglect and decline, as well as tensions along the lines of social fragmentation and stratification.' If there is no sense of attachment or emotional belonging (as the exchange value prevails over the use value), public spaces could be dominated by specific rather than all user groups, could easily be changed to other uses or simply stay neglected.

Representations of public space are often out of pace with users' changing identities due to population mobilities, but also social fragmentation as in cases of conflict and war. Differences emerge at 'fault lines' in cities, where multiplicities occur (Holston, 1995, p. 444). Moreover, in cases of political instability, and raised security alert, control often results in the 'city's disintegrating public spaces and abandoned public sphere.' (Holston, 1995, p. 447) This is manifested in the erosion of public space by protective concrete elements and barbed wire (Németh and Hollander, 2010) that are a common sight in Beirut and other cities nowadays. Other forms of disintegration of these spaces include long-lasting effects of misuse, or even leaving these spaces on drawings without ever being executed and implemented as planned. Therefore, in the case of representations of space, instability is reflected spatially (cracks), socially (fragmentation, discrimination, exclusion even within members of the same

population), and also temporally (breaking rhythms or disappearing rhythms of everyday activities, festivals, events, holidays, curfews, and so on). However, mitigation in the form of the new and unforeseen manages to reappear (Lefebvre, 2004) in cities struggling with instabilities, such as in the case of temporary public spaces.

Representational space: correspond to the assembly of symbols, signs and values assigned to a space, including their dissipation through social media, billboards or even ‘iconic elements, soundscapes, graffiti, media contents’ (Tornaghi, 2015, p. 30). These signs, symbols and their dissipation customise a space according to its local culture and society. It is their network of non-verbal communication, which informs people about the space. In contexts of instability, and with different symbols and signs the coding and hence perception of a space changes. One example in the case of Beirut is the demarcation line, which changed how people referred to the eastern and western city parts (Yahya, 1993; Fregonese, 2009).

Spatial practice: refers to the everyday practices taking place in urban space, and also the routines of urban life including elements of surprise and encounter that support the development of ‘social relations’ (Knierbein, 2015, p. 42). Spatial practices occur in lived space over time, and are essential to healing schisms occurring in unstable contexts. The everyday traffic, buzzing and flow of people are an indication of ‘balanced’ life, as opposed to calm periods following a natural or manmade disaster, where city life comes to a halt.

Thinking of public space as combining non-verbal communication and social practices allows for the production of public space, which includes possibilities for social change (Holston, 1995), since this approach incorporates the study of public space and the panoply of factors affecting it. Therefore, ‘public space can be a catalyst for change, through actions initiated by residents, as well as public authorities and others’ (Madanipour, 2004, p. 279).

Meeting social needs in situations of uncertainty requires experimentation, acquisition of knowledge, and creativity to understand the context, its specificities and constraints, and to arrive at desirable solutions (Christensen, 1985). Through informal networks of communication (Hillier, 2000), and exchange of information, individuals and groups are able to identify social needs, especially in unstable contexts, and search for opportunities to materialise those needs (Holston, 1995). Over time these needs might be claimed as rights that were not initially defined by regulation (Holston, 1995). In other terms, these groups create new tools for meeting common yet unrealised ‘social needs’ (Lefebvre, 2008, p. 147). One tool is temporary public space, which provides the opportunity to meet ‘the unintended and the unforeseeable’ (Holston, 1995, p. 443) in everyday urban life. In the context of Beirut as in other cities worldwide (Bishop and Williams, 2012; Franck and Stevens, 2007; Hayden and Temel, 2006), temporary public spaces reflect effectiveness in meeting social needs, implementing transformative actions (Walliser, 2013) and enhancing urban life. Literature on these spaces highlights several aspects: first, their various interim uses (see Drake and Lawson, 2013; Langegger, 2013; Pearsall and Lucas, 2013). In Germany interim use is part of the planning system, and indicates a time-limited occupation of vacant land for an alternative activity (Blumner, 2006); second, how they seize the situation of deindustrialisation, shrinking population (Madanipour, 2004), weak planning (Andres, 2013) and/or gaps in unresolved ownership (Colomb, 2012; Mady, 2012a), all of which often result in vacant urban land in highly accessible locations (Trancik, 1986; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1996; Foo et al., 2013; Németh and Langhorst, 2013). This contributes to the temporary spaces’ success in terms of high accessibility (Madanipour, 2004), and in bringing vibrancy into urban life (Stevens and Ambler, 2010). These spaces provide opportunities for urbanites, be they economic, environmental or social (Foster, 2013; Pearsall et al., 2013; Drake and Lawson, 2013).

There are few references indicating how temporary public spaces could be a response to natural disasters (Karen, 2011), or manmade disasters inflicting social schisms (Mady, 2013), and the ability of these spaces to absorb distortions caused by disasters and mitigate instability by reintroducing various rhythms of urban everyday life.

3. Rhythm, unstable contexts and temporary public spaces

Rhythm analysis as defined by Lefebvre (2004) includes learning from cyclical and linear time patterns that recur yet generate differences. As events, actions, movements, and outcomes are repeated- yet not identically- they are always compared or measured against what is established as known within a specific context. What is established is built through history and common values, and what occurs refers to present time actions, for example response to instability. Rhythm facilitates appropriation through recurrence, yet allows for variations. Rhythm empowers, and gives right, allows for differences to coexist, introduces elements of surprise, discovery and encounter. Rhythm analysis facilitates the understanding of the link between current, intended, and past needs, top down interventions, mundane practices, and expressions of needs, which are then manifested in space appropriation.

Disasters and conflicts cause changes, and yield contexts with environmental, economic, political, social and other instabilities. These instabilities affect contextual rhythms of everyday urban life by annihilating the rhythms, disrupting them or completely altering them. Also, these instabilities could affect the use and exchange values of urban spaces, in turn affecting how people experience their cities. Spaces with use value imply appropriation, which is tied to time, rhythm, symbols and practice, or in other words to representational and lived spaces (whereas exchange value implies the representation of space). Through time, these symbols and practices along with their rhythms need to be reinstated, and this requires some form of power. On the one hand, for conventional public spaces, this power is reflected in celebrations, parades, group activities, public arts, staging public events, and festivals that are temporary yet change the spatial experience (Madanipour, 2004, pp. 279-283). On the other hand, this power is provided as a use-right in temporary public spaces (Mady, 2012a), as it gives the opportunity to representations of space to accommodate representational dimensions and lived practices. One of these practices refers to contact and communication during which ‘meanings and uses of public space are transformed through practice during social movements, the symbolic dimension of public space is decoded and reloaded, thus providing fertile ground for redirecting (political, medial) attention to silent claims and emerging needs.’ (Knierbein, 2015, p. 59) Reinstating social practices also means changing the perceptions of a space and its context, which is necessary in unstable situations. The reinstatement means regaining confidence, promoting a sense of attachment, and reversing a stigma that could become associated with a space or locale (Madanipour, 2004, p. 283) To achieve this, three aspects must be considered over time ‘resources, spatial situations, and strategies’ (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 356), which are implemented integral to the production of temporary public spaces, and explained in the next section.

An exploration of temporary public spaces through the lens of rhythm reveals how those spaces are able to cope with dynamic situations, facilitate users’ acceptance of change inflicted by instability, and continuation of their routine urban lives with positive emotions despite other disruptions, and uncertainties (Magis, 2010; Tidball and Krasny, 2014; Wilson, 2012). Temporary public spaces form one the medium bridging differences, platforms for dialogue, adaptation and even transformation (Walliser, 2013). They reinstate previously existing rhythms or introduce new ones with the result of mitigating instability. In these spaces, temporality ceases to be a time-span consideration and is transformed into ‘a prototypical phenomenon [that] tends to counteract temporality itself’, that is, it exists because of its transience and does not seek permanence (Haydn and Temel, 2006:17). In this

sense, temporary spaces challenge the idea of planned spaces (Groth and Corijn, 2005). These spaces respond to emerging needs linked to changes in culture, functions, activities and people, especially in light of increased global mobility (Low et al., 2005: 3; Cuthbert, 2006; Carr et al., 1992; Trip, 2007). Temporary public spaces fill gaps, and generate ‘counter spaces’ or ‘public spaces where alternative paths of urban development beyond capitalist growth scenarios can be imagined, invented and explored’ (Knierbein, 2015, p. 53), and spaces whose use value overwhelms their exchange value, as stated in Lefebvre (1991).

4. Lessons from Beirut’s temporary public spaces

Beirut is a city, which has and still is experiencing ongoing political, spatial, social, economic, environmental and other instabilities, which expedite urban dynamics (Tabet, 1993) and render it a laboratory for actively experiencing and experimenting with public space production. Moreover, Beirut was specifically referred to in Lefebvre’s writings (2004, pp. 99-100; 2008, pp. 239-240) on Mediterranean cities, but only to indicate the ‘arrhythmic’ everyday life that instability inflicted on this previously harmonious ‘polyrhythmic’ city. The disruption of rhythms manifested first spatially in Beirut’s public spaces (whose genesis was based on imported representations of space such as the garden and square during the Ottoman and French Mandate periods), which were annihilated during the war period, and second socially through segregation that happened along sectarian and political divides (see Mady, 2012b for a brief overview of Beirut’s public spaces). Reconstruction efforts in the city centre concentrated on providing transportation infrastructure¹, which only degrades public space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 359), and different polarised groups then established their commodified spaces within their territories (Deeb and Harb, 2013), while other groups managed to produce spaces with common social values (Mady, 2013). Nowadays these concerns with rhythmic public spaces move beyond Beirut, and other contested cities (Gaffikin et al., 2013; Nagle, 2013) to encompass specifically in the Middle East and North Africa region (El-Husseiny, and Kesseiba, 2012), and broadly cities worldwide.

Before unpacking constituents of temporary public spaces, here is a brief note on the methodology. The data for this paper is taken from research on Beirut and temporary public space case studies, which included mapping, interviews with various stakeholders, and observations of these spaces. This research was conducted between 2006 and 2008 in Beirut (Mady, 2010), and observations of some of these spaces are still ongoing to present. The case studies include: one farmers’ market, one flower market, an urban stairs with artists’ exhibition, and six sports sites (refer to Mady, 2010 for detailed explanations on the case studies). The data is used to identify temporary public space users, and the experiences, expressions, and values that they attach to these spaces. It is equally used to learn about tools and processes for temporary spatial appropriation in Beirut. Also, comparing the cases in Beirut to those in other cities responds to the question on temporary public spaces’ appropriation within unstable contexts, by reinstating and/ or introducing rhythms through ‘resources, spatial situations, and strategies’ (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 356). Different unstable contexts seem to give rise to creative solutions on the appropriation of urban public spaces.

Resources: in this case refer to the individuals and groups who produce temporary public spaces, and any materials or capital used to activate the temporary public space. In Beirut social exclusion occurs

¹ The real estate company Solidere who reconstructed the long sealed-off city centre re-established vehicular access with its surroundings, creating tunnels and bridges, thus severing the previous link from its surroundings (Lefebvre, 1991), which used to be tightly-knit neighbourhoods around the centre. Solidere conducted extensive land acquisition, reparcellised land, set urban design guidelines, and incorporated plans for public spaces, which are managed by Solidere yet owned by the municipality of Beirut. The realised public spaces were valorised for their exchange rather than use value.

on the basis of vulnerability, which could equally affect foreign migrants or the local native population (Madanipour, 2004). A public space, which mitigates social instability, is then able to serve Beirut's 'mosaic of different publics' (Deeb and Harb, 2013, p. 85). Examples include the two markets, which use their economic activities as a pre-requisite for social integration (Madanipour, 2004). These markets offer job opportunities for people (Walliser, 2013) who have difficulties competing in the market, and provide them with the opportunity to cope with stress, remain active, learn new skills, establish social networks, be empowered rather than stay dependent thus strengthening social capital (Wilson, 2013) in the form of collaborations between experts and everyday people through collective action (Mady, 2013). The organisers of these markets were identified as social entrepreneurs (Mady, 2013) who are open to experimentation and innovation (Christensen, 1985), and who work in small interest groups to produce these spaces. Note that sometimes the organisers operate at different scales, and network with influential individuals to gain power in promoting the proposed public activity. One example is the case of the farmers' market, which gets its certification for organic products from the Italian government, thus bridging the global with the local (Roy, 2005) to give credibility to the market, and perpetuate it.

Spatial situations: refer to the state of vacancy of urban spaces, rendering them available to host temporary public uses. As mentioned in the introduction to temporary public spaces, these vacant urban spaces are resultants of an absence of construction due to weak planning (Andres, 2013), a stagnating economy, or ownership disputes. In each case, this vacancy is time-limited, and once this temporal status changes, the temporary public space then has to relocate. In the cases from Beirut and to present, the temporary sports sites have been used for periods spanning 19-40 years, whereas the markets moved two to three locations in the span of 11-15 years. The urban stair has been used for the artists' exhibitions for 29 years. Note that the urban stair is seasonally used, the markets are periodically used on weekends, and the sports spaces are used either seasonally or periodically since they also serve as car parking spaces on weekdays. Each of these examples has its own rhythm, and contributes differently to urban life in Beirut.

The fifteen-year war in Lebanon meant that people were frequently on the run, adapting to new circumstances, and living with the unknown. Change and mobility became usual companions to everyday life, and to some extent, change was accepted as a constant (Wilson, 2012). Whereas cases of temporary public spaces in European and American cities presented the limitation of being terminated due to the switch of vacant land to construction land, in Beirut this switch meant the mobility of the temporary public activity and a search for a new location, as illustrated in the cases of the two markets. These temporary activities partly owe their flexibility to the simplicity and flexibility of their dismountable structures, and partly to the determination of their users to continue with the activity irrespective of the location (as reflected in the interviews within both markets). The temporary public spaces in Beirut, and unlike their counterparts in Europe and the USA, do not seek permanence, and are rather aware of their temporariness as a feature of the space. This is reflected in the agreement with the property owner, the municipal permit, and the creativity in mantling the markets every time (Mady, 2013). To what extent is the limited lifespan of the space worth investing in? Will these spaces disappear, and will their creativity stop? Beirut's temporary spaces show that the existence and use values overshadow the ephemerality of the lifespan. Not only do these spaces change location without losing their impetus, they have initiated similar temporary space mutations with other creative activities in different city parts, and on different week days. Moreover, the visitors of the two markets now visit the farmers outside Beirut, and explore parts of the country, which they had not visited before (Mady, 2013). The spaces have generated other rhythms within and outside the city. To some extent, these temporary spaces have raised people's awareness on the right to public space in Beirut. The case of the urban stair developed awareness of stairs as public spaces, and citizen campaigns to protect them as heritage.

Another difference with their foreign counterparts is that vacant spaces in Europe or the USA await the implementation of the plans designated for them, turning them into spaces with exchange value, or awaiting the arrival of an investor in the absence of any plans (Andres, 2013); in the meantime local authorities realise the opportunity of and support the temporary activities. In Beirut, the temporary public spaces are not part of an official city plan, and are not considered opportunities by the municipality; they are simply vacant properties (according to an interview with a municipal authority). However, the real estate company Solidere that is in charge of the city centre's reconstruction, has endorsed these initiatives for temporary public spaces to promote the return of the 'public' to the reconstructed city centre, and has mediated the use of vacant spaces for temporary public uses.

Strategies: refer to the tools and processes that the individuals and groups devise to gain access and right to temporarily use the vacant urban spaces for public activities. Note that unlike the example of squatting spaces, all the case studies in Beirut present temporary public spaces that are legally used, and which obtain municipal permits if required, as in the case of the two markets and the arts' exhibition. The sports activities do not require municipal permits, yet have the permission of the property owners to temporarily use the spaces.

The strategies listed in this paper are not exhaustive, yet they highlight those that are highly pertinent to unstable contexts: valorising local tradition, and local culture (for example the village spirit in the food market²; capitalising on what is Lebanese including: cuisine, flowers or paintings or in other words on shared beliefs and values (Hillier, 2000); organising events in response to different interests in addition to the routine activities (such as competitions, concerts, awareness campaigns, children's activities); choosing locations that are highly accessible, and not associated with a specific political or sectarian territory within Beirut³; using social networks as a 'coping strategy' (Hillier, 2000, p. 293), and building power to increase the space's use value and consequently lead to its change or reproduction (Hillier, 2000, p. 297) from a vacant site to an active public space. The effect in mitigating instability through these strategies is illustrated through one statement by one of the respondents at the flower market:

'People of different ages and sects, veiled women from different parts of the country come here. Beauty and values bring people together'

Examples on similar strategies are present worldwide; in Barcelona economic competitiveness is used as a strategy for social cohesion, in Wuppertal artists accentuated the role of urban stairs as public spaces, and in Coventry football was transformed into an activity that brought people together (Madanipour, 2004). Other examples reflect how similar temporary spaces provide opportunities to have positive emotions (Tidball and Krasny, 2014), similar to those indicated by users of the two markets through the interviews (convivial, refreshing, simple, different, interesting, emotional, friendly, and other).

Among the limitations of temporary public spaces is the risk of these spaces to fall into the 'common path of economic gentrification (Andres, 2011, p.771), and lose their intended social values. In this case, the spaces become club goods (Webster and Lai, 2003), which are selective spaces privileging (Hillier, 2000) some members of the consumer society. Here representations of space become instrumental in preventing such a direction towards exclusion, yet no universal solution exists.

² The village spirit is equally appreciated in other contexts in Beirut such as the decoration of cafés with a village spirit (Deeb and Harb, 2013, p. 118) because it moves away from the divides of politics and sectarianism.

³ These are mainly spaces within the reconstructed city centre, which became no-man's land during the war years, as opposed to the polarised eastern and western Beirut districts (see Chapter 8 in Mady, 2010 for further explanation).

Understanding the context becomes of high significance (Lefebvre, 1991) in limiting global influences that are superimposed on local spaces, and preventing them from transforming the spaces' use value to exchange value. 'Therefore, context-specificity means that a place of public life needs to be analysed, interpreted and shaped according to its local embeddedness in a specific social, political and cultural context' (Knierbein, 2015, p. 51).

5. Conclusion

This paper presented the possibility of informing the production of urban public spaces especially in unstable contexts through lessons learned from the analysis of temporary public spaces. Case studies of temporary public spaces in Beirut, Lebanon were used to illustrate the relational reading of these spaces, and how they mitigate contextual instabilities.

While generally 'public spaces can be used to bring people together to improve the quality of life and to project a positive image...' (Madanipour, 2004, p. 281), temporary public spaces mitigate instability that is manifested spatially, socially, and temporally in the daily practices and representations of the city. These spaces reinstate or introduce rhythms in everyday urban life, and generate social values that lead to social integration and conviviality. Temporary public spaces achieve this while tapping on resources, spatial situations, and devising strategies. With little capital and a lot of dedication (Mady, 2012a; Walliser, 2013) these spaces present 'opportunities for sustainable and dynamic urban development' (BMVBS, and BBR, 2008, p. 5).

The analysis of everyday life and its rhythms moves away from merely observing practices ranging from the mundane everyday actions in public space, to norms followed by a whole society (Lefebvre, 2014, p. 232). This analysis is considered as a tool for understanding social meaning in everyday urban life (Knierbein, 2015, p. 54). This tool informs the conceived spaces of designers and planners that are not necessarily immersed in the concrete reality of the lived, perceived spaces, and are in turn lost in their abstract representations on plans and other related documents.

Temporary public spaces as tools for establishing long-term values and meeting future challenges could be integrated within planning systems and used as a response to instabilities, be they economic, political, social or other. Beirut's cases indicate that such spaces leave positive social memory (Wilson, 2013, p. 208) within a volatile and highly fragmented society, and even project a positive image (Madanipour, 2004) of Beirut especially after its war reputation. However, the analysis presented in this paper is specific to the context of Beirut, where instabilities and the production of Beirut's public spaces are contingent to the context specificities and factors affecting the city's stability and urban life. Further practices and research on temporary public spaces in different contexts are necessary for a broader understanding and further development of this tool.

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